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TABLE OF CONTENTS

	PAGE
Assumption of the Blessed Virgin according to the Teaching of Pius IX. and St. Thomas. By Rev. Felix O'Neill, c.c.	113
Australia, First Prefect-Apostolic of—Memoir of Father James Dixon. By W. H. Grattan Flood, MUS.D., K.S.G.	193
Beatitude as Man's Last End. By Rev. J. Rickaby, s.j.	257
Blessed Virgin, The Assumption of the, according to the Teaching of Pius IX. and St. Thomas. By Rev. Felix O'Neill, c.c.	113
Brigida Thaumaturga. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, c.m.	225
Butler, Sir William: a Sketch. By Rev. T. Dunne, c.c.	288
Cardinal Moran—Obituary Note. By Very Rev. J. F. Hogan, D.D.	411
Carmelites, The Traditions of the, from the Critical Point of View. By Rev. James P. Rushe, o.d.c.	235
Catholic Church in China, Prospects of the. By Rev. J. M. Fraser	277
Catholic Educationist, A Great—Dr. Lorenz Kellner. By G. J. P.	180
Catholic Record Society of Ireland, The. By Rev. James MacCaffrey, D.P.H., S.T.L.	449
Celtic Missionary Saints, Some—St. Columba. By Rev. W. H. Kirwan	598
China, Prospects of the Catholic Church in. By Rev. J. M. Fraser	277
Conduct, Moral. By Rev. J. Rickaby, s.j.	462
Controversy, New Phases of an Old. By Rev. Berthold Mulleady, o.d.c.	164
Correspondence:—	
The Vigil of the Immaculate Conception	644
Critic of Probabilism, A Recent. By Rev. E. J. Cullen, c.m.	74
Democracy. By A Layman	30
Dixon, Father James, Memoir of—First Prefect-Apostolic of Australia. By W. H. Grattan Flood, MUS.D., K.S.G.	193
Documents:—	
Absolution 'pro Defunctis' on Sundays and Holidays	437
Biblical Commission, New Decisions of (Gospel of St. Matthew)	214
Bulls, New Form of	221
Calendar Difficulties, Some	574
Case of Nullity of Marriage.	89

DOCUMENTS— <i>continued.</i>	PAGE
Catholic Clerical Managers' Association, Resolution	207
Choir Discipline in Rome	107
Church of St. Dominic made minor Basilica	216
Clerics and Civil Tribunals	647
Competence of Ecclesiastical Tribunal	88
Decision of Roman Appeal Court in case of Removal and Deprivation	103
Dominic, Father, Passionist, Beatification, etc.	432
Electric Lamps in the Ciborium	434
Episcopal Elections, Secrecy of	209
Erection of New Vicariate Apostolic in China	106
Exposition and Benediction of Blessed Sacraments, Doubts regarding	212
Fast and Abstinence, Doubts regarding	545
Feasts of the Order of St. Francis in Labrador	104
Feast Days, New Legislation regarding	328, 330, 431, 432
Franciscan Order, Decree appointing the General Authorities in	655
Franciscan Order, New Rules of Government in	651
Frontier of Vicariate of Upper Congo	439
Holy Scripture, Examination for Degrees in	656
'Imprimatur,' The, in Publications of Religious	436
Index, Decree of Sacred Congregation of the	333
Indulged Invocations	437
Letter of the Cardinal Secretary of State to Archbishop Bourne	109
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Archbishop of Genoa	87
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Archbishop of Munich	87
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Archbishop of Montreal	209
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Bishop of Nismes	210
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to Cardinal Archbishop of Cologne	211
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to Rev. Charles Grannan	219
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to Cardinal Gibbons	326
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the French Bishops	327
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Bishops of Bavaria	430
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the Canadian Bishops	648
Letter of His Holiness Pope Pius X. to the University of St. Andrews	650
New Hierarchy in England—Apostolic Constitution	645
New Legislation regarding Feast Days	328, 330, 431, 432
Oath to be taken before Ordination	334
Processions of the Blessed Sacrament	94
St. Othmar, The Feast of	660

TABLE OF CONTENTS

v

DOCUMENTS— <i>continued.</i>	PAGE
Secrecy of Episcopal Elections	209
Sodality of St. Barbara of Plaimpied	217
Some Practical Doubts resolved	434
Strikes, Statement of the Irish Hierarchy on	543
Translation of certain Feasts	221
Ubanghi, New Prefecture Apostolic of	218
Drogheda, London Newsbooks on the Storm of. By Rev. Thomas Gogarty, c.c.	43
Educationist, A Great Catholic—Dr. Lorenz Kellner. By G. J. P.	180
Gadelica Minora. By Ξεαρόιο ό ηυαλλάιν	33, 137, 361, 501, 609
Glimpses of the Penal Times. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, o.p.	145, 369, 509, 570
Ireland, Concerning Hugh Peters in—Carlyle and some Historians. By J. B. Williams, Esq.	479
Ireland, The Catholic Record Society of. By Rev. James MacCaffrey, d.ph., s.t.l.	449
Light, Modern Views on. By Rev. H. V. Gill, s.j., m.a.	i
London Newsbooks on the Storm of Drogheda. By Rev. Thomas Gogarty, c.c.	43
London Newsbooks, The Suppression of the. By Rev. Thomas Gogarty, c.c.	590
MacMahon, Marshal, Duke of Magenta. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, c.m.	337
Man's Last End, Beatitude as. By Rev. J. Rickaby, s.j.	257
Marshal MacMahon, Duke of Magenta. By Very Rev. P. Boyle, c.m.	337
Modern Views on Light. By Rev. H. V. Gill, s.j., m.a.	i
Moral Conduct. By Rev. J. Rickaby, s.j.	462
Moran, Cardinal—Obituary Note. By Very Rev. J. F. Hogan, d.d.	411
New Phases of an Old Controversy. By Rev. Berthold Mulleady, o.d.c.	164
Newsbooks, London, The Suppression of the. By Rev. Thomas Gogarty, c.c.	590

Notes and Queries :—

CANON LAW (By Rev. M. J. O'Donnell, d.d.)—

Benefices, Possession of, according to the Decree ' Ne Temere '	632
Censures not mentioned by name in ' Apostolicæ Sedis '	424
Contempt of the Ecclesiastical Court—Its Effect on Appeals	418
Faculties Granted by Bishop—How affected by his Death	540
' Imprimatur,' Laws of, as it affects Religious	533
Law of ' Imprimatur,' as it affects Religious	533
Mass in Private Houses	539
' Occult Crimes ' and Impediments, Meaning of—Power of Suspending ' ex informata conscientia '	626
Sermon on Sunday in Parish Church—Are Faithful obliged to be present ?	537

NOTES AND QUERIES—*continued*.

LITURGY (By Rev. T. O'Doherty)—

Baptism of Adults, Short form of	540
'Cor Jesu Sacratissimum,' The, after Mass,	639
Exequial Mass, <i>Absente Cadavere</i>	428
Indulgence, Manner of saying the 'Cor Jesu Sacratissimum' in order to gain the	640
Medal-Scapulars, Doubts regarding	641
Preaching during the Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament	640
Triduum in connexion with a Feast	541

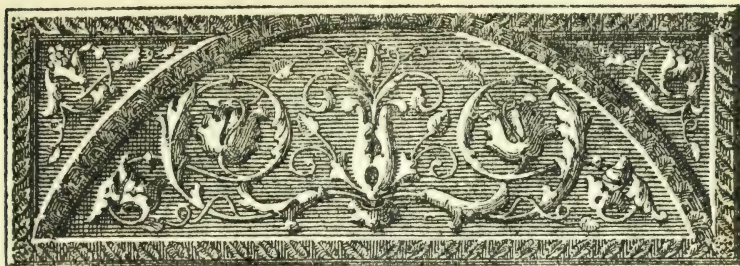
THEOLOGY (By Rev. J. M. Harty, D.D.)—

Anointing the apparently Dead	415
Extreme Unction, Conditional Conferring of, in the case of a Dying Person	417
Immaculate Conception, The Feast of the	620
Immaculate Conception, The Feast of the, and the Dispensation from Fast or Abstinence	623
Marriage, Some recent Decrees about	526
St. John the Baptist, Feast of the Nativity of	624
Some recent Decrees about Marriage	526
Sundays and Holidays of Obligation	412

Notices of Books:—

Catholic Ideals of Social Life, 224 ; Catholic Theology, or the Cathecism Explained, 664 ; Catholic Veto and the Irish Bishops, 665 ; Christian Mysteries, 223 ; De Administrativa amotione Parochorum, 550 ; De Curia Romana, 550 ; English-Irish Phrase Dictionary, 667 ; Essays of Henry Dudley Ryder, 335 ; Flora's Choice, 446 ; Heirs in Exile, 336 ; Heroic Spain, 110 ; History of Classical Teaching, Studies in the, 671 ; History of Pope Boniface VIII., 670 ; Manuale Sacrarum Caeremoniarum, 666 ; Mary Aikenhead—her Life, her Work, her Friends, 662 ; Martyrologium Romanum, 667 ; <i>μιλ να mbeac</i> , 669 ; Motive Force and Motivation Tracks, 440 ; Poisoning the Wells, 443 ; Religious Intolerance under Home Rule, 443 ; Sermons and Lectures, 663 ; Some New Novels, 445 ; <i>Σταρεα δρ αν σοιρεαλ</i> , 110 ; <i>Summula Philosophiae Scholasticae</i> , 445 ; The Catechist, 444 ; The Catholic Encyclopedia, 444 ; 'The Clongownian,' 224 ; 'The Belvederian,' 224 ; The Queen's Fillet, 446 ; The Inseparables, 447 ; The Mill on the Withrose, 447 ; The Rector and Purgatory, 558 ; The Holy Ghost Manual, 560 ; Theologia Dogmatico Scholastica, 552 ; Theologia Fundamentalis (Ottinger), 554	
'Oblatum occasione Baptismi,' etc. By Rev. R. Fullerton, C.C.	595
Penal Times, Glimpses of the. By Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P.	145,
	369, 509, 570
Peters, Hugh, in Ireland—Carlyle and some Historians. By J. B. Williams, Esq.	479

	PAGE
Pragmatic Value of Theism, The. By Rev. Leslie J. Walker, S.J.	14
Probabilism, A Recent Critic of. By Rev. E. J. Cullen, c.m. . .	74
Promise, The Scapular—a Defence of Father Chéron. By Rev. James P. Rushe, o.d.c.	388
Saints, Some Celtic Missionary—St. Columba. By Rev. W. H. Kirwan	598
Scapular Promise, The—A Defence of Father Chéron. By Rev. James P. Rushe, o.d.c.	388
Sir William Butler: A Sketch. By Rev. T. Dunne, c.c. . . .	288
Spiritualism and the Spirit World. By Rev. P. J. Manly, c.c. .	561
Theism, The Pragmatic Value of. By Rev. Leslie J. Walker, S.J.	14
Thompson, Francis, The Wisdom of. By Rev. W. P. Smith, s.j. .	304
Traditions of the Carmelites from the Critical Point of View. By Rev. James P. Rushe, o.d.c.	235
Wisdom of Francis Thompson, The. By Rev. W. P. Smith, s.j. .	304
World, The Spirit, and Spiritualism. By Rev. P. J. Manly c.c. .	561



MODERN VIEWS ON LIGHT

THE study of theoretical Optics has almost as keen an interest for the chemist and philosopher as for the physicist; for the ever-increasing co-ordination of various branches of science owes one of its strongest bonds to the theory of Light. This subject is of special interest to us, for Ireland has contributed perhaps more than any other country to laying the foundations on which modern views of light and electricity are constructed. The names of MacCullagh, FitzGerald, Stokes, Kelvin, Larmor, and other Irishmen must always find a foremost place in the history of science, and especially in that department with which we are concerned here.

It may be said that the view here considered has grown out of the recent researches into the nature of matter and electricity which are so intimately connected with the name of J. J. Thomson. It will, however, be necessary to recall some of the general principles of the theory of light, which may be said to have begun in the time of Newton. The analogy between many light phenomena and those of sound naturally suggested to Newton and those of his times that both light and sound were propagated by wave motion. However, a closer examination of light effects seemed to prove that it was impossible to accept this view. The two-sidedness of one of the beams due to double refraction, as well as the fact that light did not bend round corners—

as was then believed—appeared to show clearly that light could not be propagated by the same kind of waves as sound. At that period the possibility of any kind of wave for the propagation of light other than that of the longitudinal type had not been suggested. Thus it happened that Newton sought to devise a system which would explain the phenomena of Optics as then known. It must, however, be remembered that his views were distinctly tentative.

It is by no means easy to arrive at a clear conception as to what Newton really held. In one query he asks : ‘ Are not the rays of light very small bodies emitted from shining substances ? For such bodies will pass through uniform mediums in right lines without bending into the shadow, which is the nature of the rays of light.’¹ As a matter of fact, Newton does not seem to have himself accepted this view as satisfactory ; at least in its cruder form. He certainly admitted the existence of a medium, as is clear from the following extract :—

If a stone be thrown into water stagnating, the waves excited thereby continue some time to arise in the place where the stone fell into the water, and are propagated from thence in concentric circles upon the surface of the water to great distances, and the vibrations or tremors incited in the air by percussion continue a little time to move from the place of percussion in concentric spheres to great distances. And in like manner, when a ray of light falls upon the surface of any pellucid body, and is there refracted or reflected, may not waves of vibrations, or tremors, be thereby excited in the refracting or reflecting medium at the point of incidence and continue to arise there, and to be propagated from thence . . . ? and are not these vibrations propagated from the point of incidence to great distances ? and do they not overtake the rays of light, and, by overtaking them successively, do they not put them into the fits of easy reflection and easy transmission described above ?

From these passages it is clear that in Newton’s mind there was a periodicity imposed on the physical condition

¹ *Opticks*, bk. iii. qu. 29.

of the light particles or rays which explained many of the phenomena now accounted for by the wave theory. We may not delay to deal with the objections to such a view. With reference to the view contained in the two extracts just cited, Preston remarks: 'It will be found, however, on an examination of the whole, that these necessary postulates endow the corpuscles with the periodic characteristics of a wave motion and when this is introduced the corpuscles themselves may be eliminated, for the wave motion alone sufficiently explains the phenomenon.'

No doubt a great step was made when the idea of transverse vibration was introduced, or rather revived, but it would be a mistake to suppose that the problem was then solved. The most fundamental of all difficulties still existed: how to describe a medium capable of fulfilling all the requirements of light phenomena. A solid can transmit both longitudinal and transverse vibration, but how could solid bodies move through a solid? A liquid or gas is incapable of propagating transverse vibration. This was, and is, the difficulty which has to be faced. It is easy enough for a mathematician to describe in formulæ all the laws of wave motion so as to account for the modern electro-magnetic theory of light and radiation in general, but in doing so he has to assume contradictory properties of the æther—at least judged by the standard of our ordinary ways of looking at things. We must in fact admit that, though the wave theory seems clearly proved in its general outlines, very little is known of the mechanism or nature of the wave motion itself. As Schuster says, in the preface to his *Introduction to Theory of Optics*:—

There is at present no theory of Optics in the sense that the elastic solid theory was accepted fifty years ago. . . . But so long as the character of the displacements which constitute the wave remains undefined we cannot pretend to have established a theory of light. . . . We must look with the gravest concern on a growing school of scientific thought which rests content with equations correctly representing numerical relationships between different phenomena, even though no precise meaning can be attached to the symbols used . . . the study of Physics must be

based on a knowledge of Mechanics, and the problem of light will only be solved when we discover the properties of the æther.

This is surely a justification for speculation on the nature of the light wave, and hence it is that there is hardly any branch of physics at the present time more dealt with by scientists. It touches not only light, but such other questions as radiant heat, the nature of X-rays, gamma-rays, electric and magnetic disturbances. To deal with the modern view here described we must recall to mind some principles of electricity.

The idea of 'lines of force' was first introduced by Faraday, and was suggested to him by the familiar appearance of iron filings when scattered on a card over a magnetic pole. This conception was of the utmost utility to Faraday as an instrument for developing his views on the nature of electricity and magnetism, and took the place of mathematical analysis in his investigations. These lines of force were, moreover, in Faraday's view, not mere mathematical abstractions, but real physical entities. He endowed them with physical properties and supposed them to be in a state of tension and that they repelled each other laterally. Thus two bodies charged with electricity of opposite sign are supposed to be connected by a series of contractile strings which mutually repel each other.

In the first place, all these lines of force tend to run from a positively to a negatively charged body. The tension on the lines like that due to stretched elastic threads explained the attraction of two oppositely charged bodies, while the mutual repulsion of the lines of force explained the repulsion of similarly charged bodies, and the distribution of the lines of force in the case of charged insulated conductors.

Sir J. J. Thomson introduced the notion of tubes of force, so as to visualize a bunch of lines of force enclosing unit charge, and thus permit and facilitate calculation. A Faraday tube is, then, such that 'each unit of positive electricity in the field may be regarded as the origin and

each unit of negative electricity as the termination of a Faraday tube.'

These tubes of force may be considered as attached firmly to a charged body. If there is no other body in the neighbourhood they may be supposed to resemble 'the quills upon the fretful porcupine.' When an insulated body is moving uniformly through space the tubes of force move with it. When its motion is very slow they retain practically their relative positions. But we must bear in mind that there is no such thing in the space we are dealing with as an absolute vacuum. The æther is everywhere. The tubes of force are moving through the ether. Now, we are to compare this state of things to an hydraulic system :—

We suppose in fact the tubes to behave very much as long and narrow cylinders behave when moving through water : these if moving endwise, i.e., parallel to their length, carry very little water along with them, while when they move sideways, i.e., at right angles to their axis, each unit length of the tube carries with it a finite mass of water. When the length of the cylinder is very great compared with its breadth, the mass of water carried by it when moving endwise may be neglected in comparison with that carried by it when moving sideways, if the tube had no mass beyond that which it possesses in virtue of the water it displaces, it would have mass for sideways, but none for endwise motion.

Time does not allow me to deal in any detail with the consequences of this possibility. As a matter of fact, the conclusion arrived at may be best stated in Thomson's own words :—

The view I wish to put before you is, that it is not merely a part of the mass of a body which arises in this way, but that the *whole* mass of any body is just the mass of æther surrounding the body which is carried along by the Faraday tubes associated with the atoms of the body. In fact all mass is mass of the ether, all momentum, momentum of the æther, and all kinetic energy, kinetic energy of the æther.

This view is founded on the theory that all bodies are

made up of positively and negatively charged elements constantly in motion among themselves, so that each atom has a system of Faraday tubes in constant motion connected with it. I do not delay to consider what we must consider a *body* to be like when we suppose its *mass* to be removed.

The next stage in the evolution of the theory here under consideration is an examination of what takes place when a charged body surrounded by its tubes of force moves very quickly—with a velocity approaching that of light—through the æther. We are still to keep in mind the conception of cylinders moving with great speed sideways through the æther. As has been said, when the charged body is stationary the tubes of force are uniformly distributed over its surface—a sphere, let us suppose. When moving very slowly this distribution is not much modified. When, however, the charged sphere is moving through the æther two modifications are to be considered. In the first place, the amount of æther captured by the tubes of force is greatly increased. Secondly, the lines of force leave the polar regions and crowd towards the equatorial belt. When the velocity of the particle is equal to that of light, all the lines of force stretch out from the equator in the equatorial plane at right angles to the direction of motion of the charged particles. The augmentation of mass in the case of a moving charged body is taken as proved by Kaufmann's experiments on the particles expelled by radium in its disintegration. These particles are charged with positive electricity, and are moving with the greatest velocity known in the case of any moving matter, i.e., 13,000 miles per second, which bears some proportion to the velocity of light, 186,000 miles per second. We cannot stay to dwell on the consequences of this view, but must pass to the next stage in the development of the new theory.

In last year's February number of the *Philosophical Magazine*, Sir J. J. Thomson sums up his views on this matter :—

The properties of the tubes of force are determined by the charge at their ends ; hence if that charge is the charge carried

by a corpuscle or a particle in the Canalstrahlen, which as far as we know is incapable of further sub-division, the corresponding tube of force will be incapable of further sub-division, and will form a natural unit. Now the question at once arises, does the tube of force attached to a corpuscle spread out uniformly in all directions, like the lines of force round a charged sphere, or is the tube confined within a cone of small vertical angle? We usually regard the electric field around an electric charge as spreading out uniformly in all directions, so that the force remains unaltered in magnitude as long as we keep at the same distance from the electric charge. We must remember, however, that the charges used in the experiments by which this result has been established are many million times the charge on a corpuscle, and it is evident that when we superpose the fields due to millions of corpuscles the result will be the same whether each individual field is uniformly distributed in all directions or is confined to a small solid angle. Each would give a field uniform in all directions: on the first supposition the field would be continuous, while on the second it would have a structure. We are now, however, able, in the cathode rays, to observe the behaviour of particles carrying the indivisible unit, so that the nature of the field around the unit charge is an important subject, and one which we might hope to settle by experiment. The properties of a corpuscle, on the supposition that the electric field around it is uniformly distributed, have been known for some time. In this paper I shall consider what the properties would be if the electric force due to a corpuscle was practically exerted in only one direction. Let us suppose that the tube of force attached to a corpuscle is a double cone of small semi-vertical angles so that it is only within this cone that the corpuscle exerts any electrical force. There is discontinuity between the electric force inside and outside this cone.

We are therefore to look on the region occupied by material bodies as intersected in all directions by these tubes of force. Each atom in the universe is capable of being joined up to every other atom by such a tube, for each atom exercises an attraction on the others. We must here introduce another phenomenon which was the occasion for the adoption of the present theory by its author.

One of the remarkable characteristics of Röntgen rays

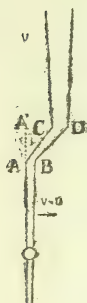
is their property of ionizing the gas through which they pass. Such a gas becomes a conductor, and from its electrical properties it is an easy matter to determine how many of the atoms of the gas have been affected by the passage of the Röntgen rays. The result of careful investigation is that only an exceedingly small proportion of the gas atoms are at all modified by the rays in their passage through the gas. It is, therefore, argued that this is a proof that the wave front of a Röntgen ray pulse is not continuous and uniform in its properties, for if it were we should expect that all the gas atoms in the path of the rays would be equally affected. Further investigation has corroborated the view that the Röntgen rays are made up of a series of separate pulses and that they do not occur in trains of waves as is the case with ordinary light. In fact Röntgen rays have the same relation to ordinary light as a single explosive wave or pulse has to a musical note. Now, on the ordinary theory of light the front of a single spherical wave of whatever kind is continuous, and ought therefore produce the same effect on each gas atom, so that some theory was required to account for the minuteness of the effect of Röntgen rays, and to a lesser extent of ultra-violet light. Consider for a moment the emission theory. In this theory a small source of light is supposed to be sending out into space a stream of small particles in all directions. These particles start with a definite velocity and kinetic energy which remains constant. Thus each particle may be compared to the bullet from a rifle which is uninfluenced by air resistance or gravity. Naturally, as these bullets become further and further removed from their origin the distance between the paths of the bullets becomes greater and greater. If we were to take a cross section of any position of space through which the bullets are passing we should have it pierced by a number of holes corresponding to the paths of the bullets. It is clear that the number of holes per unit area would be less as the section was further removed from the origin. In this theory the wave front is not uniform, but owing to the extreme rapidity with which the bullets follow each other the effect in ordinary cases is

the same as if it were. Again, the energy of any thin cross section would depend on the sum of all the energies of the particles. Since each particle preserves its total energy no matter how far it may have moved from the origin, it follows that each particle will be able to produce the same effect at any point of its journey. The total energy over any area will be thus proportional to the number of particles falling on that area, and the variation of the energy with the distance will not be due to any change in the intensity of the energy of the elements of the beam of light, but simply to the change of number of these elements. Such a beam passing through a gas would not act on all the gas atoms, but only on those in the path of the projectiles, and thus only a fraction of the gas would be ionized.

We may now return to the consideration of the lines of force. From the origin of the beam of Röntgen rays lines of force are supposed to stretch in all directions, and the same is true of every kind of radiation. These lines of force cut up the region into paths along which light can be propagated, and outside which the light waves cannot pass. An origin of radiant energy has been compared by the originator of this theory to the central office of a telephone company, from which wires radiate in all directions, and along which alone the messages can pass. In the modern theory pulses along these lines of force take the place of the particles in the emission theory, but otherwise practically all we have said about the particles in the older theory may be applied to the pulses of light along the tubes of force. We see, therefore, that the effect of each pulse or wave remains constant, and does not spread out, and that the total effect of a light beam is due to the cumulative effect of the energies of the individual waves which have come along the tubes of force. Let us now see how these waves are supposed to originate.

We have already seen that each tube of force is attached to a corpuscle, and that this corpuscle is supposed to be in motion. As long as the corpuscle moves along with uniform velocity the tube of force moves with it. But when the

corpuscle is suddenly stopped there is a complete change in the state of affairs. In the figure let O represent the corpuscle moving from left to right in a horizontal line. The tube of force is moving along with it at right angles to its direction. When it has reached the position A suppose the velocity of the corpuscle to be reduced by u in a time t . What is the configuration of the tube at a time T , after the stoppage began? Any disturbance is propagated along the tube of force with the velocity of light C . In the time t the disturbance will have travelled a distance Ct from O , and no further.



Hence if we describe a circle with O as centre, and a radius equal to Ct the region outside will be unaffected by the disturbance or by the stoppage of the particle, and the tube of force, owing to its momentum and inertia, will have moved into the same position as it would have occupied if the corpuscle had not stopped at all. Again, the fact that the velocity of the corpuscle has been reduced will have been signalled along the tube of force to a distance $c(T-t)$ from O . Therefore, inside a sphere of this radius the tube of force will have the reduced velocity, and the portion OA constituting a radius of this sphere will be vertical. The unaffected portion CX will also be vertical, as has been explained, but the portion between these two vertical parts, i.e., for a distance $u(T-t)$, say uT , since t is very small relatively to T , will not be vertical. This portion will take up the position shown in the figure. Since it is drawn out it will be constricted, and hence the electric force will be greater than it would be at the same distance if the corpuscle had not been stopped. This region travels out along the line of force and constitutes a light wave or pulse. The following are Sir J. J. Thomson's words:—

The energy possessed by the corpuscle before it was stopped was equal to

$$\frac{2 \pi e^2 u^2}{\omega c^3 t}$$

the energy travelling out is equal to

$$\frac{2 \pi e^2}{u} \frac{u^2}{c^2 a}$$

Hence the fraction $\frac{a}{ct}$ of the energy is radiated away. I regard this radiation as constituting the Röntgen rays. I gave a similar theory when the electric force was supposed uniformly distributed around the corpuscle. In that case the energy of the corpuscle is radiated in all directions, and is diffused through a very large volume. In the theory just given, however, the energy is not diffused but is concentrated in a kink in a single tube of force. Thus when a number of cathode particles bombard an anti-cathode, the resulting Röntgen radiation is concentrated into small patches which possess momentum and energy; in fact we have a condition of things much more closely represented in many respects by the old emission theory of light than by the wave theory in the form in which it is usually represented. A corpuscle when it strikes the anti-cathode is not reduced to rest by the first collision it makes with a molecule, but rebounds from one molecule to another. The tube of force attached to it is jerked spasmodically by the collisions and a series of small discrete transverse pulses travel outwards along it with the velocity of light: the condition of the tube is very analogous to that of a stretched string, the end of which is spasmodically jerked backwards and forwards.

Such in its broad outline is the theory which has been suggested to account for the peculiar effects of Röntgen and other rays. These two kinds of radiation are looked on as of the same nature as light. While admitting the utility of this way of looking at things in explaining several phenomena otherwise difficult to interpret, it must be confessed that it leaves many of the ordinary light phenomena unaccounted for. Interference and refraction, for example, can with difficulty, if at all, be explained. In the paper I have referred to Sir J. J. Thomson uses his usual ingenuity to explain these effects, but even he seems to be still unsatisfied that he has succeeded. Professor Bragg, who, however, has his own theory quite opposed to that we are considering—at least as applied to Röntgen and γ rays—says of this theory in a recent lecture at the Royal Insti-

tution: 'The immediate objection to this proposal is that it seems to throw away at once all the marvellous explanations of interference and diffraction which Young and Fresnel founded on a theory of spreading waves, and I do not think anyone has yet made good this defect.'

There is one other objection which has always appeared to me to be of importance. In considering the chief reason for adopting this theory it was assumed that all the gas particles in the gas through which the pencil of Röntgen rays is passing are equally liable to be ionized by the rays. The fewness of the atoms affected is taken as a proof that the wave front of the Röntgen pulse is not continuous, and that it must therefore be something like a slice of currant cake. Now if we suppose the gas particles to be capable of different orientations, as we do and must do, it is easy to conceive that only those atoms oriented in a very special way relatively to the Röntgen ray, even if the wave front be regarded as continuous, would be acted on. In this way the small number of the atoms of gas affected would not necessarily prove that the wave front is not continuous. The fact that the effect on any particle may be cumulative would get over other difficulties, i.e., by supposing that the Röntgen ray may be not merely a single pulse, but a very short train of waves.

Finally, we have difficulty in conceiving the nature of the tubes of force, and the extraordinary network of æther wires they constitute. Yet this difficulty is not so great as others that exist in every theory of light that has been suggested. A good number of years ago I was spending a vacation at Port Stewart, and one day started early to take a cycle ride to Derry and round Lough Foyle. Just when we got to the mouth of the Bann and were waiting for the ferry-boat, we saw out to sea two waterspouts. The day was quite calm, and the appearance of these columns of water joining earth and sky was most remarkable. I have never seen any other waterspouts, but in thinking over this paper it occurred to me that we might perhaps illustrate the tubes of force by comparing them to waterspouts, or at least to the air columns which give rise to them and which

exist even where there is no water to be turned into a spout. Or it is not clear that a whirlpool would not better illustrate things. By leaving out the air in the latter phenomenon we might illustrate several properties of the æther in this way. Whatever way we look at the matter it seems clear that we can form some idea of a line of force as a physical reality.

Enough has been said to give some notion of the latest attempt to deal with this difficult subject. Whatever be the difficulties it presents, for my own part, such is my respect for the views of its author, I should be slow to look on them as insoluble. In conclusion, it seems to me that there is hardly any department of theoretical physics that will better repay study than the general problem of the nature of light and other kinds of radiation.

H. V. GILL.

THE PRAGMATIC VALUE OF THEISM

III.—THE THEISTIC HYPOTHESIS PRAGMATICALLY VERIFIED

IN this the second and more distinctly pragmatic part of our proof of the Theistic Hypothesis, our appeal is to the ideals, the aspirations, the deep-rooted needs of our nature. To be completely verified our hypothesis must not only 'fit the facts'—explain the *why* and *wherefore* of our existence and render intelligible the data of experience with which we are confronted : it must also guarantee the ultimate realization of our ideals and the ultimate satisfaction of our needs. To some the explanatory value of our hypothesis will be esteemed of greater moment than its value as an assurance that the strivings of human nature will some day attain their end ; but to others, less metaphysically inclined, its pragmatic value will have the greater force. The plain man is not fond of logic, and comparatively few people are capable of appreciating the niceties of a metaphysical argument. On the other hand, all men are conscious of their own needs and of the needs of the world in which they live ; all are conscious of an innate striving for better things, for a state in which their desires shall be more fully satisfied and their happiness more complete. That such a state of things is possible, everyone except the pessimist believes. Nay, more, this belief is expressed in every action of our lives, for by our actions we are ever seeking in diverse ways to better either ourselves or our neighbour ; and in this practical belief even the pessimist is no exception. Human wants demand that which shall fulfil them, and human ideals postulate that which shall bring them into being. Hence an argument which supplies to our needs, our ideals, and our strivings an object that is at once their term and the guarantee that they will ultimately attain it, can be understood by every man, however uncultivated his intellect, however unlettered his mind. Indeed, we may well apply to the pragmatic form of argu-

ment which we are about to use, the words with which Tertullian introduces his own proof of God's existence from the testimony of the human soul :—

I call in a new testimony [he says], yea, one which is better known than all literature, more discussed than all doctrine, more public than all publications, greater than the whole man—I mean all which is man's. Stand forth, O soul, whether thou art a divine and eternal substance, as most philosophers believe . . . or whether thou art the very opposite of divine ; . . . whether thou art received from heaven, or sprung from earth ; whether thou art formed of numbers, or of atoms ; whether thine existence begins with that of the body, or thou art put into it at a later stage ; from whatever source, and in whatever way thou makest man a rational being, in the highest degree capable of thought and knowledge,—stand forth and give thy witness. But I call thee not as when, fashioned in schools, trained in libraries, fed up in Attic academies and porticoes, thou belchest forth thy wisdom. I address thee, simple and rude, and uncultured and untaught, such as they have thee who have thee only, that very thing pure and entire, of the road, the street, the workshop. I want thine inexperience, since in thy small experience no one feels any confidence. I demand of thee the things thou bringest with thee into man, which thou knowest either from thyself, or from thine author, whoever he may be.¹

What, then, are the desires, the ideals, and the purposes which we bring with us into the world, and which we seek, one and all of us, to realize to the best of our power ? What are those aims and aspirations which lie behind, and are the motive force, as it were, of our active, striving, conscious life ; aims and aspirations which belong to the very essence of our being, and which, unless the possibility of realizing them be within our reach, imply that our existence is futile and our nature a monstrosity and a curse ?

Our aspirations are many : our ideals manifold and complex. But every one of us, if normally constituted and in any but the most extraordinary circumstances, desires to live. To exist and perpetuate his existence in the species is an instinct which man possesses in common with animals

¹ *De Testimonio Animæ.* 'The Writings of Tertullian' in the Ante-Nicene Library, vol. i. p. 37.

and plants. But barely to exist is not all that man desires. He desires also an increase of being. He seeks to add to what he has got. He strives after a fuller life, and this striving may take many forms. It may be the 'Material Self' that we seek to augment: physical strength, beauty, wealth, material possessions of various kinds all have their attractions. The 'Social Self' also admits of increase: we desire to stand well with society, to be highly esteemed, to have many friends, to be persons of influence and power. Or it may be in the 'Spiritual Self,' in intelligence, knowledge, or strength of character that we desire to see development. In all these ways we may increase and bring forth fruit if we choose. Alike in the physical, the social, and the mental or spiritual order our nature is capable of growth, and in each case the extent, the character and the direction of this growth is largely subject to our control.

Some form of growth is necessary. We cannot help it. Nor can we help the impulses which, whether coming from within or from without, prompt us to develop in this way or in that. What we can do is to control our impulses, to direct them towards this or that end, to check one and encourage the other, and so build up our character according to a certain ideal. The impulses that prompt us to seek after material prosperity, bodily strength, pleasure, wealth, the society of our friends and of those we love, honour, knowledge, fame, skill, physical and intellectual, wisdom, influence, power, are all of them natural, every one of them human and good. Every one of them, too, because it is natural, demands that somehow or other it shall be satisfied. True, in different individuals the urgency of this demand may, so far as our consciousness of it goes, vary almost indefinitely from a maximum of intensity that absorbs all our energies to a minimum so low that for practical purposes the impulse in question does not exist. But to allow an impulse thus to predominate in our lives at the expense of the rest is clearly irrational. It makes us one-sided, narrow, unnatural: the broader and better part of our nature is suppressed, with the result that often enough the zeal with

which we seek an isolated form of satisfaction defeats its own purpose. In the rational man, the true man, each impulse should count, for each is the spontaneous striving of a human need expressing some more or less fundamental aspect of our nature which, as such, is essential to the integrity of the whole. For each individual impulse, virtue, as Aristotle says, lies in the mean ; but for our impulses as a whole it lies in a harmony such that no one impulse is lost, but each takes its place in the fully developed structure of the perfect man.

This harmonious satisfaction of our impulses and needs presents itself as an ideal which, either as beauty or perfection or duty, imposes itself upon us as that which we are morally bound to realize. The force of this obligation is no less strong than the force of the individual impulses to which it gives order and form. And the more highly cultured a man is, the more urgently does this demand for an ideal harmony press for actualisation ; the more clearly, too, does he recognize that beauty is harmony and harmony perfection, and that until this harmony is brought about his nature will not have attained its end, and his happiness in consequence will be incomplete.

As we are at present circumstanced, however, our ideals are very far from realization. Life is a continual struggle. Impulse wars with impulse ; the impulse to give with the impulse to possess, friendship with selfishness, the seeking of one's own interest with one's duty to mankind. Duty and pleasure, moreover, do not, as they should, go hand in hand ; nor does a virtuous life appear to be a *sine qua non* of temporal happiness. We seem, in fact, to be torn asunder by a thousand alternatives arising from conflicting tendencies of our nature, and each of them impelling us in a different direction. If we desire to be virtuous, we must put up with much suffering and oft-times petty persecution. If we seek pleasure, we must be prepared for ensuing lassitude, weariness and disgust. If it is after knowledge that we strive, time and labour must be devoted to the quest ; if after fame or honour, they can be gained only at the sacrifice of leisure and repose. Indeed, whatever

be the object of our desires, we may be sure that it will cost us much, and that should we succeed in our quest, the reward will be by no means proportionate to the energy expended. In our present life no human desire is ever realized without suffering and toil, and no human impulse ever attains complete satisfaction. There are undoubtedly signs of progress in the history of the human race, yet that ideal state of harmony, peace and happiness, in which alone we shall be completely satisfied, either æsthetically, morally, or intellectually, seems to be almost as far off now as it was ten thousand years ago.

Where lies the solution of the difficulty? Where are we to look for a guarantee that that perfect harmony and peace, which we all of us desire, will some day be realized? The solution which Materialism has to offer us is wholly valueless. To accept it, not only must we get rid of all facts that will not square with its fundamental assumptions, including the significant facts of consciousness, life, feeling, and thought, which the materialist declares to be nothing more than the accidental by-product of an automatic machine, but in consequence we are forced to acknowledge that the striving after ideals is something wholly inane. Ideals pertain to consciousness, and are therefore senseless chimeræ: they will never be fulfilled. Even that most fundamental of all our needs, the demand for existence and being, is, according to materialists, bound sooner or later to end in failure. Our life ends once and for all with the grave. And as for the universe in general, that too is a failure. Its energies are dying out; it is gradually ceasing to be.

Thus by means of that very thought to which he denies any place in the economy of the universe, the materialist diagnoses its diseases and prophesies its final decease. Pragmatically, therefore, as Professor James has again and again pointed out, Materialism is bankrupt, and as a theory of the universe, worthless, except possibly to the voluptuary and the man of evil life. Yet, if the truth must be told, Absolutism, the metaphysic which of all metaphysics is the most complete and wholesale negation of Materialism,

is, from a pragmatic point of view, little better off than its rival. Certainly the absolutist admits the existence of facts which the materialist denies, but he does so only to pronounce them illusions. He grants, too, the reality of thought, but only to declare it to be fatally vitiated by contradictions. The sole reality which for him is really real, is the reality of the Ideal. Truth is ideal, goodness ideal, the Absolute itself ideal. But this ideal is so far removed from anything human that its value is practically *nil*. If you believe in its reality, not only must you renounce your belief in the reality of anything else, but you must also renounce all hope of attaining the reality in which you do believe. The nature of the Absolute is so utterly different from anything of which we have experience that, were it ever to be realized in our experience, the latter would have to be totally transformed in each and every part, and thus would cease to be ours. Our individuality, our personality, those very hopes and ideals which, as men, we so earnestly strive to attain, everything in fact that is human and is dear to us primarily because it is human, must be sacrificed to this Inhuman Ideal. I, as I, shall cease to exist if ever I become one with the Absolute, and in its all-devouring experience my poor human experience will be submerged and utterly lost.

This is the prospect which Absolutism holds out for us, and a prospect more disastrous in its practical consequences could scarcely be conceived. It damps all our energies and destroys all our hopes. An Absolute Ideal has in truth only one good quality, namely, that it is so remote that even the most ardent absolutist can give us no promise of an early fulfilment. All he can say is that his Ideal is immeasurably distant, and that between it and our present mode of existence there is scarcely any discernible likeness.

Thus we are driven back upon the hypothesis of Theism, which, though like Absolutism it ascribes the origin of the universe to an absolute Being as its Source or Ground, takes a very different view of the relations of this absolute Being to the universe of which He is the Cause.

In the first place, for Theism the universe itself and

everything in it is real. It is not mere thought-construction nor relational appearance, nor an illusion arising from the finite character of our human minds. It is real, and we also are real, real and individual with an individuality that will never be lost. No matter what my destiny, I am I, and will always remain I, for I can only be annihilated by the act of Him who brought me into being, and such an act will never take place. God bestows upon me immortality. To my soul He gives it as a property pertaining to its very nature ; to my body He promises it as a supernatural gift, a gift that will surely be mine when, having passed through the valley of death, I shall finally enter into the enjoyment of eternal happiness in God and with God and for God.

What precisely my resurrected body will be like, I do not know. It seems hardly possible that all the material elements that have ever formed part of it, should again be informed by my soul ; for these are constantly passing from one body to another, and have belonged to me only for a time. But this is certain : the form of my body, upon which and not upon matter its identity depends, will be essentially the same. I shall be myself, recognizable by my friends ; and my body will be my own, though no longer subject to disease or corruption or change. The resurrected body will be completely under the dominion of the soul, and to human nature will be restored that integrity which was lost in the Fall. That constant warfare between the corporeal and spiritual elements of our nature which is characteristic of our present mode of existence, will cease. The flesh will no longer lust against the spirit. Weariness, infirmity, disease, temptation, sin will be no more.

Externally, too, man's relations with the universe will be readjusted when he shall have attained to the beatific life. In this world what control he has over his physical environment has been won only after long years of patient experiment and laborious research. Traces of a higher power still remain indeed, and manifest themselves in some so-called ' metaphysical phenomena ' ; but for the most part physical forces, of which our first parents had both

knowledge and control, are to us an agency rebellious and unknown. In the resurrection the knowledge which we have lost and so earnestly strive to regain will once more be ours, and with it will be restored that mastery over matter to which at present we assert our claim in vain. Knowledge and power march side by side. Both for us are derived from and depend upon experience, which in our present state is confined, spatially to things in our immediate neighbourhood, temporally to events of the passing moment. In our life beyond the grave all this will be changed. Our experience will be broadened so as to take in the whole of our life, nay, more, the whole universe, *tota simul*, in a single intuitive act. Beholding God we shall behold in Him all things, and in Him all our ideals will be realized. There will be no more need of laborious experiment and painstaking investigation of minutest details, no more need of memory or of written records of past research. Our experience will be immediate, and will carry with it that peculiar warmth and intimacy which is characteristic of immediate experience. In God every human desire and every human need will be completely and harmoniously realized. Knowledge, wisdom, love, beauty, happiness, all will be ours when we shall be united to Him from whom they all proceed. In Him our ideal of perfect harmony will become an actuality, because in Him we shall attain the end for which we were created.

The fundamental structure and exigencies of human nature postulate that this ideal shall be realized, and hence postulate the existence of God without which its realization would be impossible. But this is not enough. Two other conditions are necessary. One is that we should co-operate with God in the work of our salvation. God will provide the means, but, as free beings, our consent is necessary before the grace that is offered us will do its work. We cannot get rid of our responsibility. It is we ourselves who must choose between good and evil, heaven and hell. Our destiny is in our own hands. If we elect to give ourselves wholly to God, He will give Himself wholly to us, and the manner of this union will in its intimacy pass all

human comprehension. Nevertheless, it will not be the union of absorption. Though united to God we shall yet retain our individuality, and thus, while gaining all things and losing nothing, what we gain will be truly ours, and ours for all eternity.

The other condition is that God, who guarantees the realization of our ideals if we choose to accept the assistance which He offers, should be capable of carrying His promises into effect ; and this condition, for our present purpose, is of paramount importance. Our argument so far has been more or less the same as that used by the late Professor James and other pragmatists. Only on the hypothesis of a good and beneficent God can we have any hope that human needs will ultimately be satisfied. But what Professor James understands by God is not what we understand by God. God for the author of *A Pluralistic Universe* is a vague and mysterious power which underlies phenomena, a kind of world-soul that bears to the universe as a whole much the same relation that our soul bears to the body which encompasses it. This power is mighty indeed, and worthy of our adoration ; but it is not infinite. Both in itself and in its dealings with men, it is subject to surprise and reverse. It *needs* our co-operation as we need its, and like us it is very susceptible to sympathy, passion, and love.

How anyone can for a moment imagine that such a God as this is a sufficient guarantee of the ultimate satisfaction of our needs, I am at a loss to understand. God without His attributes is not God at all, but a confused and idle concept, wholly useless for any pragmatic purpose whatsoever. If God is to guarantee the ultimate realization of our hopes, our desires and our needs, He must be a God capable of carrying out that which He promises. Hence that God should be conceived as a being endowed with all the attributes which are predicated of Him by the theologian, is absolutely essential to the pragmatic argument. That argument, if it proves anything at all, proves the God of Scholastic Theology ; for none other than He can satisfy the demands of human nature.

Let us examine the attributes of God once more, and see for ourselves how far this is true. God, we say, is one. If He is not, our pragmatic argument at once breaks down, for a plurality of gods can afford us no sure foundation for our hopes. If there are many gods they may be at loggerheads one with another. Some may be good, some wicked ; some eager to help us, others finding their delight in our torment and destruction ; some appeased by one form of worship, others angered by the same. In any case in a polytheistic universe no god can be infinite. Each will have his own restricted sphere of influence and action, which may or may not be in harmony with the aim and action of other beings no less divine. These consequences are the inevitable outcome of any strictly polytheistic form of religion. Eastern religions are not in the strict sense polytheistic, but either pantheistic or henotheistic. Their various gods are either at bottom but different aspects of one supreme and absolute being, or they are endowed with attributes so numerous and so far-reaching that they tend to become identical or at any rate to express one common, though abstract, conception. With the Greeks it was different. They undoubtedly believed in many real and distinct divinities, each of them personal and individual. Out of the nature-powers worshipped by their ancestors they created separate deities and endowed them with a nature which, if more powerful than man's, was at any rate very human in every other respect. A Greek god was essentially a finite god. He was possessed of some virtues and many vices, just like man himself ; and in consequence the court in which he lived on Mount Olympus or elsewhere, was a very disorderly place, full of corruption, wickedness, and strife. The desires of the gods were by no means satisfied by the very fact of their existence. They had to fight for what they got, and, like mortals, to suffer the consequences of their crimes. Their wives for the most part were stolen, and their concubines many. Hera indeed is said to have been the only true married spouse among the goddesses, and she was ill-treated by her husband.

Thus occupied in debauchery and internal strife, the

gods had little time to devote to the affairs of men. The violation of holy places, mistakes committed in the performance of sacred rites, whether conscious or unconscious, sometimes even ordinary acts of injustice, were severely punished; but, as a rule, the gods made use of man only as a means of satisfying their own selfish and immoral desires. They incited men to quarrels, took sides in human warfare, and were often the reputed fathers of illegitimate children. They also granted temporal favours and protected men from the penalty of their evil deeds in return for worship and sacrifice; but to assist man in the pursuit of nobler ideals and aims, or to conduct him to a state of happiness after death in which his ideals should be realized, was no part of their function. If they granted immortality at all, it was only to the beautiful, male or female, with a view to the satisfaction of celestial lust.

The effect of such a creed on the lives of those who held it, hardly needs description. The utter corruption of morals was its necessary consequence, as it was also in part its cause. Examples ready to hand, in the multitudinous myths which were freely circulated about the gods, formed a convenient and plausible excuse for almost any act of immorality, however outrageous. The Greeks were just as likely to obtain the assistance of the gods for an act of theft as for an act of restitution; while profligacy and debauchery in many cases formed an integral part of the ceremonies or mysteries by which the gods were worshipped and their anger placated.

That such a state of things is the inevitable result of any and every form of Polytheism can in no wise be maintained; but this is certain, that Polytheism tends to make the conception of the divinity finite and imperfect, if not downright immoral,—so finite and so imperfect indeed that it becomes of very little value for the deeper and more serious purposes of human life. Before the religious ideas of the Romans were fitted into Grecian moulds, though their gods were not immoral the aim and scope of the cult that was offered them was extremely narrow in character. The gods of the early Romans were nature-deities, each

with some special function concerning either husbandry or the home. The assistance of Ceres was invoked to give fertility to the growing crops, that of Pales for the protection of the sheepfold. Vesta had charge of the fire on the hearth, Janus of doorways and arches. Each god served some practical purpose in life, and for this his aid was invoked. He might also be offended, and to avert his anger and vengeance elaborate rites and long and tedious ceremonies of purification must be performed. But the favour asked and the vengeance averted was, as a rule, a merely temporal affair. Neither Roman nor Greek ever dreamt of praying to his gods to enable him to live a better and nobler life. Both peoples believed in eternal punishment of a kind, and desired to avoid and escape it; but their idea of heaven was merely that of a place of only moderate wretchedness, not that of a state of eternal happiness and peace. How could the gods grant an eternity of happiness, when their own position was not secure, when they might be deprived of their sovereignty and independence together with the tribe or race which they protected, and have to give place to some other deity more powerful than they, as did Uranus to Cronos and Cronos to Zeus?

Clearly the influence and tendency of polytheistic religions is antagonistic to the highest interests of mankind. It tends to cramp them, to restrict them to affairs of passing moment to the exclusion of all other aims and ideals. If we seek in either Greek or Roman literature for expressions of deeper emotion towards the gods or of far-reaching hope in their protection and power, we shall find them almost always associated with monotheistic ideas. For the moment a plurality of gods is forgotten, and the thought of poet or philosopher is concentrated on one God, supreme, beneficent, all-powerful. It matters not whether his name be Osiris, Ashtar, Apollo, Zeus, or Jupiter. Regarded as the mighty ruler and law-giver whose kingdom is the universe, the giver of all good gifts to mankind, the supreme judge of all human actions, the just avenger of all human wrongs, these are but different names for one and the self-same God. Wherever the deity is recognized as the ultimate source of

morality, law, order, and justice, or wherever there is hope of a life of real and lasting happiness beyond the grave, there will be found unmistakable traces of a Monotheism ; and this undercurrent of monotheistic influence running through almost all forms of Polytheism, serves to thwart its downward tendency, to save it from becoming wholly mundane and practical, and so to ward off at least for a time that scepticism and indifference which would otherwise be its inevitable, and has too often been its actual, result.

The pragmatic value of belief in the existence of God, therefore, rests wholly upon the supposition that He is one. If there be other gods beside our God, He cannot be either infinite or omnipotent, for the acts of these strange gods will not be His acts, nor their powers and perfections pertain to Him. But this cannot be. Our God must be both omnipotent and infinite. There must be no limit to His power, nothing that He cannot do, no need that He cannot satisfy, neither obstacle nor opponent that He cannot overcome, if He is to be for us a sure and certain guarantee of future happiness. The dominion of that God upon whom our hope of salvation rests, must be absolute and universal, otherwise some difficulty may crop up or some obstacle be raised by an alien power to thwart the realization of our desires and He be unable to cope with it. So too must our God be infinitely perfect. As there must be no limit to what He can do, so there must be no limit to what He is. *Actio sequitur esse*. Activity flows from the very nature of being. Hence a being which is infinitely perfect in its activity must also be infinitely perfect in its essence.

To deny God's unity, His omnipotence, or His infinite perfection can only result in consequences which render utterly meaningless and futile those very needs which compel us to postulate His existence. Consequences no less disastrous follow from the negation of His simplicity or His immutability. If God is not simple but composite, disintegration—pardon the seeming irreverence—may, for aught we know to the contrary, even now be taking place, in which case the Being whom we worship will sooner or later cease to be God at all, and therefore cease to be

capable of fulfilling those very demands of our nature upon which pragmatically we are basing our belief in His existence. So, too, if God changes ; for change implies composition, and hence to suppose it in God would likewise involve the ruin of all our hopes. And besides this, if God changes as we do, how can we be sure that what was once pleasing in His sight may not now have become distasteful, and what is now acceptable worship later on become an abhorrence ? True, God's attitude toward the sinner must be conceived as somehow different from His attitude toward the just ; and in this sense, regarding things from a human and therefore strictly relative point of view, God may be said to change in His attitude toward a man who is converted from wickedness to righteousness. But in reality, as we have seen, the whole of a man's life and the whole of the universe is present to God at once in a single act, so that it is not really God who changes in His attitude towards us but we who change in our attitude toward Him. The change is wholly on our part. God really loves virtue and hates vice. But the act by which He regards with anger a man who is living in a state of sin and the act by which He regards that same man with love and approval when later on in his life he shall have changed his ways, is in God one and the self-same act, an act identical with His very being.

Only on this supposition can we explain the reality of God's attitude towards man without at the same time undermining our belief in His existence by attributing change to One upon whose constancy and changelessness the future realization of every human hope and every human ideal essentially depends. If there be any perfection in God, that perfection must be eternally the same. It can admit neither of increase nor of decrease, for, were this so, it might some day vanish altogether and with it God Himself. Both God's knowledge and His providence are eternal. God must know the world, otherwise He could not govern it. He must know us, and also the physical universe which constitutes our environment, for if He did not, He could not succour us in any and every contingency and need. And this implies that God is not merely intelligent and omniscient,

but also that He is omnipresent and immense. All things must be present to God and He to them. But though the things that God knows come and go relative to any given moment of our or of their existence, for God they are eternally real. He knows them as they are throughout the whole period of their existence in one simple but all-comprehensive act.

Thus if the existence of God is postulated as the condition without which our nature cannot attain its end nor our needs find satisfaction, a postulate the validity of which both Kant and the pragmatists admit, no less surely and validly does our nature and our needs postulate the attributes without which the notion of God would be a meaningless abstraction, devoid both of meaning and utility. God in the abstract, God vaguely and indefinitely conceived will not suffice for our purpose. We must understand by God not merely a mysterious Being more powerful than ourselves, but *the* Being who exists of Himself, the one supreme and only God, mysterious indeed, yet known to be without limit, without rival, without composition, without change, omniscient, omnipresent, omnipotent, eternal, immense. The pragmatist and the Kantian, if they wish to be consistent, must join with the scholastic in predicating of the God in whose existence their experience, their intelligence, and their innermost needs force them to believe, all those attributes which by Jew and by pagan, by Christian apologist and by heathen philosopher and poet, have been predicated of Him from time immemorial. Only thus can we secure for our hypothesis what is acknowledged to be one of the foremost of pragmatic values, harmony with old beliefs; and only thus can that hypothesis be at once consistent in itself, consistent with facts, and at the same time a sure and certain guarantee of the ultimate realization of the highest hopes and the highest ideals that the human mind can conceive. The broad facts about the universe that confront us in our daily experience—individuality, contingency, finitude, interaction, interdependence, change, good and evil, perfection and imperfection—must somehow be explained. Somehow, too, we must account for and endeavour to

satisfy the deep-felt needs and ardent strivings and aspirations which break out spontaneously from our hearts. To this riddle there is but one answer. The facts are real, our needs are real; and one and all of them proceed from, depend upon, and lead us back to, a real and living God who, out of love for beings whom in His omniscient vision He sees eternally as possible existents, has elected to create them and to endow them with those powers, those limitations, and those tendencies of which we in our finite experience are painfully, yet hopefully, conscious.

LESLIE J. WALKER, S.J.

DEMOCRACY

AN APPEAL TO THE CLERGY

DR. O'DEA, the Bishop of Galway, spoke very strongly some time ago on the duty of electors, representatives, and candidates for office to avoid everything in the way of bribes. This draws our attention to one of the most necessary religious duties at the present moment, as important even as the duty of avoiding that hell-trap, the public-house, and the custom of treating therein. The recent crusade against intemperance has been very successful, and if the clergy were to seriously take up the question of the election of the best men on local Boards, we might reasonably hope for similar success.

Giving and taking money bribes for office is, of course, an extreme form of omitting our public duty to our fellow-countrymen, but much more is necessary at present in Ireland than the mere avoiding the giving and taking of bribes. In olden times, when kings had power as well as dignity, the Church appointed special confessors and preachers for the Court, whose business it was to instruct them on the duties of their state. At the present time kings are devoid of power; and, as a matter of fact, the man who has the power is the ordinary elector—local as well as Parliamentary. This ordinary elector is only by degrees finding out his power, and, unfortunately, it is the bad men who seem to be finding it out more rapidly than the good men. To endeavour to remedy this evil by teaching the well-intentioned man how to use his power is the duty of the ministers of the Church.

During the penal times the greatest temptation for a Catholic in Ireland was to give up his religion for the sake of an easy time in this world for himself and for his family, and the clergy directed their principal efforts to keep the faithful from apostatizing. At present there is but slight

temptation for a Catholic to openly give up his religion, but there is a great temptation to omit his duties to his fellow-man by taking no interest in public affairs. Good Catholics have formerly been taught that they had better leave public affairs alone, and devote their attention to their own immediate concerns. This may have been right in the past, but it certainly is not right at present. In the olden times, when kings had power, if one of them left public affairs alone and devoted himself to praying—and, say, mending locks—he would not be attending to the duties of his state of life, and would, therefore, not be doing God's will. At present the ordinary man who devotes his time to seeing after his family—and, say, attending race-meetings—but who gives no thought to public affairs, is, in the same way, not doing God's will. Indeed, if all good men acted thus the country would be managed by the bad alone, who would certainly not manage it for the public good but for their own individual benefit. France has drifted into its present position owing to this negligence on the part of the good, and now the majority have become so bad that it seems to be impossible for France to recover: Our last Pope, Leo XIII., tried to stir up the Catholics of France, but without success. My fear is that Ireland may follow the example of France unless she takes advantage of the experience of that country. It is not too late for the clergy to exert themselves and to instruct the good Catholics who are still the majority of the electors, as to what their duties are with reference to public affairs.

All see that they have no right to elect a man for a direct bribe, and if they do so, and do it knowingly, they are doing wrong; but few, if any, see that it is their duty to unite with their fellow-men, in good time, to secure good candidates for representative positions. As a rule it is only evil disposed men, having personal motives for wishing to be elected, who come forward of themselves as candidates for representative posts, and therefore it is the duty of electors to seek out the proper men, and ask them to sacrifice their own ease and to come forward as candidates. It is a curious fact that twelve years ago, when the local Councils

were first established, better candidates came forward and were elected than at the recent local elections. If this deterioration continues what will be the future of Ireland ?

Our only hope rests on the teaching of our clergy. Some complained that the Local Government Act did not allow clergymen to sit on local Councils. I do not complain of this, as I think the business of the clergy is to teach the laity the broad principles of right and wrong in the management of public affairs, and not to sit with them on the same local boards. Our present Pope has recently praised those clergymen who have organized and encouraged people's banks in Europe, but at the same time has forbidden their occupying responsible positions in connexion with them.

This matter is urgent for the welfare of Ireland with regard to her religion, as well as to her material prosperity, and the object of this article, by one who has no literary ability, is to attract the attention of those who are able to develop the ideas which have been thrown out, and I hope some cleric of literary ability will write a series of articles on the subject, so that in the future steps may be taken to select a better class of local representatives. This is not a work that can be done in a day, it will take years of hard work to do anything of importance in this most difficult matter, that of guiding the democracy. All the world over we see its difficulty. May Ireland once again give a lead in civilization to Europe, as she did in the past, after the advent of St. Patrick.

A LAYMAN.

GADELICA MINORA—I.

THOSE sentences which have been called Sentences of Identity or Equation have exercised the minds of students and teachers of Irish for some years. Many have been puzzled by the amazing variety and richness of expression in that language, and not a few have interpreted the meaning, or the construction, of these sentences altogether erroneously. The object of the present and succeeding papers is to throw some little light on this interesting subject by an appeal to the history of the language as it has come down to us in authentic MSS. and books, and as revealed in the living speech of to-day. To follow this historical method is the surest and safest way to avoid fantastic theories. In the course of our inquiry we shall find evidence of the gradual evolution of the various forms current at present, and a very simple explanation of the supposed difficulties of construction. In Modern Irish there are at least eight types of such predication as we are writing of.

A.—'Sé mo lear Δ òinear.

'S iao na firi féin fé nòear é.¹

... gurb é an té ir luza eolar uiréi an té ir
doirve 7 ir óana Δ ladbann.²

This kind of sentence may be conveniently represented by the formula VpPS, where V=the verb, p=the formal predicate, P=the material predicate, and S=the subject. By 'formal predicate' I mean one of the pronouns é, i, ead (see type H) or iao, which in sentences of identity stand either proleptically, or retrospectively, for the real or material predicate.

B.—'Sé ainm Δ bí ain ná Séadna.³

'S iao óa nio iao fan ná oic céille 7 oioé-aigne.⁴

'Sí comairle na heaglaire úinn ... an aicrege
óéanaim.⁵

Formula VpSP.

¹ 'niam,' p. 57.

² 'Sgót-bualad,' p. 129.

³ 'Séadna,' p. 6.

⁴ 'Seannmóin agur urí fícto,' i. p. 61.

⁵ Ibid., p. 3.

C.—'Sé an namair an peacað.¹

Tuisimís gurá é an slánuiḡteoir Mac Dé.²

... gurab í an íomáig úo an náúuir óadonna.³

Ír é an ceapó úo an náúuir óadonna.⁴

Formula VpSP.—The difference between C and B (whether ná is present in B or not) is, first, that B can be interpreted only in one way, even when taken out of its context, whereas C is susceptible of two interpretations if removed from its setting, the context, however, always showing which is the real construction and meaning; secondly, the subject in B always contains, either virtually or explicitly, a relative clause; thirdly, the article is usually omitted with the subject noun in B (of necessity, of course, if the subject noun is followed by a definite genitive). 'Sé an namair an peacað is a shorter and less rhetorical way of saying 'Sé puo an namair rin (ná) an peacað. 'Sé an slánuiḡteoir Mac Dé is equivalent to, but less rhetorical than, Sé ruine an slánuiḡteoir (ná) Mac Dé. So, with the same restriction, 'Sí an íomáig úo an náúuir óadonna is equivalent to ír é puo an íomáig úo (ná) an náúuir óadonna. Note here that í becomes é when the subject begins with puo. I shall show later on that, although this anticipatory pronoun refers logically, not to the subject, but to the predicate, still there is a tendency (though not an invariable one) even in Old Irish to assimilate it in gender to the subject noun.

D.—Na daoine ír luḡa eolap ír iao ír mó cainnt.

Torað an uile ír é ír ura vo corḡ.

Na giollaí turair ír iao ba mó a éuair aḡ puir
na rár.⁵

Formula PVpS.—A very common type at all stages in the history of the language. Here the pronouns é, iao, etc., are no longer proleptic but retrospective. The copula of

¹ 'Seanmóin aḡur Trí Fíeró,' p. 238.

² Ibid., p. 79.

³ *Three Shafts*, p. 3.

⁴ Ibid., p. 10.

⁵ 'Míam,' p. 89.

the principal clause is sometimes omitted, and this gives us what we may admit perhaps as a fifth type :—

E.—*Ṭopaḍ an uile ir ura vo cōrḡ.*
An ruo ir annam ir ionḡantaḍ.
Ṗeaḍar ó laogaire vo rḡriob é.
ḡormḡlaic an céao ouine vo buail uime.

Formula PS.—The predicate and subject are simply juxtaposed without the copula. Such sentences are not real exceptions to 'the rule requiring a definite noun to be separated from *ir* by a personal pronoun,'¹ for the simple reason that no part of the copula is expressed. As soon as any part of the copula is introduced the pronoun must, in Modern Irish,² in such sentences of identity, be inserted immediately after it. To this rule there is, as far as I am aware, absolutely no exception. Some³ would look upon sentences like the following as deviations from the uniformity :—

Ḍoubaire rḡ ḡur Ṗaopaig ainm a mic.
Ḍoubaire rḡ ḡur Dún ḡarbán vo bí ar an mbaile rin
riam.

Ir beapḍaḍ ar ḡirinne an rḡeoil-re ḡurab bóḍar na
ḡiar ḡairḗḗar voḇa cúis mīlib vo ḡlḡe aḗa ó Dúrlur ḡur
*an oḗobar 'ḡa riabḗ Moḗua an tan rin.*⁴

But such sentences fall altogether outside the scope of the rule. Words like *Ṗaopaig*, *Dún ḡarbán*, *bóḍar na ḡiar* have an entirely different force when predicated of a person or place, and when predicated merely of the name of a person or place. When I say 'This man's name is *Ṗaopaig*,' *Ṗaopaig* is used in what logicians call its 'suppositio materialis.' But when I say 'This man is *Ṗaopaig*,' *Ṗaopaig* is used in its 'suppositio realis,' and the sentence means either 'This man is an individual bearing the name *Ṗaopaig*' (mere classification), or 'This man is *the* special individual to whom alone

¹ See 'ḌrḗṖaḍ an Óir,' p. 113.

² For the practice in Old Irish, see next article.

³ See 'ḌrḗṖaḍ an Óir,' loc. cit.

⁴ Bergin's *Keating*, p. 47, 44 ff.

“*ῥάσῃαις*,” in the sense in which I now mean it, belongs’ (identification). All these distinctions are clearly marked in Irish. When the supposition of the above, and all similar, terms is real, and when they are used as true proper names, they are true individual terms, and as such require, according to the idiom of Modern Irish, the proleptic pronoun to intervene between them and the copula whenever they follow the copula as predicate. I must say, for instance :

‘*Ṣé ῥάσῃαις ó Ceallaiḡ oo bí ann.*

‘*Ṣé Óúṇ ḡarḃán an áit ir veire ó’á breaca-ḡa riam.*

‘*Ṣé bóḡar na mīar oo ḡabḡar rīn an uair rīn.*

But when the supposition is material they need not be true individual terms at all, but may partake of the nature of general terms (though many logicians ignore this aspect of the question). In that case they need not, and, according to the idiom of Modern Irish, can not, have the proleptic pronoun inserted. Furthermore, even when the supposition is real, they can be used as true general terms. *ῥάσῃαις* may mean simply a person bearing that name. As a matter of fact such words—*ῥάσῃαις*, for instance—can be used in at least four different senses :—

(1) ‘*Ṣé ῥάσῃαις oo bí ann.*

(2) *Áouḃairḡ ré ḡur ῥάσῃαις é rīn.*

(3) *Ir é ainm atá air ná ῥάσῃαις.*

(4) *Áouḃairḡ ré ḡur ῥάσῃαις ainm a mīc.*

In (1) and (2) the term *ῥάσῃαις* is used in its real supposition, but in (1) only is it a true proper name, and a true individual term, there being absolutely only one *ῥάσῃαις* in the sense in which it is there used. In (2) it means ‘a person bearing the name *ῥάσῃαις*,’ and of course there are many such persons. Such a sentence could be naturally employed : for example, if people began to count the number of *ῥάσῃαις* present on a certain occasion ; or, if some one were calling out, ‘*Cá ḃfuil ῥάσῃαις ?*’ a person bearing that name might say ‘*(Ir) ῥάσῃαις mīre. Ní feḡar an mé atá uair !*’ Of course one readily admits that such sentences are not common.

In (3) and (4), on the other hand, the supposition is material, and whereas in (3) $\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$ is an individual term, in (4) it is really a general one. It is not easy to bring out the difference between these two, and to show clearly that in (3) we have identification, whereas in (4) we have merely classification. But if we compare two somewhat similar sentences, where the predicate is used in its real supposition, and is *at first sight* a general term in both, it will probably help to clear up the matter. Compare, for instance, the sentence

(a) $\iota\tau\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \mu\upsilon\sigma\ \acute{\epsilon}\ \eta\acute{\alpha}\ \delta\epsilon\tau\mu\zeta\alpha\theta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\rho\text{ }^1$ with

(b) $(\iota\tau)\ \delta\epsilon\tau\mu\zeta\alpha\theta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\rho\ \acute{\epsilon}.$

There is a subtle difference in meaning between these two: (b) simply means that it—the matter in question—is a great change, a thing that deserves to come under that heading, one of the several things or occurrences to which we should give that name. Sentence (a) means more than this. The subject is no longer ‘it’ but the ‘kind of thing that “it” is.’ The predicate is no longer ‘a great change,’ but ‘the kind of thing called a great change’; so that we are now identifying ‘the kind of thing that it is’ with ‘the kind of thing which we call $\delta\epsilon\tau\mu\zeta\alpha\theta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\rho\text{.}$ ’ To put it in another way: Sentence (b) simply classifies the subject under the heading ‘ $\delta\epsilon\tau\mu\zeta\alpha\theta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\rho\text{,}$ ’ whereas (a) identifies the class to which the subject is conceived² as belonging, with the class of thing designated $\delta\epsilon\tau\mu\zeta\alpha\theta\ \alpha\eta\alpha\text{-}\mu\acute{o}\rho\text{.}$ Sentence (a), considered logically, expresses the generic judgment S is P; sentence (b) represents the form ‘this S is P.’

The same is true, *mutatis mutandis*, of sentences (3) and (4), given above. Sentence (4) means that the person’s name is an instance of the ‘name-nature’ $\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$. We must remember that, logically considered, it is a purely nominal proposition. It is futile for logicians to contend that $\rho\acute{\alpha}\sigma\theta\eta\alpha\iota\varsigma$, *in such a sentence*, is a true proper name, on

¹ Cf. ‘ $\Sigma\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\omicron\sigma\eta\alpha$,’ p. 218.

² I put it this way merely for convenience. It is in no way opposed to the predicative view of the import of propositions.

the ground that, although predicated of many individuals, it is not predicated of any two of them in the same sense. In the sentence in question we do not predicate it of any individual person at all. We predicate it of an individual name, and we predicate it of that name *in precisely the same sense* as we predicate it of any individual name of which it could be predicated.

The sentence $\text{ἰὲρ ἑστίν τις ἀπὸ τῶν ὀνόματι πλάσσειν}$ asserts not merely that the individual's name is a particular instance of the name-nature πλάσσειν , but rather that the name-nature exemplified in his name is identical with the name-nature πλάσσειν . Here the name πλάσσειν is individualized by the mind by this identification in intension; in the other case—(4)—there is at least an oblique reference to its extension. Practically, therefore, there is the same relation between sentences (3) and (4) as there is between (a) and (b); but whereas (3) and (4) are nominal propositions (a) and (b) are real. What is true of πλάσσειν is equally true of Ὀὺν Ἱερὸν and of Ὁὐτὸς τὸν Μῆτρίον , the only difference being that while πλάσσειν is *de facto* predicated of many persons, Ὀὺν Ἱερὸν and Ὁὐτὸς τὸν Μῆτρίον are each, as far as I know, predicated of only one place. This, however, does not change the logical character of the terms. When I say 'the name of the place is Ὀὺν Ἱερὸν ,' this logically means 'the name of the place is a name whose essentials are represented (for the eye) by the letters Ο-ὺ-ν Ἱ-ε-ρ-ῶ-ν ,¹ and (for the ear) by the spoken sound of the name. Whether such a name is applicable in fact to more than one individual place or thing is beside the mark. It might, at least, be so applied. So with Ὁὐτὸς τὸν Μῆτρίον and all other such terms. It may appear to some critics that the above distinctions are a bit far-fetched, and approach dangerously near to hair-splitting. All I will say in reply is, that I have found them very necessary, and that hair-splitting is very useful sometimes, when one happens to split the right hairs. I may remark, in passing, that $\text{Περὶ τοῦ ὁ Λογισμὸς}$ pointed out some years

¹ Of course either the spelling or the pronunciation, or both, may fluctuate.

ago, in one of his *MION-ĈAINT* booklets, the distinction between sentences such as (1) and (2) above.

F.—(1) *míre Liam ó Doimnaill. Sin é (í) é (í) Tomár ó Ceallaidh.*

Ír tú an uaine ír éadramlaige v'ár buail miam fór umam.

The peculiarity of these sentences is that the same form appears to be used whether the pronoun (personal, 1st or 2nd person, or demonstrative) is logically the subject or the predicate. I am convinced, however, that in such cases the pronoun is always predicate in Irish. We may distinguish three cases:—

(1) *míre Liam ó Doimnaill* (in answer to such a question as *Cá bhfuil Liam ó Doimnaill?* Here *míre* is obviously logical predicate).

(2) *míre Liam ó Doimnaill* (in answer to the question *Cia hé tú?* Here *míre* *seems at first sight* to be logical subject).

(3) *Ír tú an uaine ír éadramlaige v'ár buail miam fór umam* (in answer to such a question, expressed or implied, as *Cao é an raḡar uaine tú in don cōr?* Here also the pronoun *seems at first sight* to be logical subject).

Of these, (1) creates no difficulty. It differs from type E only in the fact that the predicate is a personal pronoun. In (2) and (3) if *míre* and *tú* are logically subject we have a departure from the rule that the copula is always, in affirmations and negations,¹ followed immediately by the predicate, in some form or other. There would seem to be no reason for such a departure. The regular ways of expressing the identity, *míre Liam ó Doimnaill*, if *míre* were *thought* as *subject* would be—

(a) *Ír é Liam ó Doimnaill mé; or,*

(b) *Ír é uaine mé (ná) Liam ó Doimnaill.²*

¹ In questions, the predicate (in so far as we can speak of a predicate) is the interrogative; which, of course, precedes the copula.

² Note, however, that the formal subject here is not 'I,' but 'the person that I am.'

Of these (a) is not permissible, because, meaning as it does, 'I am the particular definite person suggested (to those only, of course, who know him) by the name *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ*,' it could not be naturally employed in speaking to one who does not know the identity of *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ*. As that identity is obviously unknown to the person who asks him '*Ḷḁ ḥḗ ṕṛṁṁ?*' the answer to that question cannot be '*Ṗ ḗ Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ ḡḗ.*' If, however, we suppose that *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ* is a well-known public man, and that his questioner is assumed to know him, at least by reputation, then *Ḷḁḁ* might possibly answer the question either in the first or second way. But it would be a very stiff and formal answer. It would imply 'I am *the well-known Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ*! I would have you know that I am he! I am *no less a personage* than he!' Ordinarily there is no wish to be so formal or so lacking in modesty. Mostly, indeed, one does not intend, in such circumstances to completely identify oneself at all. In this connexion it is noteworthy that to the question, '*Ḷḁ ḡḗ ḁḁḁ?*' the answer '*Ṗḗ Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ ṁṵ ḡḗ ḁḁḁ*' would be naturally given only when *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ* is known to the listener personally, or as a public man. Otherwise *ṕḗṕṁ ṁṁṁṁ ḁḁḁ Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ*, *ṁṵ ḡḗ ḁḁḁ*, or something of that kind, would be the proper response. Such sentences, then, as *ḡṕḗ Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ; ṕṛṁ Ṗḗḁḁḁ ḡḁ Ḷḁṕḗḁḗḁ, ṕṛḁ ḗ Ṑḗḁḁ ṵ ḡṕṁḁḁḁ*, though *formally* sentences of identity with *ḡṕḗ, ṕṛṁ, ṕṛḁ ḗ*, as predicates, practically convey (in the circumstances under discussion) only the information (and that is all that is intended or expected), 'I am a certain person known as *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ*,' etc. Or, to express the Irish thought literally: 'A certain person known (to his acquaintances) as *Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ* is I.'

Though the above considerations afford a rational explanation of the apparent anomaly in such sentences, showing that it is in the thought, and not the expression, that the peculiarity lies, it is just conceivable that the development of the forms in question may have been helped by a rhetorical repetition of the pronoun (in the proper person), thus: '*Ḷḁ ḥḗ ṕṛṁṁ?*' Answer, '*ḡṕḗ? Ḷḁḁ ṵ ṐṵḁḁḶḁ,*' which

might have led to *míre Liam ó Doimnaill*, and this, when once established, to such expressions as *Súir míre Liam ó Doimnaill*,¹ etc.

In such sentences as (3), above, I regard *tú* as the predicate, even where the sentence answers such a question as 'Cao é an raḡar ouine tú?' When I read or hear such a sentence I *feel* that *tú* is predicate in my thought. It is only when I compare it with the corresponding English expressions that I am tempted to think of it as subject. Why this turn should be given to the thought in Irish (as contrasted with English) is explained perhaps by the fact that in most sentences of importance where *míre*, *cursa é rin*, etc., constitute one member of the identity expressed, they are indubitably logical predicates. In this way the Irish mind may have grown into the habit of thinking them always as predicates in sentences of identity. Perhaps also the apparent incongruity of using the proleptic pronoun of the third person when the *subject* would be first or second person, militated against the prevalence of such a type as 'Ír é ouine ír éasḡamblaiḡe o'ár buail riam fóir umum tú.' On the other hand, when subject and predicate are both third person, one of them being a demonstrative pronoun, we occasionally find that pronoun distinctively thought as subject in Irish (see next type, G).

In sentences like *Deir ré súir é rin Seasán ó Ceallaiḡ* the late Professor Atkinson² has suggested that *rin* is the subject, and *é* a proleptic pronoun referring to the predicate, which he takes to be *Seasán ó Ceallaiḡ*. But I am afraid that *é* cannot here be separated from *rin*.

G.—'Si cainnt an tSlánuiḡteora féin í rin (VpPS). Here it is evidently strongly felt by the writer that 'Cainnt an tSlánuiḡteora féin' is logically predicate, and this form of course brings out that fact much more vividly than the form *Sin í cainnt an tSlánuiḡteora féin* could do.

¹ Cf. with this, one of the Ulster methods of classification—*Sin leasár* (though this can be explained otherwise) and the development of French *car* from Lat. *quare*.

² In his edition of Keating's 'Cúí bhoḡ-ḡaoiḡe an báir,' Appendix II., 'On the Use of the Assertive Verb,' which contains some curious errors.

It must be admitted, however, that the type is comparatively rare. Formula (same as A) VpPS.

H.—'Seoð ouðairt rí 'Éirt liom go fóil.'¹

Ír eaoð uo rónrad na hAirtail rmuaineaoð ar an mbáir.²

Ír eaoð óialuigeaí an taoð toir uo'n áltóir, oirteaí
.i. toíac doiríe an uíne.³

Ír eaoð ouðairt ' ní tabairt uíne uaoð an nio nac bí áige.'⁴

This type is a reminiscence of older Irish where eaoð (O.I. ed.) was used in anticipation of a neuter predicate, or assimilated to the gender of a neuter subject noun. Outside this kind of sentence the neuter signification of eaoð has been neglected, the word being specialized to stand for an *indefinite* predicate, whether originally masculine, feminine, or neuter. The tendency in the living speech of to-day is to substitute é for eaoð in such sentences, though we often find eaoð retained in stories and in poetry. Formula VpSP.

Sentences like Ír é uíne Ír éagrámlaige óar buail ríam rór umam é belong to type A, the subject here, however, being pronominal.

It will be noticed that, in all of the above eight types, wherever the copula is expressed, the order, Verb, Predicate, Subject, holds good, so that there is formal unity in them all. H differs from B only in the fact that the proleptic pronoun in H is the (originally) neuter pronoun, eaoð; ná is not expressed. G differs from A in the fact that the subject in the former is a demonstrative pronoun.

In our next article we shall commence the study of Sentences of Identity in Old Irish.

Seapóir Ó Nualláin.

¹ 'Laol oirín ar éir na n-ós.'

² Keating, 'Tí bion-éaoite an báir,' p. 5.

³ Ibid., p. 6.

⁴ Ibid., p. 8.

LONDON NEWSBOOKS ON THE STORM OF DROGHEDA

IN August, 1649, Cromwell set out for Ireland. London shed no tears that he was gone, but having gone great deeds were expected from him, and the city by the Thames demanded news. His campaign was to open at Drogheda, and for the first and last time the great heart of London throbbed expectant at the name of Tredagh. There were no great city dailies in those old days, the art of printing was yet in swaddling clothes, the post-chaise rumbled slowly, and the roads were bad; but a swarm of strange tiny publications with strange big names supplied their place. Newsbooks they were called, that bundled out of doors weekly to be sold at Smithfield, Creplegate, and other-where. They were the forerunners, conceited, grave, and slow, of the fast, ponderous, wide-eyed London daily of to-day. The *Perfect Diurnal* and *Mercurius Eleuticus* appeared on Mondays, the *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* and the *Moderate* on Tuesdays; the *Perfect Weekly Account* on Wednesdays; the *Moderate Intelligencer* on Thursdays; the *Perfect Occurrences of Every Daie Journal in Parliament* and the *Man-in-the-Moon* on Fridays; *A Modest Narrative of Intelligence* on Saturdays. Perfection was one of their pretensions, impartiality another; and a certain modesty, born of the legal restrictions under which they appeared, tempered with a certain boldness, was a third. Courage was needed to enter into journalism then, and the Whartons, the Peckes, and Dillinghams not unfrequently found themselves enmeshed by the law. At all events, they hazarded to keep London as well informed as the law would allow. Occasionally, when news of special importance arrived, it hastened out on the wings of a special sheet in thorough stop-press fashion. The printers seem always at wits' end with small quarto leaves, and print irritatingly small, to press in the news to overflowing. Busy men, did they

dream what shadows their works were, and how little of them all would survive. One small quarto volume in the British Museum treasures between its covers the largest remnant of those seventeenth-century newsbooks that the largest conservers of newspapers in the world could secure. Wandering sheets that have strayed and waited for two centuries and a-half for the gaze of to-day, they present the charm, touching and pathetic, of exhausted survivors of a shipwreck or of torn and wounded soldiers that have outlived a siege. From these frayed leaves most of the present collection of letters and extracts have been drawn. They have escaped the notice of all Irish students who have written on Cromwell's Irish campaign. Had Father Denis Murphy seen them his account of the Cromwellians in Dublin would have been still more detailed, and he would have added a few more picturesque touches to the splendidly exhaustive description which he has penned of the storm of Drogheda. The only writer whom we know to be acquainted with their contents is J. B. Williams, Esq., who has studied very closely the history of English journalism,¹ and who contributed a valuable article upon the references in these papers to Cromwell's campaign to the *Dublin Review*, April, 1910.

From the first letter which we print we learn fresh details concerning the cause of Ireton's delay in landing. He was under orders for Munster, and had all but landed at Youghal, when a contrary wind threw him back to rest his eyes awhile upon the hills of Wales. It was only after nine days' battle with the breezes of the Irish Sea that he reached Dublin with sea-sick soldiers and starving horses. We learn also, for the first time, that the Governor of Drogheda before the siege was Lord Moore. He was Henry third Viscount Moore. He was a member of the family into whose hands the abbey of Mellifont fell at the Reformation. He was created Earl of Drogheda in 1661. From this letter it would appear that he was guilty of correspondence with the enemy. At all events he was deposed from the governorship of Drogheda, and Sir Arthur Aston was appointed in his place. Moore was a Protestant and

¹ *Vide* J. B. Williams, *History of English Journalism*.

Aston a Catholic, and the Protestant army of Munster gave expression to the dissatisfaction that they felt at this change of governors in their remonstrance signed at Cork, October 23, 1649.

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER.—No. 232.

Thursday, Aug. 23, to Thursday, Aug. 30.

August 22nd, 1649.

SIR,—We are all arrived here, the Major Generall set forth for Munster and was as far as Youghall (and then the wind was contrary) which cast them back towards Milford and when they came within sight of the land the wind changed and set right for Dublin. We hear Ormond is at Tredagh, with 150 horse and 600 foot. Owen Roe O'Neal hath relieved Londonderry with provisions and ammunition. This day came unto Dublin two Trumpets from Ormond, with money to the prisoners which was taken at the fight. The Lord Moor who is Governour of Tredagh sent privately to Lieut. Genl. Jones a letter to send one to speak with him privately but it was not accepted but sent back again; what the effect of it was here, no man knoweth. Ormond hath sent out warrants to summon the Country to come in, all such men as are able to bear arms from 16 to 60 upon pain of fine and sword, to beat the English Rebels out of this kingdom. The Lord Lieut. doth intend to march out of Dublin at the beginning of next weeke, for our men and horse were so sick at sea that they cannot march any sooner; Lieut. Gen. Jones marcht out of Dublin on Monday last with all his Forces, and encamped three miles out of the Town; to give leave for our army to refresh themselves there. The rebels will not believe that the Lord Lieut. is come over, but sendeth to Col. Jones as yet.

The next is a most important letter. It contains the text of a proclamation made by Cromwell at Dublin that would appear to have otherwise fallen into oblivion. Other proclamations made by Cromwell are known to all students of Cromwell's Irish campaign, but this one has perished.

Here is an order made by the Council of War, and published by their command; wherein it is declared 'that if any Person or Persons residing within the garrison of Dublin, whether inhabitants or Souldiers, shall, upon pretence of

writing to their friends, signify the transactions of the army or their engagements with the Enemy, so as to set forth their successes or losses, untill first the Generall or Council of Warre have signified same to the Parliament of England: they shall incur the breach of the article against spies, and be accordingly punished with Death,' etc.

In a later issue of the same paper (*Mercurius Eleuticus*, No. 22) the same correspondent writes:—

SIR,—I received yours of the last of August and in it an account of those things I desired . . . but till now I could make no returne to assure you so much by reason of the strict order they have taken to prevent all corresponding with England, other than what they first peruse and approve of, having erected a committee here and a clearke of the passes to search and examine all the letters; and another committee at Chester for the like who are to receive all packets under the Seale of this Committee and suffer none to passe otherwise. So that unless by the means of this Gentleman, the bearer, you are very uncertain to heare from mee.

These letters are undoubtedly from the pen of a loyalist, but the complaints of the want of news so often made in the newsbooks are perfectly accounted for by this proclamation. The Council of War took drastic measures in Dublin that no news should escape except just what they wished. This proclamation must appear remarkable that it has not been unearthed. It can scarcely be understood to reflect credit upon the conductors of the Irish campaign. What designs did they entertain that they were so jealous to conceal them from the English public?

But these measures become still more open to suspicious comment when we remember, as Mr. Williams¹ informs us, that correspondingly drastic measures were taken in London to conceal from the public every communication of news from Ireland, except what was approved and censored. Every letter published in the London newsbooks had to be licensed before it might be printed. Nor did the Government rest content with that. On September 20, precisely at the date when the rumours of the taking of Drogheda

¹ *Dublin Review*.

began to fill the air—Drogheda was taken on September 12—a new licensing Act was passed, more stringent than its predecessors. It was decreed to come into operation on October 1, and so stringent and harassing were its enactments that it had the effect of guillotining all the ten newsbooks of London. A special Government newsbook was provided to take their place. It was conducted by one Frost, whose connexion with the Government as Secretary of State brands him as an accomplice in the design of concealing unpalatable truths. And what is more remarkable still when, in 1650, Cromwell's campaign in Ireland was over, and when there was no longer need for caution, the licensing law of September 20, 1649, was relaxed, and several of the suppressed newsbooks made their appearance again.

Now it appears to be clear that both Cromwell and the Government had formed a design that the whole truth concerning his Irish activities should not be made known to the English public. The Committee to exercise control over correspondence was already erected in Dublin, on September 1. As early as that date he seems to have contemplated deeds that he would not dare to make known to England. Deeds which he deliberately planned should not be made known by any chance by any other correspondent. We know, as a matter of history, that he concealed the massacre of the defenceless inhabitants of Drogheda. Universal tradition and the testimony of Thomas à Wood attest that, and these letters afford proof that his concealment was deliberate. And the attempts of Carlyle and other of Cromwell's admirers to release his name from the stigma of that butchery, on the ground that in his letters to Parliament no reference is made to the 'deaths of many inhabitants,' are shown to be utterly worthless. Not only must the stigma of having butchered defenceless creatures cling to his name, but he must further be impeached of having deliberately planned and of having dishonestly concealed his crime.

This letter also contains several other fresh particulars concerning the Cromwellians in Dublin. Jones was ushered

out of the city with his soldiers to provide room for the invaders. He encamped at Glasnevin, Kilmarnock, and Blackhall. He is described also as having marched to Drogheda to observe the condition of the town and to take a survey of the Royalists' preparations and their numbers. The Royalist confidence in Ormond's leadership, the diseases that were prevalent in Dublin, the Marquis's summons to all men over sixteen and under sixty to repair to his camp, and the Catholic distrust of Cromwell's fair promises—all these details, from the pen of one who saw and felt and heard them, are as picturesque and fresh as they are faithful.

MERCURIUS ELEUTICUS.—No. 20.

From Monday, Sept. 3rd, to Monday, Sept. 10th, 1649.

You heard last weeke how Jones had received a Defeat before Dublin : since which the same is further confirmed by a letter of the First of September, in these very words :—

'SIR,—I received yours of the twentieth of August and would willingly have returned you thanks and an answer to your Queres : which till now I durst not doe, nor yet neither, without the conveniency of this Bearer ; for here is an order made by the Councill of War, and published by their command ; wherin it is Declared "that if any Person or Persons residing within the Garrison of Dublin, whether inhabitants or Souldiers, shall, upon pretence of writing to their friends, signify the Transactions of the Army or their engagements with the Enemy, so as to set forth their successe, or losse, untill first the Generall or Councill of Warre have signified same to the Parliament of England ; they shall incurre the breach of the article against Spies, and be accordingly punished with Death," etc.

'And this is (as they pretend) to prevent misinformation and Lies. Whereby (Sir) you see what hazards wee runne, if wee dare bee so bold as write but the Truth ; which upon this opportunity I will adventure to doe, lest the Royall party should be always held in ignorance and clouds of Despair. And this will chiefly concern Colonell Jones our Guardian Governour, but now a subordinate officer only since the arrivall of Cromwell, to whom he delivered the Keys of the Town the first day hee came hither, but had never yet return'd to him. For the marquise of Ormond having notice that upon the landing of Cromwell the old Dublin Forces were drawn out (as indeede they were) to

quarter in the Villages about the City for the more conveniency of the new landed men, who were very sicke and weake, most of them having the Bloody Flux and the Horses almost starved for want of fresh water. Upon Saturday the twenty sixth of August a Party of about 1200 horse and 500 Dragoones, advanced betimes in the morning to Glashen, Kilmaroh and Black Haule (about 11 miles from Dublin) where the greatest part of his Horse quartered ; and after a short skirmish with the scouts were most of them surprised or killed, and the rest pursued to our very walls, which gave us a dismall alarme ; but so little mind had they in the Town of fighting, that they drew not out till nine of the clock that morning and return'd back by twelve having only in that interim enquired, how it came to passe, for they pursued them not at all.

' The next day being Sunday Collonel Jones with the remainder of his horse, and Collonel Reinhold with his Regiment and about 500 more of Foot (in all about 1500), marched toward Droghedagh and on the twenty seventh came in sight thereof, very early, in hopes to have been revenged upon Ormond whose Head Quarters was then there ; they had met with his Scouts at every passe where they came, and some pistolls were exchanged and Prisoners taken on both sides ; but they perceiving that the Royalists all quartered beyond the river Boyne (which they durst not attempt to pass over) they retreated though not so safely as the Royalists ; for the Marquesses forces drew over the River after them and fell in their Reare, Killed and took more of their Horse, and above 150 of their Foote ; and had the alarme but come timely enough to Trym, without doubt they had been all taken or cut off ; they tell us of diverse officers which they have killed and taken ; but wee see not any save one Captain Dillon and another whom they will needer perswade to bee a Major, with Fourteen or fifteen Troopers, which are all wee saw brought hither. But wee have been eye witnesses how they returned (as wee judged) above three hundred lesse then they went out, and many wounded. Whether (Sir) you have heard of this I know not ; but you may assure it to our friends for a certain truth : as likewise that our Lord Governour hath since taken the field, with (as themselves estimate) about 10000 horse and Foote, which hath given us great ease in this City wee having twenty or thirty (before that) quartered in a house together. And now I think wee must resolve to starve for want of Provisions for here is nothing brought hither but by sea ; so that all things are at an excessive rate except water, and that's our greatest comfort,

next the happy success of Ormond, which wee expect now to hear of every day against these cursed men who are the Authors of all our Misery and Ruines. For doubtlesse the Marquisse is very numerous and his army made up all of gallantry, as now themselves partly acknowledge.

‘ In my next I presume I shall give you a faire account thereof for bee you assured that Cromwell must either fight or starve ; and that suddainly ; because the Marquesse hurries doun all before him and makes use of all advantages he can possible, like (as truly hee is) a most wise and prudent soldier having possessed himselfe of all the Corne and Cowes and therewith strengthened all his garrisons, so that it is not possible Cromwell should besiege any place untile hee bee master of the Field, if for no other cause than the meere want of provisions which hee must have from England or no where. How the conditions are kept betwixt O’Neill and Coot wee have not as yet heard (for all’s concealed) nor whether Inchqueene bee in person with Ormonde ; but that Clanrickard and Ards are wee are told by themselves. We have sundry diseases amongst us by reason of so many that lye wounded all the City over, but (thanks bee to God) they dye a pace, no lesse than 7 buried yesterday who had beene hurt in the first businesse.

‘ The Marquesse (as they tell us) hath summoned in all from sixteene to sixty to beat out the English Rebels that have invaded them ; and now Cromwell (to frustrate that) hath published a proclamation wherein he offers an indemnity for what is past, and liberty of Conscience to all that will lay down their armes, and submit to the Commonwealth of England, etc. But this will bee to no purpose for the Irish Catholiques cannot believe (if they did submit) that they should bee allowed more liberty of conscience then those of their owne religion are in England : besides they have all sworne to the contrary, so that this devise will never avail him, etc. No further at present but that I am ;

‘ Sir, your reall friend and kinsman ;

‘ T. W.

‘ *Dublin; September 1st, 1649.*’

The next letter is also valuable. It was penned by a Parliamentarian, and it appeared in the accredited journal of the Parliament. We may feel sure that this letter passed the censors at Dublin and at London satisfactorily. It supplies an almost complete account of the day’s doings of

the Cromwellians in Dublin, from their landing till their arrival at Drogheda. A later letter by the same hand was published in *Cromwelliana*, and proved useful to Father Murphy in his *Cromwell's Irish Campaign*. He quotes largely from it in that work. But this letter has hitherto escaped the notice of modern students. The diarist pictures the city of Dublin during those days as only an eye-witness could. Our eyes are filled with 18,000 fervid psalm-singing soldiers engaged at 'holy exercises.' The air grows thunderous with song. The religious rage, that a few days later buried its steel in the bosom of unresisting womanhood, gathers force under our gaze. Now they are exultant at the happy arrival of Ireton's horse; next day they are 'refreshing and drenching' them; and the day following they are praising God that they came. Sunday being the Lord's Day, again there is psalm-singing and public prayer. And to complete the picture of that same Sunday, a fresco for the halls of memory succeeds—Cromwell and his Council, with the maps of Drogheda in their hands, at prayer. The only report in the letter that appears to need correction is that relative to Lord Moore. It may be true that Moore was court-martialled and punished, but the report was untrue that he was 'shot to death.' It was natural that the correspondent should record such a rumour; it was, however, only a rumour.

PERFECT OCCURRENCES
OF

EVERY DAIE JOURNALL
IN PARLIAMENT.

PROCEEDINGS OF THE COUNCIL OF STATE : AND OTHER MODERATE
INTELLIGENCE.

Friday, Sept. 21, to Friday, Sept. 28; 1649.

Printed at London by R. I. for Robert Ibbotson and John Jeeves
and are to be sold in Smithfield and without Creplegate, 1649.

Perfect Intelligence came this day by a letter from

Dublin, Sept. 12th, 1649.

Our news from Ireland (God be thanked) is very good. On the 17th and 18th of August there was little action but waiting

to heare of the rest of the Fleet. 19th being the Lord's Day, were spent in holy exercises ; about six o'clock at night, they received the happy news of the arrivall of the rest of the Fleet and Major General Ireton who had been nine dayes at sea, and the newes of Derry being relieved by Owen Roe.

The 20th was spent in landing the Forces that came with the second Fleet. (the 21 and 22) were spent in refreshing and drenching of our poor horse almost starved at sea. The 23 was a publick day of thanksgiving kept for the safe landing of our Forces, with a Proclamation, commanding the magistrates of the Town and officers of the army to suppress to the utmost of their power swearing and drunkenesse. The 24 was spent in Councell and Court Marshalls, where divers persons were sentenced for misdemeanours ; on the 25th was a Generall Muster of the whole Army on two Greens near Dublin, the Horse and Dragoones at one Randevouse and the Foot at the other, where the Lord Lieutenant with Lieutenant General Jones and divers other persons of quality went to view the Army. The 26 being the Lord's Day, the forenoon was spent in publicke exercises, and the afternoon the Lord Lieut. the Major Generall with divers other officers spent their time in prayer and seeking Councell from God concerning their intended march on the week following.

The 27 was spent in Councel about their marching and a Court Marshall met, where a Cornet of Horse was cashiered for swearing, besides a Proclamation to protect the Country People from the violence of the souldiers.

The 28, 29 and 30 August was spent in preparation to march out against the enemy. There were 1400 of those that were taken from Ormond, that take up Armes now with the Lord Lieutenant and are of his Army.

On September 1 the Army marched from Dublin and upon their march divers came in to the Lord Lieutenant, 6 or 8 or 10 in a day, and since they have come by a troop at a time, but some have lost their lives being discovered, some have fought it out being pursued, and others have been executed by them.

The 2 and 3 the Lord Lieutenant and his army marched to Drogheda, where Sir Arthur Ashton was Governour (that grand Papist which was once Governour of Oxford for the late King). And the Lord Moor was sent away to be tryed by a Court Marshall by Ormond and his officers, upon some Articles exhibited against him, and it is since reported that he is condemned, and some say he is shot to death. The 4 and 5 some things passed between the army and the Garrison but we found nothing but a desperate

madnesse in the besieged, so on the 6 and 7 we went on to plant our batteries and make approaches as near the town as we could.

The 8 and 9 we gained ground nearer upon them and by that time had secured our Quarters and were in a good Equipage, so that September 10 we made shot against them, and did some execution upon the town near the church, on which day came in 7 troops of the Lord Inchiquin from the Naas out of the County of Kildare, where Inchiquin was then burning and wasting of the Country very much, but we were by them assured that there were divers that would come away from him if they could come safe to the Lord Cromwell.

On 11 came Mr. Peters with the last part of the forces from Milford to Dublin. And we heard that the Army was resolved to storm Drogheda on the next day being September 12.

On September 12 being this day, is news come hither that their guns have been heard to play hard, and it is said here that we have entred Tredah; we are hourly expecting the particulars.

The following letter is from the hand of a different correspondent, and appeared in a different newsbook. It was written from Chester, where the public were as eager as they were in London for news. The correspondent's informant describes Drogheda well, and he fully appreciated the difficulty of besieging a town so well protected against attack by nature and by art as it was. The only real news that the Chester man could forward, although Chester was the likeliest city in England, on account of the frequent intercourse with that port from Ireland, to have news, was that Cromwell was before Drogheda, and that 'the guns were heard to play . . . by those that past in ships to this city.' He affords the information that Cromwell's artillery consisted of four whole cannon and five demi-cannon, the 'best train of artillery,' says another correspondent, 'that ever came on Irish ground.'¹

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER.—No. 235.

Thurs., Septr. 13th, to Thurs., Septr. 20th, 1649.

Chester, Septr. 14th.

The Lord Lieutenant the last told you was gone before Tredagh with about 13000; he came thither, say the Letters hither, the

¹ *Perfect Weekly Account*, Wednes., Sept. 5, to Wednes., Sept. 12, 1649.

second of September, and having fixt his postes as conveniently as he could began his Batteries, which were not perfected untill the Tenth, the Garrison giving some interruption by several sallies, wherein was losse on both partes, but chiefly on the part of the besieged, who were still beaten in, all but those the bullets made to fall short ; they who came thence report the Town to have increased the number of fighting men within to 3000 and 500 horse all being victualled for five months : as this if true presents the place much more difficult to be gained so for the greater honour of the besieged, if carried in any reasonable time : concerning the taking of the Church in the Town, it seems improbable, because when that was taken, the army might have entered at the same time and place ; if any such was without the works it's not unlike, but it may be gained : those who know the Town say Hills looke into it on both sides, and the descents to the River which runs through it are very great : they say also, there is one Hill in it, that is higher than any of the hills about it, and that there is a Fort upon that Hill, which is kept by Sir Edmond Varney said to be kill'd at the routing of Ormond's army : this is all we learn in the actions in and before Tredagh. As for Dublin, the Letters thence tell strange things: as that Ormond should be again increased to 20000 Horse and Foot by the coming in of the Irish, considered with what Clanrickard brought, Inchiquin bringing but 800 horse and 1500 foot those few since come up with the Lord of Ards being Horse and Foot, not above fourteen hundred, wheras had Ulster gone upon the Score of the Covenant, they had been able to have made 14000 ; it's said that Ormond and Owen Roe are agreed likewise ; but that is incredible : that Inchiquin burns all between Dublin and Tredagh, that is within two miles of Dublin and as neer Tredagh as he dares and drives the countrey of the Cattell, that he hath burnt the Naas; a fair Market Town in Kildare, that he puts all to the sword, who came in upon the Lord Lieutenant's proclamation, if he meet with them, and is resolved to raise the siege or venter a Battell is written confidantly ; There were some sent to relieve Mayneth (Maynooth) whom one Scurlack fell, and drove back taking some. That Dublin Marketts are little, the price of Commodities for the belly grows great, is also written ; Ordmond's Head Quarters is about Tecrohan, that all may see what designe is driven by Ormond, his directions to all parts shew, which are, that whoever shall mention the Covenants subscription, or that the King shall not come in, but upon conditions shall be secured and his Estate sequestered, with what else shall be thought fit by those intrusted.

Many think the Prince will make to the North of Ireland and reside at Carrickfergus, others that he will come either to Limerick or Galloway. The Guns were heard to play at and before Tredagh by those that past in ships to this City ; not to mention the reducing of the Regiments that were found in Dublin : the few of the officers that be continued the discontent amongst the rest. Master Peters is landed at Dublin, where it's expected hee bestir himselfe, hee was in Ireland at the beginning of the Rebellion and did there notable service, commanding and leading once a Brigade against the enemy in Munster, where he came off with honour and victory ; businesse is now like to be managed to the perfection. Concerning the Lord Lieutenant twice storming Tredagh and yet not carrying it, which is whispered by those who would be glad to have it so, there is no certainty. It is more likely he will carry it marching with as gallant an army as any he had fought in, his artillery four whole cannons and five demi-cannons.

Our next letter contains Sir Arthur Aston's reply to Cromwell, which heretofore has escaped publication. It was a reply concise and to the point, such as became a brave soldier. In a later letter it will be seen that Cromwell and his soldiers were bitterly stung by this reply. And a correspondent quotes it as amongst the causes contributing to the brutal rage that beat him to death.

KINGDOM'S WEEKLY INTELLIGENCER.—No. 329.

Tuesday, Sept. 11th, to Tuesday, Sept. 18th; 1649.

Monday, September 17th.

The letters this day from Ireland do advertise that the Lord Lieutenant summoned the Town of Tredagh to which Sir Arthur Ashton returned answer—

That he had received the charge of the Town too lately into his trust to surrender it so soon upon a bare summons only ; and that he must give another account of it which he should shortly understand. These were his words, and his deeds made haste to overtake his words, for immediately after he sallyed forth with a considerable party and charged upon our men with great Resolution but he was so well entertained, that many of his men that came forth with so much heat returned not again, and others having lost much of their blood returned a great deal cooler than they came forth. The enemy (not content with this) hath made several sallies since and have allwayes been

beaten back with losse. In the mean time the Lord Lieutenant (not intending to lose any time before the town) hath planted his Ordinance and began his batteries on Monday, September the 10th, and hath made so furious an assault that one letter informeth that he hath taken one of the churches within the town, but because they who knowe the place doe affirme, that he must then take the whole Towne, and there is no mention made of that, I am afraid that, for the present, it is too good news to be true.

Our next letter is dated from Chester, September 22. The date is to be noted. Drogheda fell on September 12, and yet after ten days no definite news of its fall reached the people of Chester. The previous letter, dated as early as September 14, reported that rumour had it that a church in the town was taken; and it was whispered—a significant word—that the Lord Lieutenant had twice stormed Tredagh, and ‘yet not carrying it.’ These events occurred on September 11, and a true ‘whisper’ of them reached Chester on the 14th; and yet from the 14th instant to the 22nd no further definite news was known to the public. On the 22nd they were still ignorant that Cromwell had succeeded. It is quite improbable that no ship arrived in Chester from Ireland during those days. But the Committees of Intelligence at Dublin and at Chester are to be adjudged as having executed exceedingly well the trust imposed upon them of choking the sources of information and keeping the public in ignorance. Why all these extraordinary precautions, if Cromwell’s work and that of his soldiers were not disgraced by deeds of shame?

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER.—No. 236.

Sept. 20th—Sept. 27th, 1649.

Chester, 22nd.

The great expectation you will be in to have a right knowledge of the Parliament’s Army in Ireland, and particularly of Tredagh of which little or nothing can be inserted which may be built upon: for there is not a Letter or person that can be hearde of that came from the siege thereof since a Gun began to play. For probabilities take these:

First, that the Town is either taken or yet besieged; if taken it’s but lately, because opportunity might have been had to

have known it was done, if done ; if not taken then still besieged ; for the Lord Lieutenant cannot in reason goe thence untill he hath it, because it's of that importance, for that had, he gains the North of Ireland, and good Quarter both for Horse and Man, without it he will be so put to it, that he must need much more accomodations from England. That the siege is raised is improbable, for what power can oppose him in horse ? it's possible it may prove a work of 20 or 30 dayes more, and for having intelligence daily, it's known the Lord Lieutenant uses not to send untill his work is over. As for the heads taken off and brought to Dublin, the most probable report is, that certain Irish and English who were taken into the Life Guard, had a plot to draw off the greater part of them to Ormond, were detected and after executed, a just reward for treachery if true. The state of Ulster, as is said by Letters thence of the 12th inst, is such as the severall turncoats are in confusion. Only Charles Coot is in the field and hath no enemy that dares meet him, only some that keep passes ; the men that were sent from the Lord Lieutenant are come to him and he passes without check. There are 11 horses of the Princes landed at Carrickfergus with furniture, whether thither intended is the question. Possibly not.

The next letter, together with some other extracts which we shall quote, settles the question of the nationality of the garrison at Drogheda. Father Denis Murphy rightly reasoned from indirect evidence that they were for the most part Irish. Ludlow and Bate say they were for the most part English ; and Froude, desirous apparently to extenuate Cromwell's cruelties to the Irish nation, follows Ludlow and Bate. Carlyle, too, quoting Ludlow, naïvely reminds us that the garrison were composed in good part of Englishmen :

To our Irish friends we ought to say that this Garrison of Drogheda consisted in good part of Englishmen. Perfectly certain this !—and therefore let ' the bloody hoof of the Saxon,' etc., forbear to continue itself in that matter. Idle blustering and untruth of every kind lead to the like terrible results in these days as they did in those.

Undoubtedly Sir Arthur Aston, the Governor, was an Englishman ; and Sir Edmund Verney, and some others of the leading officers were English. They were, of course, Catholics also. But when this small handful is eliminated,

all that remain of the garrison were Irish. 'Sir Arthur Ashton is Governour of Drogheda, he hath two thousand with him in it, most of them are Irish.'¹ And again: 'The 4th inst we sate down before Drogedah strongly fortified and well manned, with an expert Governour, Sir Arthur Ashton, his men as before, most Irish and select.'²

These extracts corroborate the statements contained in the following letter, viz.: 'In this Town are two thousand Irish Foot and two hundred horse. . . . Sir Arthur Ashton chose rather to have Irish than English for his garrison.' Relying upon these extracts, we may well adopt language like Carlyle's. The garrison of this town of Drogheda consisted mostly of Irishmen and Catholics. Perfectly certain this. And we may turn Carlyle's own philosophy against himself: 'Idle blustering and untruth of every kind lead to the like terrible results in these days as they did in those.'

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER.—No. 234.

IMPARTIALLY COMMUNICATING MARTIAL AFFAIRES TO THE
KINGDOM OF ENGLAND.

Thursday, Sept. 6th; to Thursday, Sept. 13th, 1649.

Dublin, September 5th.

The Lord Lieutenant hath mustered such a number of horse and foot as you could not have imagined, nor did we believe; you may credit it there was enrolled 14000 Foot, 4000 Horse and Dragoons; most of the sick are recovered or recovering. Sir Theophilus Jones is made Col. and left Governor of this City. The Lord General marched out Friday the last of August with an army of about 12000 horse, foot and dragoons, who the first night went about five miles towards Tredagh which place is to be first attacked: the enemy hath as well as possible he can re-enforced and victualled all Garrisons, keeping only in the field certain parties of Horse and dragoons and a few Irish Foot whose design is to infall the Lord Lieutenant's Quarters, and hinder him of accomodations from the Countries, and if all the Towns be as well provided as Tredagh they have done notably: for in this Town are Two Thousand Irish foot and two hundred horse. The

¹ *Moderate*, etc., No. 61, Sept. 4—Sept. 11, 1649.

² *Idem*, No. 237, Sept. 27—Oct. 4, 1649.

Governour, Sir Arthur Ashton, who was formerly Governour of Reading, after of Oxford, an old Souldier and one that is famous for making good Towns, and once did one against the King of Sweden to his admiration, this town is fortified as well as his, and all the Engineers Ormond had could do it. The Lord Lieutenant must besiege it on both sides the water, which will take up his whole army, whether he storm it, which hath been his usual way in England, or make a formall siege, by entrenching and approaches, time will shew, it's mineable in most places: the sudden and easie carrying this place will facilitate the whole work, if this prove hard the rest is like to come off so: If any ask why North and not South first, it's answered that there is good reason for it, which you may understand afterwards.

For the better accomodation of the Army, certain ships are gone hence by Sea, who will keep out any thing that may possible come to the besieged and furnish the besiegers with food as Bisket, Beer, etc. *Sir Arthur Ashton chose rather to have Irish than English for his garrison.* Lieut. Col. Wentworth came in to us from Ormond with 50 horse, some few others drop in daily and some have been detected and executed for so doing.

The editorial comment which precedes the next letter reflects the uneasy anxiety of the London reading public for news from Drogheda. The most improbable stories were invented and published to gratify public curiosity: *Mercurius Eleuticus* was a Royalist journal, and its clientele naturally longed to hear of Cromwell's failure. The letter, which was written on September 13, at the moment when the streets of Drogheda were being reddened with innocent blood, knows nothing of the then state of affairs. It details very circumstantially, and, indeed, exaggerates somewhat, the successful front shown by the Drogheda garrison. The numbers given by the correspondent are at least interesting. They appear to be the only estimate of Cromwell's losses penned by a Royalist hand. It is scarcely credible that Cromwell lost only 100 men at the siege. He admits, indeed, that many were wounded. Another Cromwellian authority, quoted by Father Murphy, estimated the killed at twenty or thirty, and the wounded at forty. The editorial comment on a letter in the *Moderate Intelligencer*, quoting a London report, declares sixty to be the number killed. A

letter in the same paper, which we may feel sure was edited by the Committee of Intelligence at Dublin before leaving Ireland, quotes the same number as Cromwell, 100. Rumour had it in Dublin, on the 13th of September, that Cromwell's losses were very heavy. And our correspondent sets down the number of wounded carried into Dublin at from 400 to 500. It may be said in favour of this latter calculation that being in Dublin, and being, as his letter shows, in touch with the Cromwellian authorities there, he had good opportunities of forming a fairly true estimate of the number of the wounded carried from the siege. Moreover, he appears to have been a careful and truthful correspondent. His 'was an honest and judicious pen,' says his editor. These days of September were exciting days for the Royalists in Dublin, and no doubt in the excitement the wildest rumours were current.

But amongst all the other details which this correspondent penned on the storm of Drogheda, there are no glaring inaccuracies. There are some exaggerations, but they can be detected and they are slight. His judicious pen would scarcely have been betrayed into such a gross exaggeration as after 'sober computation' to estimate Cromwell's losses at 2,200, if in reality, as Cromwell would have us believe, they were only 100, and this especially before the grand assault in which we are to understand the largest proportion of that hundred fell. I do not contend that 'W. B.'s' figures are strictly accurate. But I contend that the figures of Cromwell—who set up Committees of Intelligence to guard the passes and to exercise the tyranny of suppressing every item of information that was unpalatable—are open to the gravest suspicions. This is an important point in connexion with the siege. For brave as admittedly the resistance of the garrison was, the glory of their gallant defence has been belittled considerably if Cromwell has seriously underestimated the losses he sustained in gaining his victory over them. Had the Committee of Intelligence at Dublin exercised their office with less strictness than they did, and had Cromwell not taken advantage of these discreditable precautions to conceal his butchery of the

women and children of Drogheda, his estimate might be regarded as that of an honest and truthful soldier and 'W. B.'s' estimate passed by in silence. But in the face of these historic facts, 'W. B.'s' numbers cannot be disregarded or indeed treated lightly.

MERCURIUS ELEUTICUS.—No. 22.¹

Sept. 17 to Sept. 24, 1649.

I know 'tis the constant desire of the common people to heare of news! Strange tidings! be they never so untrue, ever relish with the multitude provided they suite with their affections. And therefore it is that sometimes they complain of Eleuticus for want of news, which they shall still doe rather then I will render myselfe so ridiculous as others have done in reporting fallities improbable; nay, impossible things, to please the credulous readers. As, the last weeke, the utter Rout of Cromwell, the death of Jones, the besieging of Dublin, the landing of the King in Scotland, etc., etc.

Now then as touching the Rowting of Cromwell, the following letter (which came from an honest and judicious pen) will cleere all:

'SIR,—I received yours of the last of August and in it an accompt of those things I desired, which hath given ample satisfaction, to every man concerned in the Businessee, etc., but till nowe I could make no returne to assure you so much by reason of the strict order they have taken, to prevent all correspondence with England. other than what they first peruse and approve of, having erected a committee here and a Clearke of the passes, to search and examine all the letters; and another committee at Chester for the like who are to receive all packets under the seal of this Committee and suffer none to passe otherwise. So that unless by the meanes of this Gentleman, the bearer, you are very incertaine to heare from mee. As yet Cromwell is before Droghedagh, with about 9000 horse and foote and hath block'd up the south side thereof. Upon Wednesday the seventh instant a Council of Warre was called at Argatti² (which is seven miles on this side the town) where it was put to the question whether or no they should continue to block up and straiten, or storme it. Whereupon—they considering the

¹ I am indebted to Mr. J. B. Williams for the copy of this letter and extract and also for the letter from *Mercurius Eleuticus* which follows.

² Argatti, A-garth. Ballygarth Castle, near Julianston, Co. Meath.

season and how the Marquesse had all the places of strength and ingrossed unto himself the harvest, secured the riches and wealth of the Kingdome, and disposed the most of his foote in garrisons and kept the field only with horse and dragoones. So that unless they could either fight and beate him (which yet was adjudged impossible, by reason hee had burnt up all before him and left nothing for them to feede upon whilst they followed him) or reduce so many garrisons before the yeare was spent, as might afford them their winter quarters—they saw no other likelihood but of starving. And therefore it was resolved, that by six the next morning all should be in readiness for storming Droghedagh, as being a place very considerable in respect of the harbour, and no less beneficial for annoying the province of Connaught, supposing likewise that if once they had Droghedagh they could soone distresse and reduce Trym, which lies but sixteene miles distant, and down the river of Boyne. And accordingly they attempted it about seven o'clock but were beaten off with the loss of about roo of their foote. Within three houres after they stormed the second time, but to as little purpose, for they found the walls and works so strong that they never attempted to scale them, but drew off, upon which the garrison made a desperate sallie, fell upon their reare and killed and took at least three hundred more of their men, which so enraged Cromwell that he resolved to storne it the third time, and so zealous were many of the troopers they went voluntarily to the works with their pistolls in their hands (this was on Sunday the ninth of September, when by six in the morning they came on again very furiously) and assaulted the town in several places for three houres together, battering all the while with their ordinance as they had done the most of the day and night before, but with little successe for they made not any breach that would give them entrance. So that they were shamefully repulsed the third time, with the losse of at least eight hundred of their men ; for, according to most sober computation they lost in two daies above two thousand and two hundred of their best souldiers besides these that were wounded and brought hither ; which wee judge to be no lesse than foure or five hundred. All this while the Marquise of Ormond lay still with his forces about twelve miles north of Droghedagh ; who, hearing of this last desperate assault, advanced to relieve it, but before hee had marched five miles hee had newes brought him, how that Cromwell was beaten off with great losse and the towne in a gallant

condition, whereupon hee retyred and yet suffers him to fight with hunger and stone walls. 'Tis believed Cromwell will be forced to draw off suddainly and the rather because wee have newes here, that O'Neale refuses to side any longer with them, because hee finds them loath to make him generalissimo of the Catholique forces in the Province of Ulster and Connaugh, as was expected, but stands neuter. Which if it be so, then assure yourselfe you shall heare of few more sieges here, but that their tampering and compliance with O'Neale (whereby they thought to have ruin'd the Royall party) will turne to their owne distruction. Houever we are like to suffer here in the meane time, all manner of provisions being at an excessive rate and but little to bee had neither. Wee are miserably afflicted here with many sicknesses, occasioned by the number of wounded men which have lyen here since the beginning of August ; so that I could willingly wish my wife and children in England if you can but advise me where to dispose of them. Wee have newes here that the King is at Sea intending for Ireland, and that the Scots and hee are agreed. I pray faile not to let us know the truth of all by the next. Your brother hath been sick but is recovered. Mr. B. of D. was taken prisoner and brought hither, I have got him the liberty of the town upon his parol, and I hope shortly to get him discharged. I prayspeake to his mother to send him some moneys, for I have supplied him hitherto. Present my services, etc.

' I am, Sir,

' Your assured friend and kinsman,

' W. B.

' *Dublin, Sept. 13, 1649.*'

The note from the editor in No. 24 of *Mercurius Eleuticus* deserves careful perusal. No. 23 of the newsbook appeared during the week from September 24 to October 1. No. 24 is dated October 8 to October 15. No. 24 ought, in the ordinary course, have been published during the week October 1 to October 8, but owing to the strict enforcement of the law of September 20 ' against scandalous and seditious bookes and pamphlets,' *Mercurius Eleuticus* failed to appear, and the editor, Wharton, had enough to do in securing himself from the tax-collectors' hungry jaws. The new taxes were so heavy, and they were exacted with such strictness, that he was unable to appear 'so opportunely as formerly.' The

date of the letter from Dublin is also noteworthy, 'September 24, 1649.' Drogheda fell on the night of September 11, and yet in Dublin, which is only a matter of twenty-three miles from Drogheda, no definite news arrived until the 23rd of its capture. Such was the strictness used to guard the roads and to scrutinize all conveyers of intelligence. Cromwell himself had returned to Dublin on September 16, and penned the first despatch. And yet for a week after Dublin was ignorant of his success. The correspondent still insists that Cromwell's losses were heavy, and he corroborates the story of Thomas à Wood, boldly telling the people of London that the Cromwellians had 'used all cruelty imaginable upon the besieged, sparing neither women nor children.'

The second letter, dated October 2, which appeared in the same number of *Mercurius Eleuticus*, is quoted from the *Dublin Review* article of J. B. Williams. Part of that letter which was omitted has been supplied. One is forced to put on record the barbarity, too heinous for words, of the Cromwellian butchers. Only one detail too horrible for print has been excised. The comment of the writer upon this letter may be pardonably repeated: 'The slight exaggerations noticeable in it at least prove that the story it tells is genuine.'

MERCURIUS ELEUTICUS.—No. 24.

Oct. 8—Oct. 15, 1649.

The Act (falsely so stiled) against (such as the 'saints' are pleased to call) scandalous and seditious bookes and pamphlets hath beene put so diligently in exequition by the State's Blood hounds, that the last weeke I had enough to doe in securing my selfe from their hungry jawes and could not so oportunately appeare as formerly, in which respect I chuse rather not to be seene at all. Which discontinuance yet not a little agrieved me, because a timely solution of these letters of the twentieth and two and twentieth of September that spoke Tredagh in so good a condition (which was neverthelesse taken before that) till now was wanting, which that they may receive be pleased to peruse a third from the same hand, and I presume 'twill satisfy.

'SIR,—I must crave your pardon for what you received in my two last of the twentieth, and two and twentieth, wherein I intimated the holding out of Tredagh. For though they be true in every particular as to the repulsing of Cromwell, and the losse therein mentioned, etc., yet this day came certaine newes that the Towne was taken by storme some few daies before and the Governour (Sir Arthur Aston) with the greatest part of the officers and soldiers put to the sword. Which yet wee know not how to beelieve, considering the frequent alarmes brought us of the losse before it and the advance of Ormond to its releefe. But, though we beleewe their losse exceeds one halfe of their army since they first sate down before it, yet we found it too true that at last they had possessed themselves of the towne and used all cruelties imaginable upon the besieged, as well inhabitants as others, sparing neither women nor children, and after that marched to Trym and Dundalke; which, thereupon, were both quitted and slighted. Yet in all this time no Ormonde appeared, to the wonder and amazement of all the King's friends. Whether it were out of an overweening confidence in the strength of the place or what other reason wee know not. But this wee are sure of that O'Neale and hee are joyned; so that we can think of no interruption unless occasioned by Inchiqueene which wee have not the least ground for; and that they had a power sufficient to fight Cromwell with, is out of question. Sir, the truth is affaires are wrapped up in such cloudes (and this on both sides) wee know not how to judge of them. For, is it not strange that Tredagh, Trim and Dundalke should bee all theirs betwixt the twelfth and the fifteenth day and yet wee at Dublin have no certainty thereof till eight daies after at the least? And yet this is the least to be wondered at, considering the strictnesse that is here used to prevent all intelligence but what comes immediately from the hands of Cromwell; not any man being suffered to write to his friend either in England or in Ireland, nor to ride or walke a mile out of Towne without speciall licence first obtained from a Committee of Intelligence, which they have here erected, as also another at Chester and Liverpoole who have power to examine, let passe, or stay all persons and papers they meet with.

'Since the taking of Tredagh they are marching southwards and aime principally (as wee heare) at Wexford, which I should feare much, but that they themselves tell us the Royalists have re-inforced it with 3000 foote and horse; which, with those that

were in it will make about 4500. And for provision they have no want, etc. But Cromwell relies not altogether upon strength, something upon policy ; and therefore he hath set abroad proclamations and papers that promise liberty of conscience, propriety, ease and freedom to all the English (not any Irish) in armes that will come in and submit to him. But wee heare not of any but some of their own run-awaies, and wee hope this will bee a meanes rather to cement than separate the Royalists, etc.

' Dublin, September 24th, 1649.'

By another letter of the same hand, of October 2, it is further certified that Sir Arthur Aston, Sir Edmund Verney, and the rest of the prime officers, who, after the enemy had gained the town retreated and maintained the moat, had all of them quarter promised them for their lives, and upon that condition went all into the windmill on the top of the mount whilst the enemy took possession thereof. Which no sooner had they done, but they afterwards disarmed and most perfidiously murdered them one by one in the most cruel manner they could invent, cutting off . . . pieces of their flesh which they wore triumphantly in their Hats two daies after. Their barbarousness was no less exercised upon the rest of the soldiers and inhabitants, especially religious men, amongst the rest the Lord Taaf's brother, an Augustine Friar, and one Parsons of the same order, whom they kept two days alive, torturing them by all the cruel ways and means they could devise to make them confess what they knew of the Royalists designs, and then ended them. That above 1200 were murdered in St. Peter's Church. That about two hundred officers and soldiers maintained the tower at the West Gate till the next day, in which time they killed above two hundred of the enemy refusing to submit to mercy, but the enemy at length considering the strength of the place, and how their several attempts at firing them out had failed, and what loss they had already received, offered them conditions of quarter for their lives. Upon which they surrendered, yet nevertheless Cromwell afterwards commanded the officers to be all murdered, and every tenth man of the soldiers, which they were accordingly, and the survivors sold and shipped away for Barbadoes, there to be made slaves of all the days of their lives.

The last of this series of letters is evidently from a Cromwellian pen. It possesses the true Cromwellian bláir, and indeed presents a resemblance that is striking to Crom-

well's own despatches. Unlike those of 'W. B.' in *Mercurius Eleuticus*, it was subjected, we may feel sure, to the careful scrutiny of the Committee of Intelligence before it was despatched. As the editor, Dillingham, intimates in his prefatory remarks, the victory of Drogheda was first discovered by the letter of Mr. Peters, published by Dillingham on September 28; so that, in spite of all his precautions, Cromwell did not enjoy the satisfaction of being the herald of his victory. But Peters' was a safe pen. His letter was thirteen days old when it was published; Cromwell's letters of September 16 and 17, were not made public until the 29th—they were both over twelve days despatched. This was an unusual delay, whatever may have been its cause.

We learn several fresh details concerning the siege from this letter. The brutality shown so mercilessly to Aston is explained. 'The reason given of his death is said to be the rage of Col. Castle's soldiers for the death of their Colonel, also that for Aston did not give a civil answer when summoned.' Besides, may we not add he was a Papist, 'whose very thought was false, representing not fact but contrary of fact.'¹ Why should he further cumber the ground?

We have already commented upon this correspondent's description of the garrison. They were 'most Irish and select.' He tells us the fate of St. Peter's Church with more accuracy than Cromwell. It was blown up. Its destruction by gunpowder is left on record by the one man of all the world who could speak with accuracy, Dean Bernard, the Vicar of St. Peter's. In a sermon of his referring to the service he held in Drogheda upon the first Sunday after the storm, the following passage occurs:—

The place we were then compelled to meet in was a private chappel² (both the churches of the towne being demolished; the one by a necessity, being just against the battery³; the other, the Greater, unto which I had relation,⁴ [was] casually, at least without any such intention, that night blowne up with Gunpowder), etc.

¹ Vide Carlyle, *Letters and Speeches of Oliver Cromwell*.

² Probably the chapel in the Primate's house.

³ St. Mary's Church.

⁴ St. Peter's Church.

Cromwell himself alleges that he commanded the steeple to be fired. Father Murphy writes that it was first his intention to blow it up, and the trains were laid, but, changing his intention, he ordered it to be set on fire. In carrying out this order it seems as if the soldiers did not wait to remove the charge of gunpowder that they had laid within the building, and, as a consequence, the church was destroyed in an explosion. In his despatch Cromwell here laughs a cruel laugh at an alleged victim in the steeple, whom he represents as cursing, and calling out from amid the flames, 'God confound me! I burn, I burn!' It is just doubtful if a Catholic of the garrison would yell in an agony in the English language. And it is more than doubtful that Cromwell, brave as he was, would venture within hearing distance of human cries, to a building, that was in imminent danger of being blown up as it flamed with fire. The story is a heartless unchristian joke invented to tickle the ears of the 'saints,' and was probably used after Cromwell's own wily manner, that in their laughter the Parliament might palliate and overlook the offence of having destroyed the place of worship of the Protestants.

The word of the assailants, according to this correspondent, was 'The Lord assist us.' According to another, quoted by Father Murphy, 'Our Lord God.' The words were probably used on different days.

The concluding extract is Dillingham's word of farewell to his readers. His newsbook ceased to appear after this number. It was impossible to continue it under the severe exactions of the new licensing law. He leaves the work 'to those whom Fame saith wants none,' that is, to Walter Frost, Secretary of State.

MODERATE INTELLIGENCER.—No. 237.

Sept. 27 to Oct. 4, 1649.

It may not be amiss to begin this with the arrivall of the long expected news of the victorious proceedings of the Lord Lieutenant of Ireland.

When right and victory goes together it makes the favour the greater, as well as it always shews the parties losing to be

in displeasure with the Giver of Victories. It was said of a great King that his Councils had of late been so good, it's certainly true of the Parliament's enemies who seem to be infatuated, the consideration whereof with not in the least courting were sufficient to make the strongest in affection fit loose, whereas victory must needs increase friends. And behold a Victory remarkable, first discovered by a Letter of Mr. Peters, the contents whereof might well be omitted, having been divulged in a whole sheet, but in regard the numbers slain on both sides are so strong, viz : that more were slain of the besieged than the besiegers in the taking of Tredagh, viz. 3000 of the Rebels and 60 of the besiegers, it's probable the losse was equal during the enemies standing, and that the rest were killed *not resisting*, but of the whole action more at the latter end [of the paper] when possible more full intelligence will be come.

* * * * *

' Dublin, 22 Sept.

' There's no question but you will see and receive severall relations of our late expedition to Tredagh, and indeed from severall hands truth is best got forth, not one but many being necessary to give a true account of things of this nature : according to the best informations gotten receive as followeth.

' The 4th instant we sate down before Drogedagh, strongly fortified, and well manned, with an expert Governour Sir Arthur Ashton, his men as before, most Irish, and select. Our artillery coming by sea with other necessaries, and windes being uncertain, it was the 10th Sept. before our batteries were finished, that day we made a small breach, on the 11 a large, yet as no horses could enter nor foot without much difficulty, we being necessitated to use ladders in some places. About four in the afternoon the assault began, and but on the South side of the Towne, the North being not attempted we not thinking it discretion to divide our Army to both sides the River least the enemy should (which we had intelligence he intended) fall upon one part or the other from within and without ; the first attempt was upon a Tenalya newly made and without the wall which flanked the breach, which was taken without any considerable losse by a party commanded by valiant Captain Branley, whom the Lord Lieutenant recommends to Parliament, after which the breach was stormed which held a hot dispute for a quarter of an hour, each fighting as if the gaining or losing thereof had been the losing or gaining of Ireland and to say truth it was little less, as by the sequell

you will finde : the violence of our enemy made our men give back, so fierce was the opposition, which the Lord Lieutenant seeing, run on foot to the soldiers and encouraged them, which occasioned the renewing of the charge, and it was done with such resolution, that they immediately carried the towne, putting to the sword as fast as they could, in which slaughter there fell Sir Arthur Ashton a Papist, as were most of the Garrison ; the reason given of his death is said to be the rage of Colonel Castle's souldiers for the death of their Collonel, also that for Ashton gave not a civil answer when summoned. Sir Edward Varney also was slain who had charge of the mount, also Col. Fleming, Lieuten. Col. Finglas, Major Gerald, Sir Robert Hartpool, Captains, Lieutenants and Cornets of Horse 80, where their Horse were we know not, probably they went as common men ; of foot Collonel William Warren, Col. Waller, Col. Burne, the Lord Taff's brother an Augustine Frier, of Captains and inferiour officers of foot 44, 220 Reformadoes. 2000 within the Town were put to the sword, the rest that had that kind of execution leapt over the wall who are about 500, which maken in all about 2900, and being all Papists no doubt and many of them of that party called Toryes who used to rob and kill without mercie, and no doubt were of that wretched party that kill'd so many Protestants at the beginning of the Rebellion, and so God the Avenger of murther (which is to Kill contrary to His rule of direction) hath met with them and sooner or later will with all such bloody minded men. Thus is that strong place overcome to the terrour of the enemy in all parts ; As for the seasonableness and the necessity of taking the way we did, it appears first because provisions would have failed had we made a long work ; besides in Sir Arthur Ashton's pocket was found a Letter wherein Ormond, Castlehaven and others wrote that they would if they held out to the thirteenth, relieve them by raising the siege, and say the same letters, with 4000 horse and Owen Roe's foot, which they presumed upon ; and as we are assured are since joyned with them, but too late for this place what they may do afterward ; this place being taken two days before, and though some are of opinion the enemy's rage will be greatest by the slaughter of Tredagh yet we find the terror great that is upon them. Trim being quit before Major Coddugin (Coddington) could come to it, Ormond sending a Party to reinforce it but coming too late and seeing ours, flee ; it's very advantageous to us for quarters, and out of that prospect it was the next place

to be attacked; Dundalke did the like, only the Castle, which with other places Collonel Venables being sent with horse and foot to reduce hath frighted them out of Carlingford, and it's said the Nurey [Newry] also; the North being now at our Devotion except Belfast, Carrickfergus, Charlemont and Coleraine, of whom we hope to be masters before we go to Winter Quarters; We take notice that the Sunday, and but two days before Tredagh was taken, Masse was said in the great churches of the Town; when such sottish Idolatry is erected, and on high, the fall we hope will still be the greater; and so long as our grand enemy employs such we have faith enough to believe we shall overcome; these two Churches, the one was beat down, the other blown up, let him continue to plow with an ox and an asse, believe it he is like to come home with a weeping crosse. Mark Trevor with his strong resolutions for Royalty, is with a Vessell kept for that end, fled to the Isle of Man, and more, no doubt, will follow: Ormond and Inchiquin are at odds, by reason of the conjunction with Own Roe, who with the Marquis of Clanrickard, Ards and Claneboys is marched to Kilkenny where he tells the Councell that if they will not put him in capacity to fight the enemy he will quit his command; Inchiquin saith, he will go and secure his Party of Munster, as well as he can, rather than joyn with the bloody Rebels. The Lord Lieutenant is marched from hence, having first mustered our men, refreshed them and taken provisions with him; we do not go so many South, as we went North, for though we lost but few, we believe not above 100 slain outright, yet it could not be expected but that some be wounded and others sick; and of them the main sufferers were of Venables', Huson's and Ewer's regiments; whether we shall attack Kilkenny or Wexford time will shew; and what opposition we shall meet with by the way, there being many straits, and such as may be defended by a few men against many; Wexford it's possible may be first set upon, because it's the great Reception for Pirates, there being, it's believed, 80 such small vessels there, it's double walled about and no doubt well provided, if those in it, who man the ships, only engage, they may make a notable defence; the Fleet will no doubt be aiding unto us. In the storming of Tredagh our word was: The Lord assist us. This is observable, that the Nobles and Gentry of Ireland are as generally engaged in this folorne designe as were the English for the late King; and in all likelihood, if they persist, will come to as miserable an end.'

Oct. 1.

The Parliament having received a full relation from the Lord Lieutenant of his success in Ireland, ordered the First November next to be a day of Thanksgiving.

* * * * *

That his Author might make publick the first eminent action of the Lord Lieut. of Ireland, as he hath done all his former, he hath adventured once more to publick view. The work for the future is left to those whom Fame saith wants none.

To these letters may be added an extract from a different source, affording evidence that there was one at least of Cromwell's officers disgusted by his butchery. The incident related in the extract probably took place at the surrender of the soldiers who 'fired upon a part of the republican army' from their security in the West Gate. With their surrender the massacre appears to have ceased, and Cromwell's mercy in sparing these soldiers to be shipped to the Barbadoes, when their officers and every tenth man of them were shot down, is explained. The extract is taken from the death column in *Faulkner's Dublin Journal*, Tuesday, September 8, to Saturday, September 12, 1767:—

DEATH.

Last Wednesday se'nnight Samuel Lucas of Mount Lucas in the King's County, Esqr., a Gentleman of an amiable character. He was grandson to Col. Benjamin Lucas who bravely fought the battles of the Commonwealth in this kingdom and revenged the Protestant blood shed here in the memorable year 1641, as became a valiant soldier and a good subject. He distinguished himself upon many occasions; but upon none more than in disobeying the commands of the Protector when upon a Breach of Truce agreed upon at Drogheda by firing upon a part of the Republican army Cromwell ordered Colonel Lucas to put all the besieged men, women and children to the sword. Upon which the Col. bravely told him, he had fought all the battles of the Republic and would fight them over again if necessary; said he was his Highnesses soldier, as such he had a right to command him; but he would not be his butcher and offered to give up his commission, which moved the Protector to desist from his

purpose. An estate obtained by these services, and improved by the successive heirs, now devolves upon John Lucas, Esqr., Barr. at Law, eldest son of the deceased.

The family tradition magnified the importance of the Colonel's intervention. It makes it appear as if his refusal saved all the women and children from massacre. One will meet with such exaggerations in the annals of military tradition, even when the kernel of the story is true. The explanation offered appears to come near to the truth. It is a relief to learn that even one spark of human feeling contrived to survive amidst so much savagery. So far the 'flower' has been doomed to blush unseen; in justice, history should for the future note it.

THOMAS GOGARTY.

A RECENT CRITIC OF PROBABILISM

THE allusion to Probabilism in the new preface of Dr. McDonald's learned *Essay on the Principles of Moral Science* focuses attention on what, to my mind, is the most interesting chapter of the book, that, namely, which deals with the grounds of Probabilism. 'Those who defend Probabilism on the ground that a doubtful law cannot bind, might ask themselves whether the non-observance of such a law may result in material sin, however you may have convinced yourself that the non-observance is justified ; and might, in case they find it so, think out the question how a law that does not bind can beget even a material sin.'¹

Moral theology is not usually reckoned as a progressive science, save in the sense that while the truths on which the science rests remain the same, their application to the problems arising out of human conduct varies necessarily with the ever-changing condition of men's lives. There are some, however, who maintain that moral theology is progressive in a wider sense ; that inasmuch as the science is grounded on reason and faith, outside the domain of revealed truth and the infallible teaching of the Church, and within the wide sphere of reason, fresh fields and pastures new await the theological explorer ; that this is more especially true of the domain wherein the science of ethics and psychology affect the conclusions of the moralist ; that here at least some of the principles ardently defended by theologians and much of the reasoning advanced in support of received opinions need sifting and sounding ; that we have still much to learn and perhaps not a little to unlearn.

Whatever the future may have in store for us the moralists of the present day are staunch defenders of Probabilism. It may also, I think, be said that as far as practice is con-

¹ Page xii., Introduction.

cerned no principle is more frequently availed of by the missionary priest than Probabilism; and further, that the use of this doctrine is more widespread and more urgent nowadays than it was at a period varying from fifty to a hundred years ago. Nor are the reasons for this far to seek. They arise out of the ever-increasing tendency of fallen man to chafe under restraint of whatever kind; out of an unwillingness to sacrifice ever so little of his liberty; and a craving even on the part of the conscientious to know the exact limits of obligations however light.

Be the reasons what they may, it is, I think, evident to all students of theology that a thorough grasp of the doctrine of Probabilism is essential to the modern missionary priest. It will not suffice to take on authority the general principle, that one can use a probable opinion in the direction of souls. The principles that underlie the system, the reasons that render an opinion probable, the limits, the prudent use, the possible abuse of Probabilism are all of them points of supreme importance to those engaged in missionary work. I know nothing that will more directly contribute to a thoroughly intelligent grasp of Probabilism than a study of some honest criticism of the system, such as the remarkably able chapter already alluded to affords us. The objections encountered in theological text-books remind me—I say it with due reverence for their learned authors—of an Aunt Sally; they are set up for demolition, and as a matter of course they are demolished; and if the student does not see that the demolition is as whole as it is meant to be, he thinks it is his fault not the author's; for he is sure the author would not have been so impolitic as to introduce difficulties by himself unanswerable, into his book; as a result, these objections are taken little notice of. It is quite a different experience to tackle the criticism of an independent thinker like Dr. McDonald. Let anyone try to refute the criticism so plentifully supplied in the *Principles of Moral Science*, and though he may not succeed in his primary object, nor even in defending what he hitherto held, he will certainly learn to appreciate more accurately and profoundly than before,

the exact position which he holds. This, I consider, is not the least merit of Dr. McDonald's work.

In the whole of theology there is probably no thesis more solidly, and, I might say, more attractively demonstrated than that embodying the principles of Probabilism. Here there is no long drawn out appeal to Scripture and Tradition; the whole system rests securely on a solid bed-rock of common sense. The axiom: '*Lex dubia non obligat*,' and the dictum of St. Thomas¹: '*Nullus ligatur per praeceptum aliquod nisi mediante scientia illius praecepti*,' are as it were the column and buttress of Probabilism. To think of questioning either of these would be like aiming at the upheaval of reason itself. So the average student thinks. Furthermore, he is early in his course led to believe, and takes as certain, that all other systems for the solution of a practical doubt are utterly negligible. From absolute tutorism, which is condemned, to Probabiliorism, which has a rigoristic tendency, what are they but effete methods, Jansenistic in flavour, now happily little more than dry theological antiquities, specimens for a kind of theological museum, if such there exists? That he should conceive a deep-seated respect for probable opinions, and concentrate his energies to a large extent all along his course in the investigation of what is held to be probable as to the various questions arising for discussion; that he should in fact make the study of moral theology largely consist in the acquisition of probable opinions, is but natural. If by the end of his course he should have acquired all the probable opinions advanced as such, in one of the standard manuals of theology, he would consider himself better equipped than he actually needs be for practical work. Such, I think, is the ordinary student's attitude towards moral theology, an attitude begotten almost unconsciously and inevitably of the teachings of modern theologians on Probabilism. The justifiableness of these teachings is what Dr. McDonald discusses.

The system of Probabilism simply consists in the application of a reflex principle to the solution of a practical

¹ *De Verit.*, q. 17, a. 3.

doubt, with a view of thereby obtaining a certain dictate of conscience. More explicitly stated, a conscientious man can, according to the system of Probabilism, act upon a probable opinion in favour of liberty, when there is question of the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an act, and when the law in the concrete case is doubtful; nor is he debarred from acting even though the opinion in favour of the law is more probable than the one in favour of liberty. The limits of Probabilism may be defined by saying that where any other element besides that of lawfulness or unlawfulness enters into the case, there is no longer room for the application of the system. Thus, when there is question of a means necessary for salvation; or where the validity of a sacrament is at stake; or when, in matters of commutative justice, the certain right of a party is in question, in all cases, that is, whenever over and above the question of what is licit there is the further obligation of producing some definite effect, or avoiding some definite evil, it is not permissible to avail of a probable opinion; the more secure course must be followed, no risk is justifiable. Again, of course, no one can make a probable conscience as such his guide of moral conduct. Unless he can form from the probabilities of his case a *certain* conscience he must either abstain from acting, or if he intends to act, or is bound to act, must elect what is more probable, and what to him appears the course least likely to involve sin.

Within the limits of what is lawful or unlawful the system is of universal application; and so whatever kind of law is in question, be it the natural law or the divine positive law or human law, the application of Probabilism is permissible. Nor is the case where the doubt has reference to the cessation of law through custom, or by actual abrogation, any exception.

All opinions advanced as probable must rest on solid reasons, and amongst reasons those arising out of the sound moral sense of God-fearing people are better than metaphysical niceties.¹ The intrinsic reasons need not appear, though

¹ Tanquerey, *de Virtutibus et Praeceptis*, p. 239.

such reasons must exist ; but one can use a probable opinion which, as far as one knows, rests solely on authority. A confessor, for example, may safely use as probable an opinion on the ground that it is advocated as probable by St. Liguori ; what St. Liguori's reasons were for regarding it probable he need not know nor delay to inquire. Furthermore, an opinion, to be probable, must not run counter to any received definition of the Church ; it must not cease to be probable, when the reasons for its being held so are contrasted with those alleged in favour of the opposite view. The authority of even one theologian of great eminence, of St. Liguori for instance, or of De Lugo, whom St. Liguori reckons next to St. Thomas amongst theologians ; or, in the case of less eminent men, the unanimity of a group of approved authors suffices to render an opinion probable. This feature of the system is of great importance, inasmuch as the weighing of internal reasons for or against a view, and the deduction therefrom of an opinion which may be safely relied on as probable, is the work of a trained theologian, and demands both learning and leisure. Missionary priests can scarcely be expected to know more than the decisions of theologians who have made special studies of certain abstruse questions. They act prudently even though they take the opinion on a given question on authority alone ; they have only to consider whether the authority is competent in the case.

As already alluded to, the system of Probabilism is not for those who are aiming at a perfect life ; though these latter may use it, they ought to show a readiness to sacrifice liberty, and choose restraint even when not actually obliged to do so. Nor are confessors to be unrestrained by caution in the application they make of the system. The little brochure in which St. Alphonsus for the first time advocated Probabilism is apologetic in its very title : the Saint entitled his work *Dell' uso moderato dell' opinione probabile* (1765). And in his instruction to confessors, St. Alphonsus says : ' If the use of mild opinions removes the danger of a penitent committing formal sin, the confessor ought, generally speaking, and as far as Christian prudence will suggest,

use such opinions. But if the use of mild opinion renders the danger of formal sin more proximate—he instances certain matters wherein, owing to the frailty of human nature, the withstanding of certain passions is fraught with unusual difficulty—‘then the confessor ought, generally speaking, nay more, I say he is bound to use stricter opinions which conduce to help penitents to remain in the state of grace.’¹

The toleration of the Church is, to my mind, the solidest bulwark of Probabilism. Toleration, too, is the word that properly describes the attitude of the Church in this particular. The Church has never formally approved of Probabilism. She has ever steered an even keel between rigorism on the one hand and laxity on the other. The signs of the Church’s toleration are both negative and positive. There is no condemned proposition that can be interpreted as representing Probabilism. And if the system did not make for morality, its widespread use, and the fact that it is taught in the schools, and the view maintained that should a penitent elect and insist on following a probable opinion, even against the wishes of the confessor, the latter cannot on that score refuse him absolution, and that the confessor who would refuse absolution in these circumstances would violate the right of the penitent—all these and other considerations would call for its condemnation. For the Church as divinely appointed guardian of morality would be false to her trust should she in these circumstances tolerate Probabilism.

On the other hand, the Church has given her sanction to the works of St. Alphonsus. And under penalty of disturbing Ballerini’s shade, not to mention the cloud of more modern witnesses, we dare not deny that St. Alphonsus was, from the publication of his work in 1765 to his death, a Probabilist. I say this is the most commodious and the soundest defence of Probabilism.

Of the attitude of the Church to Probabilism, Dr. McDonald, under the heading ‘The Teaching Church and

¹ *Praxis Confessarii*.

Probabilism,' writes: 'As the advocates of Probabilism sometimes claim for that system a certain amount of Church sanction, it may not be out of place to submit the following extract from a letter, of June 26, 1680, sent by order of Pope Innocent XI. to the Nuncio in Spain, the contents to be communicated to Father Thyrso Gonzales, S.J.'¹ (page 259).

The substance of the letter is briefly this: that the Pope empowers the General of the Jesuits (Father Gonzales), and through him the Jesuit theologians, to defend Probabiliorism, and impugn in their teaching, and by their writings, Probabilism. Evidently Dr. McDonald does not quite go the length of those adversaries of Probabilism who point to this document as a 'solemn and authentic testimony of the supreme ecclesiastical authority against Probabilism'; the title, 'The Teaching Church and Probabilism,' however, is a little misleading, and would lead the unwary to suspect that the author of *The Principles of Moral Science* is a Probabiliorist. Be that as it may, his object in introducing this letter is to indicate the Church's position in reference to the system of Probabilism.

The best answer to this document, which seems to favour Probabiliorism, is that very briefly given by Noldin in the last edition of his *Moral Theology*. He sums up his views on the controversy in these brief paragraphs:—

1°. Thyrsus Gonzales, then a professor at Salamanca, had written repeated letters to the holy Pontiff, and at the same time had sent him a little work against Probabilism, in which he explains to his Holiness that all the theologians of the Society of Jesus are addicted to Probabilism, nor does any of them dare to impugn that doctrine and defend the opposite through fear of incurring the displeasure of superiors. These circumstances gave rise to the decree.

2°. Innocent XI. was opposed to Probabilism, and wished it

¹ 'Sanctitatis sua benigne acceptis et non sine laude perlectis ejus litteris, mandavit ut ipse libere et intrepide praedicet, doceat et calamo defendat opinionem magis probabilem; necnon viriliter impugnet sententiam eorum, qui asserunt, quod in concursu minus probabilis opinionis cum probabiliore sic cognita et indicata, licitum sit sequi minus probabilem; eumque certum faciat, quod quidquid favore opinionis magis probabilis egerit, et scripserit, gratum erit Sanctitati suae . . .' (Denzinger, n. 1219).

abolished ; yet by his supreme authority he neither abolished it, nor made any enactment against it. From the fact, however, that the holy Pontiff held a private opinion opposed to Probabilism, it is not shown that the system is false or censurable.

3°. The adversaries, therefore, of the system erroneously assert that this decree is a solemn and authentic testimony of the supreme ecclesiastical authority against Probabilism ; for the decree is not doctrinal, but disciplinary and particular, from which nothing against Probabilism can be derived. Rather, from the fact that the theologians of the Society of Jesus may defend it, not only is it not rejected but it is just as much admitted as the system of equi-Probabilism or Probabiliorism.¹

The argument for Probabilism founded on the fact that liberty was before law, seems to be the most satisfactory of the intrinsic proofs. When we consider the positive law, whether divine or human, we must concede that liberty is anterior *in time* to law ; since such things as are prohibited by law are intrinsically lawful, and only rendered unlawful by some enactment. Where there is question of the natural law liberty *in reason* is antecedent to law. The essence of a creature and its liberty is a concept in reason prior to the notion of law to which the creature is subjected ; the law being a means whereby the creature is enabled to secure its end, the creature must be known previous to the law which may suitably direct it to its proper end. 'God,' says Ecclesiasticus, 'made man from the beginning, and left him in the hand of his own counsel. *He added His commandments and counsels.*'² Liberty, then, being first in the field is not restricted save by a certain obligation ; otherwise the effect would be greater than the cause. The certain right of liberty does not yield to the uncertain right of a doubtful law.³

The demonstration usually placed first, that founded on the axiom *lex dubia non obligat*, is severely handled by Dr. McDonald. In his criticism he seems to say that Probabilists profess to exclude the possibility of material sin,

¹ Noldin, *De Principiis*, p. 273.

² Eccli. xv. 14, 15 ; Waffelaert, *De Dubio Soluendo*.

³ Noldin, *De Principiis*, ed. viii. 1910.

in the application of their principles to the solution of a practical doubt ; for he is at pains to show that material sin is not eliminated when the principle *Lex dubia non obligat* is acted upon. To prove that material sin is not always obviated, he examines the argument based on the insufficient promulgation of a law. 'Lex non satis promulgata non obligat, seu non est lex ; atqui quando ratio vere probabilis suadet obligationem in certa quadam re non existere, circa illam rem seu ejus obligationem lex, non est satis promulgata ; ergo vera obligatio seu lex circa illam rem non existit.'¹ The probative force of this argument he denies, maintaining that though promulgation is necessary, in order that the will of the lawgiver should have the binding force of law, nevertheless ignorance and doubt can exist consistently with adequate promulgation.

Can anyone really maintain that a law is never sufficiently promulgated as long as there is either ignorance or doubt in the mind of the subject ? . . . What about divine laws, such as that of baptism ? What about ecclesiastical laws, such as those of the Council of Trent ? As far as the principle formulated and advocated by Dr. Bouquillon after St. Alphonsus [and he might have added after St. Thomas]—that no one is bound by a precept unless and in so far as he has knowledge of the precept in question—I cannot conceive how it came to be formulated by any theologian. Is no one bound by the law of baptism except those who know for certain that the law exists ?²

Of this I think it may be said that a distinction might be made between the voiding effect of a law in matters subject to the legislator's control, and the prescriptive or prohibitive effect, as far as subjects are concerned, of the same law. In the latter case, ignorance or doubt may excuse, wherever in the former, the legislator can so frame his law that neither will excuse. Anyhow, so far Dr. McDonald's criticism results in no more than this : that material sin may result from the use of Probabilism. But the theologians admit this :—

The law against which the probabilities militate may really exist as the probable reasons may be false ; but the danger of

¹ Lehmkuhl, vol. i.

² Pages 245, 246.

material sin need not necessarily be avoided. It would be an intolerable burden imposed upon us, if to avoid the danger of material sin we were bound to observe uncertain laws; we would often be bound to observe a law that did not exist at all.¹

Dr. McDonald does not say, or aim at showing, that Probabilism *increases* the danger of material sin; had he shown this his argument would appear more cogent; for the Probabilists, though solicitous to reduce to a minimum the danger of material sin, are chiefly concerned about the avoidance of formal sin. As the author says:—

May they (the theologians, St. Alphonsus, Bouquillon, Lehmkuhl) not have meant merely that although doubtful laws may truly bind; so that if it should be objectively true that the law exists, any violation of its provisions is materially sinful, no matter how excellent the intention of the agent may have been; may they not have meant that although doubtful laws bind in this sense, their binding force does not extend to the conscience of the agent, so as to make him responsible for any probable violation of their provisions? This, I imagine, is the meaning really attached by those who propound it to the principle, 'Doubtful laws do not bind.' The question of responsibility is thus raised; when and why is one responsible for an act that is out of order materially? Is it necessary that one should be held responsible even though he is merely in doubt subjectively? The advocates of Probabilism commonly maintain that there can be no responsibility as long as subjectively the agents doubt of the objective deordination. Is it proved? Is it true?²

Dr. McDonald, from the analysis of certain cases and by means of an ingenious argument, arrives at this rather startling generalization: 'I take it therefore that subjective doubt is quite sufficient to beget true responsibility and formal sin; so that the principle, that doubtful laws do not bind, is not true even though it be understood of subjective responsibility or guilt rather than of objective obligation.'³

With regard to this conclusion, it is to be noted that the two cases which the author analyses and instances in

¹ Noldin, *De Principiis*; Bouquillon, *Theol. Fund.*

² Page 247.

³ Page 349.

support of it are outside the domain of Probabilism. The first case regards the performance of an act by one who has a practical doubt about its moral character ; that is, by one who does not use a reflex principle, to form his conscience before acting. The second case is that wherein the result of any mistake that may be made is an irretrievable calamity, such as loss of life or of salvation. I do not see, therefore, that by these examples he gains any point against Probabilism, which concerns, as we said above, only the lawfulness or unlawfulness of an action,

Furthermore, it may be questioned whether the conclusion arrived at is warranted by the reasoning adduced :—

Suppose the man were to act without forming any certain conscience, what kind of sin would he commit ? Suppose, for instance, he were to fire a shot at an object which he thought might be a man or a stag ; of what species of sin would he be guilty ? A sin of murder, or merely an act of disobedience to this further general law—the law which binds him in case of doubt to acquire certainty as to the rightness of his act before he proceeds to act ? It seems plain that he would in every case be guilty of affective murder : this is the teaching of those very theologians whom I am now refuting (St. Alphonsus, Bouquillon, Lehmkuhl).

Yes, it is true the theologians regard the sin as the same in both cases. But, with all deference to the theologians, may we not ask whether the law directly violated in both cases is the same ? To my thinking, while the man who commits murder directly violates the fifth Commandment ; the man who fires the shot in doubt as above, directly violates the reflex law enjoining inquiry in case of serious doubt, and indirectly the law against murder ; his sin is equivalent to a sin of murder, as the theologians make out ; but the direct violation, the object first apprehended by the mind, concerns the reflex law of inquiry. And in proof of this I might add that the confession would be different in the cases in question ; in one case it would be of a sin of murder, in the other of performing some act ‘ about which grave doubts were entertained.’

And as to the question : ‘ What would happen if the agent

who doubts and nevertheless proceeds to act in complete ignorance of this reflex law?' One might as well ask what would happen if the agent had no conscience at all. Conscience here means attention to the reflex law or it means nothing.

In reference to the second case discussed by Dr. McDonald, the same remarks may be made. As a general argument against Probabilism the case made out by Dr. McDonald comes to about this: that Probabilism is scientifically unsound, because in matters of practical doubt it is not all-embracing. As remarked before, theologians mark out the limits of the system. Within these I fail to see how it is not scientific.

Having seen some of the author's destructive criticism, let us briefly review the system which he suggests as an improvement on Probabilism:—

Finally [he says], if it be urged that at least in some cases it is reasonable not to insist on the observance of doubtful laws, I reply that this is so whenever observance of such a law is the greater of two or more evils or dangers, of which one has to be faced or accepted. Here is a principle which everybody admits, which is easily understood, and in which those against whose views I am now contending have a natural and easy remedy for the evils they apprehend.

However scientific this process may be, I doubt its utility as a workable system. In Chapter V. Dr. McDonald explains and illustrates the principles which he advocates, with his usual admirable skill. Where, however, he treats of the practical application of his teaching he seems to me to overestimate the amount of common sense or prudence normally allotted to man.

And so [he says] any man, in whatever walk of life, will be judged to have acted rightly in the moral order, as far at least as his will is concerned, provided he has acted prudently—as a farmer, shopkeeper, artisan, soldier, sailor, or what you will. As a rule the morality of an action is but another aspect of its utility; so that he who has done what seemed to him most useful or least harmful in the circumstances, will have done what is morally right at least subjectively.

Now, I fear this process would work somewhat in this way : there is question here, of course, only of the God-fearing, the conscientious ; these, I hold, would be frequently hampered in their liberty through their inability to judge which of two courses would be the least dangerous ; they would be brought to a standstill. Let them be supposed to apply in their predicament to a confessor ; how is he, I ask, to apply such a system with ease and security ; how is a young priest, for instance, to balance reasons so as to make out which is the less dangerous of two courses ?—what seems less perilous to one may seem more so to another ; and with the ever shifting notions prevalent in these days of ours, what is held as dangerous to-day may be advocated as safe to-morrow !

I think, therefore, that Dr. McDonald's constructive is not as happy as his destructive work ; that though he has made the old gods of Probabilism reel a bit under the blows of his iconoclastic thought, these venerable deities recover their equilibrium, and are likely to hold it.

E. J. CULLEN, C.M.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF GENOA

AD R. P. D. EDUARDUM PULCIANO GENUENSII ARCHIEPISCOPUM,
CETEROSQUE LIGURIAE EPISCOPOS, OB VENERATIONIS OBSE-
QUIUM OCCASIONE ANNUI EPISCOPALIS CONVENTUS BEATISSIMO
PATRI PER LITTERAS OBLATUM

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Medias inter acerbitates quibus undique urgemur ac premimur,
solatium attulerunt, sane haud leve, litterae, quas pietatis vestrae
nuncias ad Nos misistis, priusquam coetum dimitteretis ad quem
quotannis pastoralis vos cogit sollicitudo. Laeta vero in iis,
tristia Nobiscum communicantes, ut fratres addecet qui fratrem
alloquuntur, non optimum reticulistis iudicium quod de iis facitis
quae novissima hac tempestate duximus decernenda ad fidei
depositum integrum custodiendum et ad catholicam firmiter
muniendam disciplinam: neque iniurias silentio praeteriistis
quae, non multis ante diebus in Nos inque ipsam catholicae
Ecclesiae verendam maiestatem, palam, heic Romae, immissae
sunt ac procaciter. Pietatem vestram, quam perspectam nullo
non tempore habuimus, novo libuit experiri testatam argumento,
eamque vobiscum gratulamur. Avet vero animus ut firmetur
et augeatur in dies: idque apostolica praestet benedictio, quam
coelestium auspicem gratiarum, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et
uniuscuiusque vestrum Clero populoque peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die XXVI mensis Octobris
MCMX, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF MUNICH

AD R. P. D. FRANCISCUM DE BETTINGER, ARCHIEPISCOPUM MONA-
CENSEM AC FRISINGENSEM CETEROSQUE BAVARIAE ARCHI-
EPISCOPUM ET EPISCOPOS, OB FILIALE VENERATIONIS OBSE-
QUIUM AB IISDEM EPISCOPALEM COETUM INITURIS BEATISSIMO
PATRI PER LITTERAS EXHIBITUM

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Pergratum quidem Nobis medias inter aegritudines solatium

litterae prae buerunt quas nuper dedistis. Coetum quippe, ut assoletis, inituri iis decernendis quae Ecclesiis vestris forent magis profutura, vestrum duxistis rei perficiendae initium a Nobis sumere, observantiae significatione praecipua quadam laude digna. Quin etiam placuit et vota suscipere quibus opportuna Nobis auxilia ab Eo peteretis pro quo legatione, licet immeriti, fungimur. Officium amavimus utrumque: quum alterum vestram in aperto ponat cum Apostolica Sede necessitudinem, exornet alterum vestram in Nos pietatem. Utraque sane optatissima Nobis. Tempora enim nacti Ecclesiae nimium infensa, sentimus plane atque intelligimus quantum et divina ope et arctissima cum venerabilibus fratribus coniunctione indigeamus. Id plane est causae cur officiis vestris officia Nostra cumulatione respondeant. Quare et Nos coelestia munera vobis a Deo suppliciter contendimus. Quo vero obsecrationes Nostrae uberiores impetrent gratias, Caroli Borromei, quem iugi colitis memoria, deprecatione libenter adhibemus. Interim benevolentiae Nostrae testem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et cuiusque vestrum Clero populoque apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xxv mensis Octobris MCMX, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

COMPETENCE OF ECCLESIASTICAL TRIBUNAL

S. CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS

ROMANA

DE COMPETENTIA IN ECCLESIASTICIS LEGIBUS INTERPRETANDIS

Sacrae Congregationi Consistoriali ea quae sequuntur dubia proposita sunt solvenda:

1°. an, post ordinationem Romanae Curiae a Pio PP. X. statutam, Sacrae Congregationi Concilii adhuc competat exclusiva facultas authentice interpretandi omnia Concilii Tridentini decreta, quae ad morum reformationem, disciplinam aliaque huiusmodi pertinent, Summo Pontifice consulto;

2°. an facultas authentice interpretandi Concilii Tridentini decreta aliasque leges ecclesiasticas vi Constitutionis *Sapienti Consilio* sit singulis Sacris Congregationibus commissa secundum propriam cuiusque competentiam, salva Romani Pontificis approbatione;

3°. an eadem potestas competat sacris tribunalibus Romanae Rotae et Signaturae Apostolicae ;

4°. an iisdem sacris tribunalibus competat saltem facultas decreta Concilii Tridentini aliasque leges ecclesiasticas interpretandi iuridice in casibus particularibus, ita nempe ut ius faciant inter partes in causa.

Eñi Patres huius Sacrae Congregationis in generali coetu die 9 Februarii 1911 habito, omnibus mature perpensis, respondendum censuerunt :

Ad I. et III. *negative* ; ad II. et IV. *affirmative*.

In sequenti vero die, quum hae dubiorum resolutiones SSmo D. N. Pio PP. X. ab infrascripto Cardinali Secretario relatae sint, Sanctitas Sua eas ratas habuit et confirmavit.

Datum Romae et Aedibus eiusdem Sacrae Congregationis, die 11 Februarii anno 1911.

C. CARD. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.
SCIPIO TECCHI, *Adessor*.

L. ✠ S.

CASE OF NULLITY OF MARRIAGE

SACRA ROMANA ROTA

UGENTINA

NULLITATIS MATRIMONII (BLEVE-SAPORITO)

Pio PP. X. feliciter regnante, Pontificatus Dominationis suae anno septimo, die 22 Martii 1910, RR. PP. DD. Ioannes Prior, Aloisius Sincero, Ponens, Ioseph Mori, Auditores de turno, in causa Ugentina—Nullitatis matrimonii, inter Camillum Bleve repraesentatum per procuratorem Ioachim Antonelli-Costaggini et Conceptam Saporito, interveniente et disceptante in causa Vinculi Defensore ex officio, sequentem tulerunt definitivam sententiam.

Causa praesens prius disceptata est apud Curiam Ugentinam, quae, sententia data sub die 25 Aprilis 1908, declaravit matrimonium habendum esse ut nullum. Appellante contra hanc sententiam Vinculi Defensore, causa deducta est apud hunc Sacrum Ordinem sub proposito et concordato dubio : *An constet de matrimonii nullitate in casu ?*

Quantum ex Regestis Ecclesiae Parochialis Tricasii constat, anno millesimo octingentesimo octogesimo sexto, die vigesima tertia Septembris, denunciationibus praemissis continuis diebus festis, nulloque legitimo impedimento detecto, Noè Summonte, Rector Ecclesiae Parochialis Tricasii, Camillum Bleve et Con-

ceptam Saporito, illius Parochiae, in Ecclesia Parochiali interrogavit, eorumque mutuo consensu habito, solemniter per verba *de praesenti* matrimonio coniunxit, praesentibus testibus notis Hypatio Viva et Vito Fracasso illius Parochiae.

Matrimonium infelicem exitum habuit, et anno 1906 coepta est causa de ipsius nullitate. Interim vero anno 1890 Concepta Saporito novum contraxit matrimonium coram Ecclesia, in urbe Panormi, quod mirum est omnino.

Praesens vero matrimonium triplici ex capite impugnatur: 1°. eo quod non matrimonium *de praesenti* sed tantum sponsalia *de futuro* matrimonio contracta fuerint; 2°. ex capite defectus formae Tridentinae, eo quod defuerint duo requisiti testes; 3°. ex capite defectus conditionis *de praesenti* appositae ad matrimonium, seu ex capite defectus consensus ex errore personae.

Verum defectus consensus ex errore personae, seu ex conditione apposita, quem allegavit actor in prima instantia, certe non verificatur. Nam haec conditio, quam actor fassus est a se positam fuisse, quod mulier seu sponsa dives et nobiles moribusque honesta esset, minime probatur, valide inverisimilis est, et denique conciliari nequit cum intentione, quam habuit sponsus, ut ipse fassus est, omnia sua bona sponsae donandi.

I. Iamvero de facto celebrati matrimonii inter Camillum Bleve et Conceptam Saporito coram Parocho proprio, minime dubitari potest.

Circumstantiae enim, quae regulariter adsunt matrimonio rite celebrato coram Ecclesia, undequaque in casu nostro habentur. Patet enim ex documentis in Archivio dioeceseos Ugentinae assertivatis proclamationem bannorum unicam, praevia dispensatione ab aliis obtenta, factam fuisse in Paroeciis sponsae et sponsi, praemissam fuisse attestationem *liberi status* contrahentium, nec non decretum, quod vulgo 'contrahatur' audit, a Curia emissum fuisse. Postea, festivo comitatu ducta fuit sponsa in domum viri, secuta est cohabitatio ipsorum atque publica fama eos tamquam legitime nuptos habuit. Inscriptum etiam fuit matrimonium in Libro seu in Regestis parochialibus Matrimonii, et quamvis haec inscriptio minus accurata fuerit, nec subsignata a Parocho et a testibus, tamen explicari non posset, si matrimonii celebratio de facto non extitisset.

De hoc facto, atque de publica fama celebrati matrimonii, testes praecipui sunt P. Antoninus de Notaris, sac. Vitus Giaccari, Parochus loci Marciano, seu parochus proprius sponsi, sac. Petrus Dell' Abbate, Parochus hodiernus loci Tricase, et directe vel

indirecte testantur quoque De Mitri, Marra Santa, archipresbyter De Filippis, sacerdos Ponzetta, quin imo actor et ipse.

Quae cum ita se habeant, notandum est 'matrimonium gaudere favore iuris,' ut traditur expresse in cap. ult. *De Conditionibus*. Hic favor iuris in eo consistit ut matrimonium semel celebratum semper validum habendum sit, donec eius invaliditas plene non probetur. 'Tolerabilius est enim, ait Innoc. III. (in cap. 47, *De Testibus* . . .), aliquos contra statuta hominum dimittere copulatos, quam coniunctos legitime contra statuta Domini separare.' Unde principium: '*in dubio standum est pro valore matrimonii*, quod valet in utroque foro, et a fortiori si agatur de matrimonio fidelium, utpote sacramento.' Ita Gasparri, *De Matrimonio*, i. n. 227.

Quare minime in iudiciis de matrimonii nullitate vigere potest distinctio inter dubium iuris et dubium facti, eo sensu quod in dubio circa aliquod punctum iuris, aliquam nempe legem in se, matrimonium favore iuris gaudeat, in dubio vero circa aliquod factum, seu aliquod punctum, quod ex parte facti se teneat, matrimonium non gaudeat favore iuris. Neque invocari potest Instructio ad Vicarios Apost. Oceaniae Centralis missa ex decreto S. C. S. O. Fer. iv. 18 Dec. 1872. Haec enim docet: 'Licet autem ab hoc principio (in dubio standum est pro validitate matrimonii) aliquando recedere aequum sit, quando nimirum (ut plerumque contingit in matrimoniis infidelium) quaestio agitur de facto, utrum scilicet matrimonium fuerit unquam contractum necne, nihilominus hoc etiam in casu non est continuo properandum ad principium contrarium.' Nam hic agitur de facto ipsius celebrationis matrimonii, utrum scilicet matrimonium fuerit unquam contractum necne, et de peculiaribus quorumdam locorum circumstantiis. Iamvero in casu nostro de facto celebrati matrimonii dubitari nequit.

Quare a recto tramite aberravit sententia Curiae Ugentinæ declarans quod matrimonium praesens 'debba ritenersi nullo pel fatto che non si può provare la presenza dei testimoni Vita e Fracasso, segnati nel registro parrocchiale.'

In praesenti enim causa minime probanda est praesentia duorum testium Viva et Fracasso; sed probandum potius est (ut futile dubium de matrimonio *de futuro* seu de sponsalibus loco matrimonii *de praesenti* inito, excludamus, prout ex superius iam explosum est) vel duo testes non adfuisse (quod unice in casu nostro dubium vocari potest), vel non rite adfuisse; idque ita certo probandum est, ut omne prudens dubium in contrarium submoveatur.

Iamvero ius quod spectat, docet Reiffenstuel, *lib. iv. tit. xix. q. iv.* : 'Ad hoc ut Iudex ecclesiasticus vinculum matrimonii dissolvat, debet eidem de impedimento dirimente constare per probationem plenam et perfectam. . . . Quod si probatio fiat per testes, debet fieri per testes saltem duos omni exceptione maiores.'

Factum vero quod spectat, ex testibus in documento matrimonii relatis, scilicet Hypatio Viva et Vito Fracasso, hic denegat quidem se matrimonio adstittisse, ille autem fatetur se adstittisse matrimonio vel sponsalibus, immo potius sponsalibus, quam matrimonio: 'per propria convinzione ritenni trattarsi di matrimonio o promessa di matrimonio; e ritengo piuttosto la seconda parte, cioè trattarsi di promessa di matrimonio, perchè mancò la benedizione dell' anello.' Verum non omni exceptione maiores dicendi sunt ad effectum de quo supra, nempe 'ad hoc ut Iudex ecclesiasticus vinculum matrimonii dissolvat.'

Hypatius Viva equidem testatus est quod 'Il parroco vestito di cotta e stola benedisse i predetti Bleve e Saporito senza avere inteso parola alcuna. . . .' Non officit autem quod *verba non audiverit*, vel defuerit benedictio annuli, haec enim non sunt stricte necessaria.

At ipse, qui fuit Sacrario Ecclesiae Parochialis loci Tricase addictus, testatus est: 'che mai vennero eseguite pubblicazioni di matrimonio tra Camillo Bleve e Concetta Saporito.' Hoc autem non modo est veritati contrarium, sed nec consonum quidem est cum declarationibus ipsius testis, ut fassus est ipse Vitus Fracasso. Nec satis; nam ipse declaravit Can. Gabrieli Ciullo quod 'intese scambiar delle parole.'

Quoad Vitum Fracasso, iste coram Iudice Ecclesiastico testatus est che egli ha inteso che siano fatte le pubblicazioni di matrimonio' coram publico Notario autem: 'entrambi (Viva et Fracasso) accertano che mai si sono fatte pubblicazioni di matrimonio,' quod confirmat P. Antonius de Notaris.

Quare, vel praescindendo a quadam specie machinationis vel collusionis, prout ex agendi ratione actoris, ex depositionibus coram Notario civili, ex declarationibus P. Antonini de Notaris, Archipresbyteri de Filippis et Sacerdotis Ponzetta conicere licet, horum duorum testium depositiones (ut testem De Mitri praetermittamus, de quo idem iudicium ferendum est) non omne prudens dubium excludunt in contrarium.

Argumenti autem vis crescit, si ex adverso consideremus dotes Parochi Summonte.

Parochus hodiernus Ecclesiae loci Tricase ita deposuit de paracho Summonte: 'Era capacissimo di reggere la parrocchia. Era di buona morale ed adempiente ai propri doveri. Non lo credo capace di segnare un testimonio non adibito nella celebrazione del matrimonio.' Quod autem addit: 'però può darsi che sbadatamente,' etc., in casu, nec credibile est.

Parochus Franciscus Blandolino: 'Il predetto Parroco mostrò ottima capacità nel reggere la parrocchia . . . era di buona morale. Non lo ritengo capace di segnare come presente nella celebrazione dei matrimoni un testimonio, che non sia stato adibito.' Idem declarant sacerdos Ioseph Grafis et Andreas Taloro.

Quin, imo si consideremus documenta existentia in Curia Ugentina, ab ipso Paroco Summonte signata, liquido patet ipsum in ordine ad hoc matrimonium celebrandum diligentissimum fuisse quoad publicationes matrimonii, quoad domicilium, statum liberum, impedimenta, etc., investiganda et exquirenda. Qua ratione igitur putandum est ipsum negligentem fuisse, quinimo negligentissimum, quoad celebrationem ipsam matrimonii, et quoad praesentiam praesertim duorum testium formamque Tridentinam?

Ideo praesens matrimonium praesumendum et habendum est ut recte factum, in forma nempe Tridentina celebratum.

II. Sed alia subesse potest explicatio in casu nostro, nempe alios fuisse testes matrimonii, quod iuxta recensionem libri parochialis non in domo Parochi, sed in Ecclesia celebratum fuit. Scimus enim Paracho morem fuisse alteri munus regesta parochialia conscribendi committere, quum ista manu aliena constanter exarata sint. Ordinarie adhibiti erant ut testes matrimoniorum Viva et Fracasso, ita ut ex negligentia scriptoris fieri potuerit (ut hic asserit aliquando esse factum, eique concinit actualis Parochus Dell' Abbate) quod ipse inscriptus fuerit tamquam testis quamvis de facto matrimonio non adfuerit. Certe haec agendi ratio reprehendenda est; at quoad ea quae ipsam matrimonii essentiam respiciunt, Parochus Summonte solertem admodum se exhibuit. Nam, ut supra dictum est, omnia documenta necessaria collegit, dispensationem scilicet pro unica proclamatione facienda, attestationes denunciationis in paroecia sponsi factae, necnon liberi status contrahentium, et decretum Curiae, qui matrimonii celebrandi facultas data fuit. Nullum inter ista documenta extat vestigium licentiae a Curia concessae ut nuptiae fierent in domo Parochi, ex quo confirmatur celebrationem in Ecclesia factam fuisse. Ceteroquin istius secretae

celebrationis ratio adaequata assignari nequit, quum in paroeciis utriusque sponsi matrimonium iam publicatum fuerit.

Iamvero concipi nequit, ut supra notatum est, parochum, qui capacissimus traditur ad regendam parochiam, quique adamussim omnia ad matrimonium celebrandum praeeparare studuit, in ipsa celebratione id omittere voluisse, vel omisisse quod ad essentialem formam contractus matrimonialis pertinet, praesentiam nempe testium a Concilio Tridentino, *cap. i., de ref. matr. sess. xxiv.*, requisitam.

Ideoque etiamsi admittere velimus falsitatem libri parochialis respectu nominum testium, qui matrimonio celebrato adfuerunt, non sequitur matrimonium fuisse sine testibus, vel cum uno tantum teste, praeter parochum celebratum.

Ad summum, concludere licet rem in dubio manere, at in dubio standum est pro valore matrimonii.

Quibus omnibus mature perpensis, Christi nomine invocato, solumque Deum prae oculis habentes, Nos infrascripti Auditores pro Tribunali sedentes, ad propositum dubium pronunciamus atque sententiamus: *non constare de matrimonii nullitate inter Camillum Bleve et Conceptam Saporito.*

Ita pronunciamus, mandantes Ordinariis locorum et ministris Tribunalium, ad quos spectat, ut executioni mandent hanc sententiam et adversus reluctantes procedant ad normam Sacrorum canonum et praesertim *c. 3, sess. xxv., de Reform.* Concilii Tridentini, iis adhibitis executivis et coercitivis mediis, quae magis efficacia et opportuna pro rerum adiunctis exitura sint.

Romae, die 22 Martii 1910.

IOANNES PRIOR.

ALOISIUS SINCERO, *Ponens.*

IOSEPH MORI.

SAC. TANCREDES TANI, *Notarius.*

L. ✠ S.

PROCESSIONS OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

S. CONGREGATIO CONCILII

GRANATEN.

PROCESSIONIS IN FESTE SANCTISSIMI CORPORIS CHRISTI

I. Revñus Archiepiscopus Granaten. supplicem libellum SSmo D. N. Pio PP. Papae X. porrexit cuius tenor est sequens :
' Beatissime Pater.—Iosephus Archiep. Granaten. in Hispania, ad B. V. pedes humillime provolutus exponit :

' a) In hac alma Civitate Granatensi celebrari solemniter pro-

cessionem in festo SS^{mi} Corporis Christi, et in Synodalibus Dioecesanis praescribi, ut ex omnibus paroeciis civitatis, quae sunt numero tredecim, assistant Cruces parochiales cum clero et fidelibus devotionem habentibus.

‘b) Item, licet ex contextu Legis Synodalis deducatur litteraliter assistentiam esse praescriptam aliis paroeciis ex ditione limitrophae civitatis dicta Vega et Sierra, quae viginti octo numero constat, etiam ex desiderio Regum Catholicorum, quando Mauris profligatis instaurationem religioso-civilem huius regionis mirabiliter explevere, nec non ex annuo mandato Ordinarii, ut splendor processionis Apostolicae et Metropolitanae Ecclesiae Granatensis augeatur, id ordinatum esse constat.

‘c) Quando primo vice infrascriptus processioni SS^{mi} Corporis Christi interfuit, observavit quod Parochi civitatis quidem assistebant, sed ex aliis ditionis limitrophae de Vega et Sierra deficiebant viginti unum, allegantes dietantiam et aegritudinem, molestiasque itineris, aestatis, quod aliis annis repetitum est.

‘d) Exquirens utrum hi parochi non assistentes celebraverint in feria V propria, festivitatem et processionem SS^{mi} Corporis Christi, negative responsum est, unde publice patet notumque est, quod maior pars eorum, nec assistebant processioni Ecclesiae Metropolitanae neque in suo proprio die nec in alio aliquo celebrabant processionem nec festum in sua paroecia.

‘e) Infrascriptus intelligens quod si post Maurorum vastationem oppida parva erant valdeque difficile ut functiones ecclesiasticae solemniter celebrarentur, tamen nunc temporis, quia multiplicata et valde extensa sunt, non est difficultas, et ita populi desiderant, disposuit ut lex generalis Ecclesiae observaretur, hoc est, ut paroeciae urbanae assisterent, sed aliae extra civitatem, loco interessendi, Missam et processionem in sua propria Ecclesia celebrarent, quod magna populorum laetitia et plausu factum est duobus iam abhinc annis.

‘f) Nunc vero Municipium Civitatis Granatensis postulat ut revocetur Ordinaria dispositio, et Cruces parochiales extra urbanae assistant, cum parochis, processioni Ecclesiae Metropolitanae, sed cum difficultates, quae assistentiam parochorum impediunt, subsistant, certo timendum est quod iterum ad inobservantiam introductam redibunt.

‘Quibus attentis, Archiepiscopus interrogat: 1^o. An sua ordinatio celebrandi in omnibus paroeciis festum S^{mi} Corporis Christi cum processione in feria V., iuxta Bullam Urbani IV. anno 1264 datam, et a Summis Pontificibus Clemente V., Martino V.,

et Eugenio IV. confirmatam, sit sustinenda vel abroganda vel modificanda et in quo sensu.

'2°. An sufficiat paroeciis extra-urbanis celebrare festum et processionem SS^mi Corporis Christi in Dominica infra octavam vel in aliquo die octavae.

'3°. An sufficiat ut paroeciae Civitatis assistant processioni Ecclesiae Metropolitanae, vel expediat instaurare antiquam praxim, vi cuius non modo assistebant laudatae processioni, sed in aliis diebus octavae unaquaeque suam celebrabat particularem processionem, ut in aliquibus dioecesibus fit.

'4°. An approbanda introducta praxis a Conventu, seu Universitate dicta, Parochorum, celebrandi brevem processionem in Dominica infra octavam, quam processionem infrascriptus amplificavit, et auxit, assistens et manu sua deferens SS^mum Sacramentum ad augendum Divinae Eucharistiae cultum.

'Haec desiderat ut omnia, quae ad divinum cultum spectant, recte fiant.

'Granatae, die 20 Martii 1909.

'L. ✠ S.—B. V. H. Iosephus Archiep. Granatensis.

Ad adaequatam harum quaestionem solutionem obtinendam, ne falso haec laboret supposito, non erit abs re principia canonico-liturgica in antecessum exponere circa processionem in genere et illam SS^mi Corporis Christi in specie.

Sacra Tridentinum Concilium (sess. XXV., c. 13 de Regul.) statuit: 'Exempti omnes, tam clerici saeculares, quam regulares quicumque, etiam monachi, ad publicas processiones vocati accedere compellantur, iis tantum exceptis, qui in strictiori clausura perpetuo vivunt.' Vocante igitur Episcopo omnes ad publicas processiones accedere tenentur. Requiritur tamen 1°. quod Episcopus processionem indicat, et 2°. quod haec sit publica.

SS. CC. Rituum et Concilii suis responsionibus authentice rem declaraverunt. Siquidem in una *Elboren.* (14 Ian. 1617, n. 346), S. R. C. decrevit: 'Ad Archiepiscopum *privative* quoad alios in sua dioecesi pertinere indicare publicas processiones' (Cfr. *Urbevetan.*, 17 Ian. 1606, n. 217).

S. eadem C. simul cum S. C. C. hoc aliud generale principium sancivit: 'Episcopi esse edicere, decernere, dirigere atque deducere processiones, de *consilio* tantum Capituli, non autem *consensu*. Idque in omnibus processionibus servandum' (*Elboren.*, 28 Mart. 1626, n. 394). (Idem principium S. C. C. sanciverat in *Derthusen.*, 11 Mart. 1619), (ap. *Pallottini*, Vol. XV., v. *Processiones*, n. 3). Agebatur de processionibus de novo in perpetuum constituendis,

et de iis, quae una dumtaxat vice ob publicam causam indici debebant, non vero de processionibus a lege communi imperatis. Non obstante quoque contraria consuetudine (S. C. C. *Sarnen.*, 22 Iun. 1619, lib. 12 *Decretor.*, p. 13).

Item absente Episcopo spectare ad Vicarium Generalem (S. R. C. *Vigilien.*, 28 Sept. 1630, n. 545).

Potest denique Ordinarius iuris remediis compellere etiam exemptos ad processiones. Etenim cum in hac re cesset exemptio, omnes subiiciuntur simpliciter iurisdictioni Episcopi, et hinc Episcopus potest eos poena canonica sibi bene visa, etiam excommunicatione, coercere.¹ A fortiori potest sub censuris compellere clerum sibi plene subditum. Rationes huius sunt decor sacrarum processionum, populi aedificatio, aliaeque passim a DD. enumeratae.

Altera conditio est quod processiones sint publicae. Quatenam hae sint, ad quas etiam exempti accedere tenentur, edocemur a Decreto Congregationis particularis habitae de mandato Urbani VIII., a. 1628, cuius haec sunt verba: 'Auditis . . . unanimiter censuerunt posse Episcopos poenis sibi bene visis compellere quoscumque Regulares recusantes, etiamsi Monachos et quomodolibet exemptos ad infrascriptas processiones accedere, atque illis interesse, exceptis dumtaxat in strictiori clausura viventibus, et Monasteriis, *ultra medium milliare* a civitate distantibus; nempe in festo SS. Corporis Christi, in Litanis maioribus, in Rogationibus ac in quibuscumque aliis publicis et consuetis vel pro bono, causa aut honore publico ab Episcopis indictis processionibus, non obstantibus, etc., privilegiis tantum Apostolicis S. Concilio Trid. posterioribus contrarium desuper disponentibus minime sublatis' (Pignatelli, *t. i. Cons. Can. cxxii.*).

Ex quo pariter edocemur Episcopum ad extraordinarias quoque processiones compellere posse clerum. Huic decreto concinunt plurima S. R. C. decreta e. gr. *Matheranen.* n. 259; *Ferrarien.* n. 272; *Chilen.* n. 282, *Sorana*, 878, ad 1, etc. et unanims DD. sententia.

Ast licet Episcopus etiam per censuras compellere possit clerum sive saecularem sive regularem ad interveniendum publicis processionibus, hoc tamen cum aliqua limitatione est accipiendum. Et ut praetereamus quae ad nostrum non spectant casum, e.g. quoad Clericos Regulares, qui fere omnes sunt

¹ Cfr. S. C. Episc. in *Caietan.*, 25 Oct. 1602; S. C. C., 27 Iul. 1627; in *Mediolanen.*, 3 Aug. 1658, Pignatelli, *Cons. Can.* T. III., n. XLVI., n. 11, 12, 13—Steph. Gratian.—*Decis*, 232, n. 15, in *Curia Ep. Papien.*, etc.

privilegiati, et religiosos in studiorum Collegiis degentes, inconsummum principium unius sacri fori est, ab ipso Urbaniano decreto confirmatum, Regulares degentes *ultra medium milliare* a civitate non teneri.

Idipsum tenent DD. omnes etiam de clericis saecularibus. Ad rem Pallottini (*Vol. xxv., v. Process., n. 30*) : 'Nec sub Tridentino decreto comprehenduntur Clerici extra civitatem vel oppidum degentes cum propria plebe, iuxta mentem S. C., de qua testatur Campanil. in div. iur. can. *rub. 12, c. 13, n. 117*, et passim firman- DD. : multoque magis concurrentibus itineris longitudine ac viarum asperitate cum sola distantia 500 passuum a moeniis oppidi seu civitatis sufficiens reputetur ne clerici rurales, licet curam animarum habentes, teneantur accedere ad publicas processiones in ea fieri solitas ut notat Fagnan., in *cap. Nimis xviii., de excess. Prael., n. 11*,¹ et rescripsit S. C. iuxta resolutionem quae refert Piasec. in *prax. Epis. p. 2, c. 3, n. 31*.'

'Multo minus igitur ad Processiones accedere tenentur qui ultra medium milliarium distant (S. C. C. in *Caesenat. 1592*, lib. 7, *Decr. p. 35* ; *Montis Regal. a 1601*, lib. 9, p. 134-7 ; *Aliphan. 20 Iul. 1678*, lib. 29, p. 110). Ib. n. 31.'

'Id autem, ut Pallottini docet (n. 35) intelligendum est in casu, quo contraria non vigeat legitima consuetudo, ut declaravit S. C. in una *Strongolen. 17 Iun. 1645*, lib. 17 *decr. p. 483* : quin imo ultra milliare tradit Matteucc., *de Offic. Cur. Eccl., c. 4, n. 8*.'

Itaque Episcopus tantum, vel eo absente, Vicarius Generalis, habet ius et officium indicendi, moderandi processiones publicas h. e. : pro bono vel causa publica ; sive ordinarias, sive etiam (de consilio tamen, non autem de Capituli consensu) extraordinarias, sive primo instituantur in perpetuum servandae, sive pro una tantum vice : et insuper ius habet obligandi ad interveniendum etiam exemptos (in ceteris) a sua iurisdictione, dummodo non sint privilegiati, eosque renuentes compellendi per poenas sibi bene visas, imo quoque per censuras. Ast non potest compellere degentes extra civitatem ultra medium milliare, nisi vigeat consuetudo, quam tamen ipse, isi ita sibi in Domino videatur, potest abrogare. Consuetudo enim suam vim a legali legislatoris consensu sumit, qui in casu est ipse Episcopus.

¹ Nempe Gregorium PP. XIII. excepisse regulares, quorum monasteria distant a civitate ultra medium milliare, ut est adnotandum in lib. pub. S. C. C. ad dict. cap. 17 (Ap. Catalan., *Rit. Rom. illustr.*, Tit. IX., n. XXIII).

Haec principia totam suam vim obtinent quoad processiones publicas, generales, sive ordinarias sive extraordinarias, quas Episcopus velit indicare; sed non respiciunt processiones licet ordinarias et de iure communi, quae tamen non sunt generales totius cleri, sed particulares alicuius Ecclesiae.

Porro ulla est generalis lex quae omnes et singulas paroecias obliget ad ordinarias processiones et a fortiori ad illam SS^mi Corporis Christi, pro qua rite et decore peragenda plura requiruntur, ut patet.

Nulla quidem est lex obligans, ut paulo post videbimus, sed etiam nulla prohibens, imo liberum est cuique Ecclesiae, etiam sine licentia Episcopi, particularem processionem ex ordinariis ducere, si commode fieri possit (Quarti, *de process.* De Herdt, *Sac. lit. prax.* vol. 3, n. 314).

Aliae processiones consuetae possunt quoque publice fieri sine Episcopi licentia, licet ipse possit eas prohibere, etiam non obstante consuetudine (S. R. C., n. 346, 2).

Ius autem habet Episcopus ordinarias processiones publicas a singulis fieri paroeciis si ita expedire in Domino iudicaverit (Quarti, *ib. sect. iii., p. 1*): et hoc eruitur sive ex natura potestatis Episcopalis, sive ex intentione iuris, dummodo tamen processiones, praesertim SS^mi Sacramenti, commode et decore fieri possint, quod Episcopi prudenti arbitrio relinquitur.

Et hoc sufficiat de processionibus in genere; nunc quaedam de processione SS^mi Corporis Christi et de Eius festo sunt dicenda.

Festum SS^mi Corporis Christi primo institutum fuit Leodii a. 1246 a Roberto de Thorete, Episcopo post revelationes divinitus habitas a B. Iuliana Cornelionen. Virg. Iacobus Pantaleo de Troyes, qui, dum esset Archidiaconus Leodien., Iunlianae revelationes probaverat, qui postea fuit Episcopus Virodunen. et Patriarcha Hierosolymitan., factus denique a. 1261 Summus Pontifex sub nomine Urbani IV., Episcopi Leodien. preces, efficaciores redditas a miraculo Vulsinii habito a. 1262, benigne excepit, et mense Augusto a. 1264 Bullam *Transiturus* edidit, vi cuius Festum SS^mi Corporis Christi instituit et ad universam Ecclesiam obligatorie extendit. Ast vix haec Bulla fuerat promulgata, Urbanus viam universae carnis est ingressus, et festum de facto non fuit ubique receptum. A. 1311, Clemens V., in Consilio Viennen. Bullam *Si Dominum*, edidit in qua integre inseruit Bullam *Transiturus*, eiusque successor Ioannes XXII. pleniorum eius executionem curavit.

Martinus V., per Bullam *Ineffabile* (vii. kal. Iun. 1429) indul-

gentias ampliavit, et primus est qui loquitur de *processionibus* in hoc festo, *sine* tamen *expresso praecepto*: Illi praeterea, ait, qui *processiones*, in quibus ipsius vivificum Sacramentum dicto festo deferretur, continuo secuti fuerint, etc.' Eugenius IV. per Bullam *Excellentissimum* (vii. kal. Iun. 1433) indulgentias a Martino V. concessas duplicavit.

Nullum itaque praeceptum universale in his Bullis reperitur circa processiones in hoc festo faciendas.

Porro processiones theophoricae a pluribus iam saeculis in particularibus Ecclesiis vel Monasteriis fiebant, praesertim in hebdomada maiori (v. Can. iv., Conc. *Bracharen.* a 675; Lanfranc. *Statut. Monast.* tempore haer. Berengar; Ordinarium *Rothomagen*, etc.).

Instituto speciali festo SS^mi Corporis Christi, ponum erat processiones hac die ex devotione introduci, et plurima sunt huius rei monumenta iam a saec. xiv.

Attamen Sacr. Conc. Trid. in Sessione xiii. habita die 11 Oct. 1551, mediante itaque saec. xvi., de ea loquitur uti solum per consuetudinem introducta. Etenim in Can. vi. dicitur: 'Si q. d. in S. Eucharistiae Sacramento Christum . . . neque in processionibus secundum *laudabilem* et *universalem* Ecclesiae sanctae ritum et *consuetudinem* solemniter circumgestandum, etc.'

Hoc non obstante adhuc sub fine saec. xvi. generale praeceptum nondum aderat. Etenim in *Sacerdotali Romano* p. Alberti Castellani, O.P. (ed. Venet. a. 1564), processio SS^mi Corporis Christi adnumeratur inter processiones *extraordinarias* (quae sunt 'ex diversis necessitatibus institutae'), et de ea legitur: 'In festo SS^mi Corporis Christi fit ubique generalis processio' (p. 267). Quum itaque inter extraordinarias processiones adnumeretur, non habebatur ut praeceptiva pro universa Ecclesia.

Porro haec universalis consuetudo, quae in pluribus particularibus Ecclesiis pro legem scriptam sancita iam fuerat, pro universa Ecclesia confirmata est, quando in fine saec. xvi. et initio saec. xvii. in libris liturgicis *Caeremoniali Epp.* et *Rituali Rom.* fuit inserta.

Caer. Epp. (lib. ii. c. xxxiii.) processionis praeceptum supponit, sed pro Cathedrali tantum; scribit enim: 'Ut processio quae haec die erit *facienda* rite et recte ac secundum debitas caeremonias in honorem tanti Sacramenti fiat . . . cura erit *Episcopi*, etc. Item ut fiat rotulus, in quo describantur . . . omnes . . . qui huic interesse consueverunt vel debent.'

Ex toto contextu nulla eruitur allusio ad alias Ecclesias non Cathedrales.

Rituale Rom. (tit. ix. c. i. § 8-9) distinguit quidem, ut *Sacerdotale romanum*, processiones in *ordinarias* et *extraordinarias*, et adnumerat processionem SS^mi Corporis Christi inter ordinarias, sed nullum indicat generale praeceptum, sed potius supponit *consuetudinem*. Scribit enim: 'n. 8. Processiones autem quaedam sunt ordinariae, quae fiunt certis diebus per annum, ut . . . in festo Corporis Chr. vel aliis diebus pro *consuetudine* Ecclesiarum; n. 9 quaedam vero sunt extraordinariae, ut quae variis ac publicis Ecclesiae de causis in dies indicuntur.'

Ex his rubricis SS. CC. et DD. unanimiter deducunt in festo SS. Corporis Christi processionem esse obligatoriam in civitate Episcopali, eamque unicam ab Episcopo esse indicendam cum interventu totius Cleri, ceterasque Ecclesias in eadem civitate non posse processiones eadem die peragere (Cfr. S. R. C. *Tuscanellae*, 19 Aug. 1619, n. 375). Non est nobis immorari in aperiendis rationibus cur unica processio hac die fieri debeat, cum sint evidentes. Haec lex, ut patet, est observanda quousque loci ac temporum circumstantia a sinant. Haec servabantur in Urbe, et servantur Granatae.

Hisce praeiactis nonnulla sunt adnotanda circa ea quae a Rev^mo Archiepiscopo Granaten. in supplici libello exponuntur.

Rev^mus Archiepiscopus testatur 1^o. synodali lege urbanos parochos cum sua cruce teneri interesse processioni SS^mi Corporis Christi Recte (n. 1^a) omnino iuxta *Caerem. Ep^{ph}*.

Testatur 2^o., non solum lege synodali, annuo ulterius Ordinarii mandato idem intimatur paroeciis quoque: 'ex ditione *limitroph*i Sierra et de Vega, ex desiderio Regum Catholicorum, etc.'

Exponit idem Archiepiscopus eosdem parochos non solum non interfuisse, sed nec in suis Ecclesiis processionem duxisse infesto, nec per octavam.

Ut vidimus nulla est lex generalis paroecias obligans

R^mus Archiepiscopus, circumstantias omnes perpendens mandavit ut processio SS^mi Sacramenti in festo Corporis Christi in unaquaque ex supradictis paroeciis extra-urbanis fieret.

Ut vidimus nulla est generalis Ecclesiae lex hoc praecipiens, sed episcopali auctoritate, circumstantiis rite perpensis, potest induci.

Verum Municipium Granatae id aegre fert, et postulat ut hoc Episcopi mandatum revocetur.

Licet laudabile et pium sit municipalis auctoritatis votum, attamen in casu non videtur rationabile, nec in praxim facile deducendum. Excessive enim durum esset omnibus illis parochis (nisi forte uno vel altero excepto) plura passuum milla in eundo et in redeundo peragere. Oppida et plebes singulae sine parocho per integrum diem festum, et quidem solemnissimum, remanere deberent, fortasse quoque cum animarum iactura ob sacramentorum administrationis carentiam. Absurdum denique est vel mente concipere populos tam dissitos posse vel velle Granatam accedere.

Quaestionibus itaque propositis :

I. *An ordinatio Rev^mi Archiepiscopi Granaten. celebrandi in omnibus extraurbanis paroeciis festum SS^mi Corporis Christi cum processione sit sustinenda vel abroganda ?*

II. *An sufficiat paroeciis extra urbanis celebrare festum et processionem SS^mi Corporis Christi in Dominica vel alio die intra octavam ?*

III. *An sufficiat ut paroeciae civitatis assistant processioni Ecclesiae Metropolitanae, vel expediat instaurare antiquam praxim, vi cuius non modo assistebant huic processioni, sed in aliis diebus octavae unaquaeque suam celebrabat particularem processionem, ut in aliquibus dioecesibus fit ?*

IV. *An approbanda introducta praxis a Conventu, seu Universitate dicta Parochorum, celebrandi bervem processionem in Dominica infra octavam, quam processionem Archiepiscopus amplificavit et auxit, assistens et manu sua deferens SS^mum Sacramentum, ad augendum divinae Eucharistiae cultum ?*

E^mi Patres S. Congregationis Concilii in generalibus comitiis diei 11 Iunii 1910, respondendum censuerunt :

Ad 1^{um}. *Affirmative ad primam partem, negative ad secundam.*

Ad 2^{um}. *Provisum in primo.*

Ad 3^{um}. et 4^{um}. *Rem remitti prudenti iudicio Archiepiscopi.*

Sanctissimus autem Dominus Noster Pius Papa X., in Audientia die 12 eiusdem mensis Iunii infrascripto Secretario concessa, sententiam E^morum Patrum adprobare et confirmare dignatus est.

C. CARD. GENNARI, *Praefectus.*

BASILIIUS POMPILI, *Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S

DECISION OF ROMAN APPEAL COURT

SIGNATURA APOSTOLICA

PHAREN.

IURIUM ET POENARUM

In ordinario Coetu seu Congressu habito die 3 Februarii anni 1911, inter Eñum ac Rñum P. D. Card. Vincentium Vannutelli Praefectum huius Supremi Tribunalis et infrascriptum a Secretis, propositum fuit dubium, an ad plenarii Coetus Eñorum Patrum iudicium admittendus esset necne recursus interpositus a Rev. D. Cosimo Scarpa parrocho decano oppidi *Cittavecchia* dioecesis Pharen. in Dalmatia, contra Rotalem Sententiam emissam die 10 Iunii praeteriti anni 1910, quae confirmaverat alteram sententiam eiusdem S. Rotae Tribunalis sub die 29 Iulii anni 1909, secus ac expetierat sua nova instantia praefatus D. Cosimus Scarpa, qui ad S. Rotae Tribunal appellaverat, eo quod Pharen. Episcopus eum ab officio decanatus removit poenisque ecclesiasticis mulctavit, quia Ordinarii praecepto restiterat, et contra ipsum, SS. Canonibus contemptis, litem apud laicas potestates et civilia tribunalia intentare non esset veritus. Iamvero ex diligentissimo prolixoque omnium rationum instituto examine, quas actor pro suo tuendo recursu adducit, liquido compertum est eas boni iuris fundamento prorsus destitui. Ut cetera omnia, magis caudicorum argutias quam solida argumenta, silentio praetereamus, illa praecipua ratio, qua se recurrens confidit posse evincere Sententiae Rotalis nullitatem, scilicet praesumptus defectus *competentiae* in iudiciis Tribunalis S. Rotae, nihil conficit, imo eidem actori adversatur. Quomodocumque enim consideretur dispositio Curiae Pharen., seu Decretum, quo ille Episcopus pervicacem actorem, detractantem sibi debitam obedientiam et an civilia tribunalia contra ipsum recurrentem, decanatu privavit poenisque ecclesiasticis affecit; id semper necessario legitimeque consequetur, aut ex iure *Legis Propriae* aut ex Apostolici Rescripti auctoritate, iudices Tribunalis S. Rotae competentes fuisse in emittenda sententia *appellata*. Nec permittendum, quod recurrens tricus ac technis Apostolici Rescripti validitatem audeat impetere. Intolerabile porro visum est, actorem, qui plus quam semel tum a Curia Metropolitana suae regionis, tum ab ipsis laicis potestatibus ac demum a S. Rotae Tribunali repulsus fuit, pertinaciter adhuc urgere causam, quae adversus debitam legitimo Episcopo obedientiam, adversus propria parochi officia, spiritualemque plebanorum aedificationem

suscepta est, et quae nonnisi contra SS. Canones et Apostolicae Sedis reverentiam ulterius per summam iniuriam agitari potest.

Quare, omnibus istius recursus momentis sedulo ad trutinam revocatis, attentoque etiam Rm̃i Consultoris voto, perspicue innotuit, eundem recursum praefati parochi decani D. Cosimi Scarpa contra Rotalem Sententiam a limine iuxta *Legis Propriae de Romana Curia* can. 40, § 2, reiiciendum esse.

Eñus igitur Card. Vincentius Vannutelli, huius Supremi Apostolicae Signaturae Tribunalis Praefectus, ita decerni statuit, atque hoc decretum per adstantem actuarium confici et expediri iussit, cum solemnitatibus et clausulis, quae sunt de iure et ad *Legis Propriae* normam requiruntur.

Datum Romae in Aedibus S. A. S. T. die 3 mensis Februarii anno Domini 1911.

L. ✠ S.

NICOLAUS MARINI, a Secretis S. A. S. T.
IOSEPHUS ADV. FORNARI, S. T. A.

FEASTS OF THE ORDER OF ST. FRANCIS IN LABRADOR

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

ORDINIS FRATRUM MINORUM PROVINCIAE TERRAE LABORIS CIRCA OCCURRENTIAM VEL CONCURRENTIAM QUORUNDAM FESTORUM

Admodum Reverendus Pater Valentinus Barile, Vicarius Provincialis Ordinis Fratrum Minorum Provinciae Terrae Laboris, Sacrorum Rituum Congregationi haec, quae sequuntur, pro opportuna declaratione reverenter exponit :

I. In Regione Neapolitana, Dominica secunda post Pascha, celebratur Festum S. Francisci de Paula, sub ritu duplici secundae classis cum Octava ; ast in eadem Regione adest Conventus Casalucensis, pro quo huiusmodi Festum in Calendario Provinciae die secunda Aprilis fixum invenitur, cum praedicta Dominica secunda post Pascha impedita sit a Festo Beatae Mariae Virginis Indulgentiarum, Ecclesiae Titularis. Quaeritur :

1°. An Conventus Casalucensis praedictum Festum Sancti Francisci de Paula celebrare possit die secunda Aprilis, quae est vacua et libera in Calendario Provinciae, vel potius, iuxta leges occurrentiae, celebrare debeat post Dominicam secundam post Pascha ? Et quatenus affirmative ad primam partem :

2°. An, si dies secunda Aprilis extra Quadragesimam venerit, supradictus Conventus Festum Sancti Francisci de Paula celebrare debeat sub ritu duplici secundae classis cum Octava, vel sine ipsa ?

II. Festum Sacrarum Reliquiarum, ante annum 1894, in toto Ordine sub ritu duplici minori, die decima quinta Martii celebrabatur ; at praedicto anno ad ritum duplicem maiorem evectum fuit, et in Dominicam postremam Octobris fixe translatum. Interdum adest Neapoli Conventus Sanitatis, qui Indultum habet ab immemorabili dictum Festum sub ritu duplici primae classis celebrandi. Quaeritur : An iste Conventus praedictum Festum possit etiam nunc celebrare die decima quinta Martii, vel debeat in ultimam Dominicam Octobris reponere ?

III. In aliquibus Conventibus eiusdem Provinciae non raro accidit, ut die Octava Sanctissimi Corporis Christi occurrat Festum Patroni principalis loci, vel Titularis propriae Ecclesiae. Quaeritur : An in secundis Vesperis facienda sit commemoratio sequentis, nempe Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu, iuxta concurrentiae leges, vel Sanctissimi Corporis Christi ?

IV. Dedicatio Ecclesiae Cathedralis Beneventanae a Calendario eiusdem Dioecesis in Dominica post Octavam Omnium Sanctorum celebranda praescribitur. Hic autem notandum quod, cum praedicta Dominica fere semper sit Dominica secunda Novembris, accidit, ut Festum Patrocinii Beatae Mariae Virginis numquam tali Dominica celebrari possit. Hinc quaeritur : An Festum Patrocinii Beatae Mariae Virginis debeat tamquam fixum et in perpetuum reponi in prima die libera, seu potius in alia die ad beneplacitum Sanctae Sedis statuenda, vel transferri aut simplificari possit iuxta leges concurrentiae, nempe translatione tantum accidentali ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, exposito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibus accurate perpensis, ita rescribendum censuit :

Ad I. Quoad I. et II. Festum Sancti Francisci de Paula celebretur perpetuo Feria secunda Dominicam secundam post Pascha immediate sequenti, et eiusdem dies Octava commemoretur in die Octava Festi Titularis Ecclesiae.

Ad II. Negative ad primam partem : Affirmative ad secundam.

Ad III. Affirmative ad primam partem ; Negative ad secundam, iuxta Decretum num. 3712. *Urbis et Orbis*, 28 Iunii 1889, et Rubricas Generales Breviarii, Tit. IX., num. II.

Ad IV. Negative ad primam partem ; Non expedire ad secundam ; Affirmative ad tertiam.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 24 Februarii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

ERECTION OF NEW VICARIATE APOSTOLIC IN CHINA

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE

ERECTIO NOVI APOSTOLICI VICARIATUS KIENTCHANG IN SINIS

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Ex hac, quam divinitus obtinemus B. Petri Principis Apostolorum Cathedra tanquam e sublimi specula, in omnes vel longo terrarum marisque spatio seiunctas Catholici orbis partes oculos Mentis Nostrae convertimus, et quae, rei Sacrae procurationi melius gerendae faciant, quaeque spirituali Christianae plebis emolumento benevertant, ea Suprema Nostra Auctoritate interposita praestare maturamus. Iamvero cum quartae Sinicae regionis Ordinarii, quorum solerti studio sanctum Evangelii lumen remotis illius Imperii gentibus latius in dies affulget, in tertia Se-ciuensi Synodo, quam superioris anni mense Novembri in Urbe Tchong-King celebrarunt, novi vicariatus erectionem, per divisionem ab illo Se-ciuensi meridionali, peropportunam iudicaverint, Nos, omnibus rei momentis attento ac sedulo studio perpensis cum Venerabilibus Fratribus Nostris S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis Propagandae Fidei praepositis, hoc a Synodi Patribus postulatam benigne excipiendum esse existimavimus. Quare motu proprio ac certa scientia et matura deliberatione Nostris, deque Apostolicae Nostrae potestatis plenitudine praesentium vi, vastissimam et longe dissitam regionem Occiduo-Meridionalem Vicariatus Sutchuensis meridionalis, quam Sinenses 'Kientchang' appellant, ab eodem Vicariatu seiungimus, eamque erigimus in separatum Vicariatum Apostolicum, quem curis committimus alumnorum optime meriti Seminarii Parisiensis pro Missionibus ad exterarum gentes. Novo autem huic Vicariatui nomen Kientchang facimus, atque edicimus constet iuxta transmissam ad Urbem geographicam chartam, tota illa regione, quae civili Praefecturae Nin-yuen-fou subiicitur. Decernentes praesentes litteras firmas, validas et efficaces semper existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, ac illis ad quos spectat, et pro tempore quomodolibet spectabit, in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos ordinari et definiri debere, atque irritum esse et inane si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de iure

quaesito non tollendo, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub Annulo Piscatoris, die XII Augusti MDCCCX, Pontificatus Nostri Anno Octavo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *a Secretis Status*.

L. ✠ S.

CHOIR DISCIPLINE IN ROME

DECRETUM

DE CHORI DISCIPLINA IN URBE SERVANDA

Decorem domus Dei studiose tuentes Romani Pontifices constantem in eo curam collocarunt, ut almae Urbis dignitati et sacrarum quae in ipsa sunt aedium splendori ac magnificentiae par chori disciplina responderet. Frequens enim conspectus offerentium Deo hostiam laudis, et sacra mysteria, qua decet amplitudine ac maiestate, tractantium, ad mentes in divina erigendas et ad excitandam caritatem plurimum valet. Huiusmodi quum fuerit atque esse non desinat supremae auctoritatis Ecclesiae sollicitudo, nihilominus novissimis hisce temporibus, eorumque maxime causa, factum est ut sensim sacri chori disciplina languesceret. Hinc quotidianae et graves ad hanc S. Congregationem perlatae voces conquerentium, in Ecclesiis Collegiatis Urbis, atque adeo in ipsis Patriarchalibus Basilicis, canonicos aliosque beneficiarios divino officio persolvendo ceterisque sacris obeundis interesse perpauco. Quod quum et cultus divini decori adversetur, et offensioni adstantibus esse possit, advenis maxime, Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius PP. X., sacrae dignitatis in Urbe servandae custos et vindex, Decessorum vestigiis inhaerens, habensque prae oculis Decretum Sacrae huius Congregationis editum die XVII mensis Septembris MDCCCII, et a s. m. Leone XIII confirmatum, haec statuit atque decrevit :

I. Contraria quavis consuetudine sublata et interdicta, a die I proximi mensis Ianuarii MDCCCXI, universi fructus ad Capitula spectantes partiendi ex integro erunt in quotidianas distributiones pro diebus et horis.

II. Absens sine legitima causa fructus omnes amittet, et si quos forte perceperit, restituet, salvis peculiaribus Constitutionibus, quibus maior poena irrogetur.

III. Absens valetudinis causa, debita ratione ac forma recognita, tamquam praesens in choro habeatur, eidemque sit ius ad quotidianas distributiones ex integro percipiendas.

IV. Servatis de speciali gratia indultis hactenus ab hac S. Congregatione concessis, cetera privilegia in favorem personae, sive institutorum priorumve operum causa, sive ratione munerum, praecipue in Sacris Congregationibus, quomodolibet et quovis titulo concessa, privilegiis quibuslibet non obstantibus, cessabunt, nullam vim habitura nec suffragatura cuiquam in posterum.

V. Absentes ex indulto duas quidem partes, quae locum obtinent praebendae, acquirant; tertiam tamen semper amittent, ad quam nullum sibi arrogent ius propter gratiam antea impetratam.

VI. Facultatem concedendi exemptiones a choro ob legitimam causam SS. D. N. omnino reservatam vult huic uni S. Congregationi; quae tamen, ante gratiam largiendam, Capituli votum per tacita suffragia semper exquiret.

VII. Qui exemptionis privilegio fruuntur pro diebus et horis, iidemque temporibus ab officio vacuis, cuius gratia exempti sunt, interesse choro negligunt, de SSⁿⁱ D. N. mandato graviter commonentur, et meminerint, sese, non modo sanctitatem religionis violare, sed etiam iustitiae leges infringere, ideoque restitutionis obligatione teneri.

VIII. Ut sacerdotes ad Capitula pertinentes auxilio parochis institutisve religionis esse possint ad sempiternam fidelium salutem procurandam, et componere, quoad liceat, adeundi chori obligationem cum aliis muneribus aut caritatis officiis, SS. D. N. potestatem facit En^{is} PP. Cardinalibus Basilicarum Patriarchalium Archipresbyteris, et iis qui Ecclesiis Collegiatis praepositi sunt, audito voto sui cuiusque Capituli, horarum ordinem sacris obeundis officiis constitutum pro opportunitate mutandi, et in pervigiliis dierum festorum de praecepto praeoccupandi vespere *Matutini* recitationem cum *Laudibus*.

Denique in iis omnibus, de quibus praesens decretum non cavet, Sanctitas Sua vult et mandat, ut sacrosancti Concilii Tridentini praescripti et Sacrae huius Congregationis decreta et responsa, ad cleri disciplinam regendam edita, ad unguem ab omnibus ac religiose serventur.

Haec autem omnia praesenti eiusdem S. Congregationis Decreto evulgari atque inviolate custodiri iussit, contrariis quibuslibet, etiam speciali mentione dignis, non obstantibus.

Datum Romae ex Sacra Congregatione Concilii, die xxx Novembris MDCCCCX.

C. CARD. GENNARI, *Praefectus*.

B. POMPILI, *Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

LETTER OF THE SECRETARY OF STATE OF HIS HOLINESS
TO ARCHBISHOP BOURNE

EPISTOLAE

AD R. P. D. FRANCISCUM BOURNE, WESTMONASTERIENSIVM ARCHIEPISCOPUM, OB LITTERAS PER EUNDEM SANCTITATI SUAE EXHIBITAS A SOCIETATE QUAE ANGLICE 'THE CATHOLIC MISSIONARY SOCIETY' NUNCUPATUR

Ill^me ac Rev^me Domine,

Litterae, eiusdem Amplitudinis Tuae commendatione praeditae, quas per te Beatissimo Patri Sacerdotes Associationi 'The Catholic Missionary Society' adscripti exhibuerunt, quaeque declarant eosdem Presbyteros hunc in finem intendere, ut pro viribus ad demulcendos illustrandosque animos a fide catholica alienos vel errorum caecitate obrutos, eosque in sinum Sanctae Matris Ecclesiae adducendos operam navare non desinent, Augusti Pontificis cordi, tot tantisque doloribus adfecto, magnum ille quidem sollatium attulerunt.

Quid enim dulcius, quid iucundius Summo Pastori esse potest, quam ut dispersae errantesque oves colligantur, ac unum fiat ovile et unus Pastor?

Praefatis igitur litteris vehementer gavisus, Beatissimus Pater, dum vota promit ut supradicta Sacerdotum Associatio multos bonosque fructus adferre possit, omnibus et singulis eiusdem societatis Praesbyteris imploratam Apostolicam Benedictionem, supernorum auxiliorum auspicem, effuso animo impertitur.

Sensus interim maximae existimationis in te meae confirmans sum et permanere gaudeo.

Amplitudinis Tuae.

Romae, die XVIII Ianuarii MCMXI.

Addictissimus

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL.

L. ✠ S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

‘*Stairéa ar an Soirceál.*’ By Rev. P. S. Dinneen. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.

FATHER DINNEEN is on the whole to be congratulated on the appearance of this, his latest, little book, which gives to the Irish-reading public a poetic version of some of the best-known narratives in the Gospels, and a few from the Acts of the Apostles. Our Irish poets in far-off days showed better acquaintance with the sacred text, and more inclination to handle its most vivid and dramatic scenes in verse, than the majority of English poets can lay claim to. It is pleasant to see this ancient connexion between Irish poetry and religion resuscitated, so to speak, by a writer of to-day. The subjects presented by Father Dinneen, in these ‘*Stairéa ar an Soirceál,*’ are subjects of the widest and deepest human interest. The fact that he has in most cases restrained the imagination of the poet, out of reverence, no doubt, for the sacred subjects which he handles, enhances the charm which the reader—who *can* read—is sure to find in many of the pages. The metre chosen, it appears to us, is not well suited to express the spirit of some of the passages dealt with; but there are other passages, on the contrary, to which it is admirably adapted. The gloom and monotony of a great grief, for instance, are well brought out in the reference to Rachel’s lamentation (page 8) :—

‘*Súit i r gáiréa
 I r caoiú go gáibítead
 Uaill i r áiréol,
 Ba éir 1 Ráma;
 Mar do bí Ráchail
 Ag caoinead a hál-pe
 De leanbairiú bána,
 I r ní bfuigfiré a ráram
 Mar n-a gcóirleá ráime
 San úir do bádar.’*

There is a simplicity and a suitable lightness also in the

words ascribed to the father of the prodigal son, after the latter's repentance and return (page 39) :—

‘ An té bí marb,
 Féad n-a beataíó,
 An t-éadan a tairtíl
 Amuḡa, rin carṑa
 Arír cum baile é.’

It would be insincere to say that there are no faults or blemishes in the book. But these are unavoidable at the present stage in the literary growth of the language. Many experiments in verse must yet be made before our modern poets can realize what was best in the best of the older schools. But it is imperative that such experiments should be made, and often made. Father Dinneen has earned the gratitude of future poets by being one of the first to attempt the solution of a really difficult problem. If the success of this venture encourages either him or others to express, in living poetry in other books, the burning thoughts of the modern Irish mind that call so urgently for artistic literary expression, he will have the additional satisfaction of feeling that he has been a pioneer in the work of reviving the literature, as well as the language, of Ireland. We have all been so anxious to preserve the language that the literary side of the movement has been largely confined to mere appreciation of the work of other centuries. But the time has come when original literary work is needed to stimulate the flagging interest and industry of the Gael. We need historians, novelists, poets, as well as grammarians and philologists, to place the future of the language beyond the possibility of failure. In the Irish language itself we have the basis—the *materia prima*, so to speak—of a great and lasting literature. The form of a great masterpiece has yet to come. But it will come, *le congnam Dé*. Meanwhile, such writers and books as Father Dinneen and the little work under notice have a distinct and important mission, and serve a necessary purpose. In the fulfilment of that mission we heartily wish them success.

HEROIC SPAIN. By E. Boyle O'Reilly. London: Burns and Oates.

ONE is always inclined to be suspicious of a book which is the result of a tour, even though it be an eight months' tour. We can hardly hope for more than a superficial treatment of a

nation and its monuments. Each country has its own peculiar genius and atmosphere, and the passing traveller can scarcely hope to reproduce these with absolute fidelity. Yet in spite of this the author has achieved a fair measure of success. She possesses one important qualification for the work she has undertaken—a well-directed sympathy that is not blind to defects, but neither is she eager to magnify them. She is not one of those who receive with a sneer every custom differing from their own, and are anxious to establish the inferiority of a civilization in which they have not been reared. Spain is not so much visited as Italy, but both countries have been the victims of travellers eager to record their comparisons, but unable to make allowance for differences of national characteristics. The present volume happily is free from such faults. The author has traversed in her tour all the great cities of Spain and many of the minor ones, and she has done wisely in endeavouring to put each place into its historical setting. The professional traveller might wish for greater detail in her treatment of several of the larger cities, but the volume will be found a good supplement to the ordinary guide-books. The general reader will find in it some charming pictures of Spanish life. The author is a much-travelled lady with a keen eye for points of salient interest and she treats us to numerous comparisons drawn from her experiences in other lands. I noticed here and there some unsuccessful attempts at effective writing that somewhat mar the literary merits of the book.

J. F. D.



THE ASSUMPTION OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN ACCORDING TO THE TEACHING OF PIUS IX. AND ST. THOMAS

THE corporal Assumption is not an article of faith. Still Melchior Canus sums up the general teaching of theologians on this subject when he says : 'The denial of the Blessed Virgin's corporal Assumption into Heaven, though not contrary to faith, is still so much opposed to the common agreement of the Church that it would be a mark of insolent temerity.'¹

Before 1854 the constant tradition of the faithful was the great proof that the Blessed Virgin was exalted above the stars, as St. Anthony of Padua sang on his death-bed.² 'Admirable,' says Petavius, 'is the admonition of Paulinus of Nola—an author of the greatest weight—who bids us adhere to the common voice of the faithful since the spirit of God breathes upon them all.'³

The marked devotion of the faithful of the present day to St. Anthony, who championed the doctrine of the corporal Assumption,⁴ might naturally suggest the question : Is the time at hand when the Church will make a definite pronouncement that shall rejoice the faithful as in the days of the Council of Ephesus, to be followed later by a

¹ *De locis theolog.*, c. 10.

² Lepitre, p. 163.

³ *De Incarnatione*, 14, 2.

⁴ 'Finally, like a vase ornamented with all kinds of precious stones, she receives indescribable gifts on the day of her Assumption.'—Sermon by St. Anthony, Lepitre, p. 142.

galaxy of miracles¹ announcing the approbation in heaven of what was done on earth, as the Blessed Virgin herself approved, in 1858 and after, by apparitions and miracles, of what Pius IX. declared in 1854? Since then the classic proof for the corporal Assumption of the Blessed Virgin Mary is her Immaculate Conception. This is only natural, for may it not be reasonably inferred that as her soul was preserved from *all* sin from the first instant it was created and united to her body, so her body should be freed from all corruption from the first instant it was separated from her soul. As the Church would not allow Satan to triumph for a single moment over the soul of the Blessed Virgin Mary, neither should she allow him to triumph for one moment over the body of the Deipara.

'Death,' says St. Thomas, 'is the punishment of the sin of our first parents, and so is dissolution.'² Our Lord died *not* in punishment but in atonement. Our Lady died, according to St. Francis de Sales,³ of love for her Son. Even had he never sinned Adam would have died in the ordinary course of nature, had not God given him the special gift of immortality. St. Augustine says our Blessed Saviour would have died by the natural decay of old age if the Jews had not laid violent hands on Him; and St. Thomas maintains further that His sacred body could have been dissolved because it could suffer.⁴ *But as Christ preserved His own sacred Body by His Divine power,⁵ so He preserved His*

¹ A striking miracle, if a miracle can be qualified by that term, is the preservation of St. Anthony's tongue, which was discovered intact in 1263, thirty-two years after his death. Abbé Lepitre says: 'St. Bonaventure, who presided at the transference as Minister-General of the Order, venerated it and kissed it, and he ordered it to be put apart in a reliquary. To-day pilgrims can still testify to the continuance of the miracle when they adore the relic in the basilica.'

² *Summa*, iii. 51, 3 ad 1: 'Sicut enim mors est poena peccati primi parentis ita etiam incineratio.'

³ *Love of God*, bk. 6, c. xiv.

⁴ 'Dicendum, quod corpus Christi quantum ad conditionem naturae passibilis putrefactibile fuit.'—*Summa*, iii. 51, 3 ad 2. In the same art., 3 ad 1: 'Dicendum quod Christus cum non esset subjectus peccato neque morti erat obnoxius neque incinerationi voluntarie . . . mortem sustinuit propter nostram salutem. Si autem corpus ejus fuisset putrefactum . . . hoc fuisset in detrimentum salutis humanae.' Cf. item Billuart, *De Myst. Dis.*, 14.

⁵ *Summa*, iii. 51, 3 ad 2: 'Virtus divina corpus Christi a putrefactione praeservavit sicut et resuscitavit a morte.'

Mother's by the plenitude of divine grace and raised it from the dead. This is a statement which I hope to prove in the pages that follow; but at the outset it may be objected how could a body be preserved and raised by grace?

The subject of grace is the *soul*; and it was the soul of the Blessed Virgin Mary that was free from original sin—not the body. How, then, could the Immaculate Conception be the primary reason for its Assumption? St. Thomas replies¹ that habitual grace pertains only to the soul; but there is another kind of grace—the gratuitous gift of God—which could raise body and soul to the Beatific Vision, and therefore pertains to the whole human nature, which is composed of body and soul. The plenitude of grace in the Blessed Virgin Mary, as explained by Pius IX. in the Constitution *Ineffabilis*, should make this clear, and the following passages taken from his *ex cathedra* pronouncement will form the headings of the arguments that should go to prove that Christ did preserve the sacred body of His Mother by the plenitude of divine grace, and raised it from the dead.

The Blessed Virgin is declared to be: (I) 'The throne of all divine graces'; (II) 'The treasury almost infinite, and an abyss inexhaustible of the charismata of the Holy Ghost'; (III) 'So far surpassing all angels and all saints in the copiousness of all celestial gifts, that all-beautiful and all-perfect she displayed such a fullness of innocence and sanctity that under God no greater could be conceived'; (IV) 'One with her Son in sharing the perpetual benediction.'²

¹ *Summa*, iii. 2, 10 ad 2: 'Gratia habitualis est solum in anima sed gratia id est gratuitum Dei donum quod est uniri divinae personae pertinet ad totam naturam humanam quae componitur ex anima et corpore.' Reply to objection: 'Subject of grace is the soul, but the plenitude of the divinity dwells corporally in Christ (Coloss. ii. 9), therefore it would appear that the union is not effected by grace.'

'Vis praeservandi corpus a corruptione non erat animae humanae naturalis sed per donum gratiae et quamvis gratiam recuperaverit ad remissionem culpae et meritum gloria non tamen ad amissae immortalitatis effectum. Hoc enim reservatur Christo per quem naturae defectus in melius reparandus erat.'—P. i. q. 97, art. 1.

² I.—'Omnium divinarum gratiarum sedem.'

II.—'Omnibusque Divini Spiritus charismatibus exornatam uno eorundem charismatum infinitum prope thesaurum abyssumque inexhaustum.'

III.—'Longe ante omnes angelicos spiritus cunctosque Sanctis coelestium omnium charismatum copia . . . tota pulchra et perfecta eam innocentiae et sanctitatis plenitudinem prae se ferret qua major sub Deo nullatenus intelligitur.'

IV.—'Et una cum filio perpetuae benedictionis particeps.'

This premised, the first question is: How can it be proved that the Blessed Virgin Mary is corporally assumed from the fact that she is declared to be the 'throne of *all* Divine graces'?

I.—Divine grace is uncreated and created. Created grace is some effect of the power of God, or of uncreated grace. Preservation from corruption would be a created grace and the exaltation of a body so preserved would be another. The grace of God and the grace of Christ, whether different or the same, must show the effects of their plenitude in her who is 'full of grace,' by raising her sacred body as well as her soul to the Beatific Vision. Otherwise the Blessed Virgin Mary is not the throne of *ALL* graces. Since we have an authoritative declaration by Pius V. and Gregory XIII. that freedom from corruption is a benefit of *GRACE*, then the Blessed Virgin must receive it amongst *ALL OTHERS* at her Immaculate Conception.¹ If it be objected the Blessed Virgin died, it must be remembered she was not subject to death,² but voluntarily died like her Son, and for the same reasons,³ since her will was one with His, and for different reasons too.⁴ In other words she received the gift of Immortality in her Immaculate Conception and waived her right as her Son did, and we shall see further that her death was a complete triumph over Satan just

¹ *Summa*, i. 97, art. 1: 'Vis praeservandi corpus a corruptioni non erat animae naturalis sed per donum gratiae.' Scholastics hold that immortality in the first man was supernatural. Hence assertion of Bañanas: 'Immortalitas primi hominis non erat gratiae beneficium sed naturalis conditio,' was condemned by Pius V. and Gregory XIII.

² 'Equidem Maria non subiacebat legi mortis ut pote immunis a peccato originali cujus est poena sed mori voluit ut Filii sequeretur exemplum et cum eo cooperaretur ad redemptionem generis humani.'—Claremont, *Theology*, T. ii. p. 524. Cf. Fr. M'Guinness, *De Deo consumatore*, p. 366, 'Sola Dei voluntate et arbitrio sicut olim Moyses (Deut. xxxii. 49 et xxxiv. 5) animam reddidit.'

³ Cf. *Summa*, iii. 50, art. 1, c.: (I.) 'It is becoming to suffer for others when one subjects himself to the punishment another merited. (II.) Death proves reality of the nature assumed. If one disappeared from men by flying away and so avoiding death he would be taken for a phantom.'

⁴ As regards the Blessed Virgin, if her Assumption were public like the Ascension, it would be, 1st, opposed to her humility, which would have her name put after those of apostles and holy women (Acts i. 14); 2nd, it might appear an assumption in another sense, viz., of Divinity, when she would appear to ascend in the same way as her Son, and, unlike her Son, not to die.

as her Son's was. As a further proof, let us take an example from one of the sub-divisions of grace. Being the 'throne of all graces,' the 'gratie gratis datae' must be present in all their fullness in the Blessed Virgin, and amongst them the gift of knowledge¹ to enable her to exercise the office of mediatrix. Now, for the adequate exercise of that office, her corporal Assumption is necessary, and the reason may be inferred from the teaching of St. Thomas² :—

The soul, separated from the body, comprehends by the species it receives from the infusion (or influence?) of divine light, just as angels perceive. But still, as the nature of a soul is inferior to the nature of an angel, to whom this method of perception is natural, the soul separated from the body does not enjoy a perfect knowledge of things by these species, but only, as it were, *general and confused*.

The office of advocate of men demands more than a 'general and confused knowledge'—especially when powerful and malign spirits have to be reckoned with. But it may be asked: How could the union of a body and soul in heaven perfect the intelligence and will and enable, for instance, the Blessed Virgin to overcome with her inferior nature purely intellectual substances by the addition of the more inferior part of her nature? And, moreover, St. Thomas says that the

intellect in its³ operations does not use a corporeal organ, and, accordingly, a body resumed does not assist the soul to comprehend any more perfectly. He himself replies that although the soul does not make use of body in actually comprehending, still the perfection of the body will co-operate in a certain way with the perfection of the intellectual operation in so far as the

¹ *Summa*, iii. 27, 5 ad 3: 'Non est dubitandum quin B. Virgo acceperit (excellenter) donum sapientiae et gratiam virtutum et etiam gratiam prophetiae.'

² 'Anima separata intelligit per species quas recipit ex influentia divini luminis sicut et angeli sed tamen quia natura anima est infra naturam angeli cui iste modus cognoscendi est naturalis animae separata per hujusmodi species non accipit perfectam verum cognitionem sed quasi in communi et confusam.'—*Summa*, i. 89, art. iii. c.

³ 'Intellectus in suo actu non utitur organo corporali et sic corpus resumptum non efficit ut anima perfectius intelligat.'—*Supplement* 93, 1 ad 3.

⁴ 'Quamvis in actu intelligendi anima corpore non utatur tamen perfectio corporis quodammodo ad perfectionem operationis intellectualis cooperabitur in quantum ex conjunctione corporis gloriosi anima ex et in sua natura *perfectior* et per consequens in operatione *efficacior*.'—*Ibid*.

soul will be more perfect in its nature by the conjunction of a glorified body and consequently more efficacious in its operation.

But, again, he says :¹ ' Though it be all the better for the soul to be united to the body and comprehend by turning to the phantasms, still it can remain separated and yet have another mode of comprehension.' Then the Blessed Virgin need not necessarily be corporally assumed? God could endow her soul—even though separated—with a knowledge surpassing the most perfect knowledge of any angel or of all the angels together, and thus enable her to adequately exercise her office of mediatrix through the medium of the soul alone. There is a probable opinion²—if not more than probable—that God has endowed His holy Mother with knowledge and sanctity surpassing all angels and saints, since we know that ' her foundations are on holy³ mountains ' ; but does she, then, by the medium of the soul alone, or by the union of soul and body, approach so near to God that, according to the doctrine of Pius IX., it is not possible for created nature to approach any nearer ?⁴ Were the teaching of St. Thomas as infallible as that of this *ex cathedra* pronouncement, there could be no doubt but that the soul and body of the Blessed Virgin Mary are, ' hic et nunc,' united in the Beatific Vision ; for, as St. Thomas⁵ holds that ' separation from the body retards the soul from tending to the vision of the divine essence with all its intensity,' the Blessed Virgin Mary must, according to this and to the teaching of Pius IX., be as completely

¹ ' Propter melius animae est ut corpori uniatur et tamen esse potest separata et alium modum intelligendi habere.'—*Summa*, i. 89, art. 1.

² Claremont, *Theology*, tomus ii. No. 583 : ' B. V. Maria probabiliter consecuta est plures gratiae et caritatis gradus quam sint in omnibus sanctis et angelis collective sumptis.'

' Longe ante omnes angelicos spiritus, sanctitatis plenitudinem prae se ferret qua major sub Deo nullatenus intelligitur et quam praeter Deum nemo assequi cogitando potest.'

³ ' Fundamenta ejus in montibus sanctis.'—Ps. lxxxvi. 1.

⁴ ' Ut in illa sibi propensissima.'—*Constit. Ineff.*

⁵ ' Sic separatio animae a corpore dicitur animam retardare ne tota intentioni tendat in visionem divinae essentiae.'—*Summa*, i. 2^{ae}, 5 ad 4. Two reasons may be given for this (cf. *Summa*, i. 2^{ae}, 4, art. 5) : ' Et ideo quamdiu ipsa (anima) fruitur Deo sine corpore appetitus ejus sic quiescit in eo quod *tamen adhuc ad participationem vellet suum corpus pertingere* ' ; and (i. 76, art. 1 ad 6) : ' Anima humana manet in suo esse cum fuerit a corpore separata habens aptitudinem et inclinationem naturalem ad corporis unionem.'

absorbed in the Divine Essence as is possible for a pure creature, and she must, then, have soul and body united, 'hic et nunc.' In this way the teaching of Pius IX. makes the teaching of St. Thomas perfectly clear to us that no matter what intellectual penetration the soul may have *per se* it will still be 'more perfect in its nature by the conjunction of a glorified body, and consequently more efficacious in its operation.'

'But as *perfection* of body is needed¹ so as not to impede the elevation of the mind,' who can say what is this perfection of the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary when it must be worthy companion of such a perfect soul. If we may apply the principle 'from one learn all'² to this example of 'gratia gratis data,' may we reasonably conclude that as the Blessed Virgin is declared to be the 'throne of all graces,' that all graces uncreated and created, and amongst these 'graces gratuitously given' ('gratiae gratis datae'), perfecting the intellect and will for the salvation of others, are united in her corporally (assumed that she is in Heaven), 'hic et nunc,' a human person that is neither a body nor a soul, but the rational being arising out of the substantial union of both principles,³ and that she is there the ineffable miracle, the crown of all miracles, the worthy Mother of God; approaching as near to God as is possible for created nature.

II.—The Blessed Virgin is declared to be the treasury almost infinite, and an inexhaustible abyss of the charismata of the Holy Ghost. St. Thomas says: 'Though the whole Trinity operated the conception of the Body of Christ, still it is to be attributed to the Holy Ghost.'⁴ First, because the Holy Ghost is the Love of the Father and the Son, and the Incarnation is the proof of the supreme love of God, and therefore to be attributed to the Holy Ghost; and, secondly, because human nature was assumed through grace alone; which is also to be attributed to the Holy Spirit. He gives another reason not necessary to mention here;

¹ *Summa*, i. 2^{ae}, 4 ad 2: 'Idco requiritur perfectio corporis ut non impedat elevationem mentis.'

² E. uno discite omnes.

³ Father Maher, *Psychology*, p. 521.

⁴ *Summa*, iii. 32, 1 c.

but the two given clearly show that no creature is so beloved nor so endowed by God as the Blessed Virgin Mary.

Pius IX., in a passage difficult to translate, teaches this : ' God showed the Blessed Virgin Mary such love above and beyond all creatures that in her alone was He well pleased, and with a wish as nearly approaching as is possible to the love He bears to Himself '—*Tantoque prae creaturus universis est prosecutus amore ut in illa una sibi propensissima voluntate complacuerit.* The Holy Ghost being the love of the Father and the Son, His gifts, says St. Thomas,¹ are connected in charity, just as the moral virtues are connected in prudence ; as prudence perfects reason so the gifts of the Holy Ghost perfect charity. We may ask, but we cannot answer, what degree of charity the Blessed Virgin must have, and how she must be beloved, when she is the inexhaustible abyss and the treasury almost infinite of these gifts ? But if these gifts are reserved to her soul, and if the glory of her body does not result from the glory of her soul, even though St. Augustine says it does,² there must be a reason, and this reason could only be that the sentence ' unto dust thou shalt return ' was not revoked in her favour. And then she would be very much like the other children of Eve, enjoying the Beatific Vision, bereft of the material principle of our human nature, and therefore to all appearances under some divine displeasure till the general resurrection, and at the same time ' be beloved above and beyond all others.' According to the infallible pronouncement of Pius IX. angels would be included in the words ' prae creaturis universis,' and still angels would enjoy a nature not only superior in order of creation but also in order of perfection to her if she, who must have all possible perfection, has not in the Beatific Vision the perfection due to her nature. From the first instant, then, that sacred body and soul were united in a perfect nature, as that nature in her was *par excellence* the living and perfect temple of the Holy Spirit.³ In other words, if the Blessed Virgin is not

¹ *Summa*, i. 2^{ae}, 88, art. 5.

² *Ibid.* iii. 49, 6 ad 3.

³ 1 Cor. vi. 19.

corporally assumed it would be difficult to conceive how she could be the 'treasury almost *infinite* and the *inexhaustible* abyss of the Holy Ghost,' first because such glory of the soul according to the teaching of St. Augustine should redound to the body and might, I say, by the force of attraction that such a soul must possess for a body which was always subject;¹ and, secondly, because it would be a contradiction to say that the Blessed Virgin Mary should be beloved above and beyond all other creatures, and at the same time that other creatures far less beloved should enjoy all perfection possible to their nature whilst she would not.

Again, St. Thomas says there was a threefold perfection of grace in the Blessed Virgin Mary.² He errs in regard to the time at which she received the first perfection when he says that it was after her animation³ she was rendered suited to be Mother of Christ. He holds that the second perfection was acquired by the presence of the Son of God Incarnate in her womb, and the third and final perfection in glory. He contrasts her freedom from evil and enjoyment of good, and says that in glory she is free from all misery and enjoys every good. Then one evident good she should enjoy would be the perfection due to her nature, and St. Thomas quotes St. Augustine (or another author), arguing from the fact that the Blessed Virgin Mary is corporally assumed without any mention of it in Scripture;⁴ and in another place⁵ implicitly teaches that she enjoys a perfect nature when he says that she was resuscitated after death and carried into heaven. The Blessed Virgin Mary merited the consummate grace for her corporal Assumption, since her body was the

¹ St. Thomas, P. i. 97, art. 1, says 'There was in the soul a certain power supernaturally and divinely given through which it could preserve the body from all corruption as long as it remained subject to God.'

² *Summa*, iii. 27, 5: 'In B. Virgine fuit triplex perfectio gratiae; prima quidem quasi dispositiva per quam reddebatur idonea ad hoc quod esset mater Christi et haec fuit perfectio sanctificationis; 2^a autem perfectio gratiae fuit in B. Virgine ex praesentia Dei Tertia vero in sui glorificatione fuit liberata etiam ab omni miseria "in sui glorificatione consummata est ejus" gratia perficiens eam in fruitione omnis boni.'

³ Cf. *Summa*, iii. 27, 2.

⁴ Cf. Part iii. q. 27, 1, c.

⁵ Part iii. q. 83, 5 ad 8.

instrument of the meritorious act in bearing Christ—though she did not, nor could not, merit the Incarnation.¹

If she were not the inexhaustible abyss and treasury almost infinite of all the gifts of sanctity and purity lavished on her by the Holy Ghost, she would not be worthy to be Mother of God, and since she was 'the worthy Mother of God,' she was fit to be corporally assumed by Him who *from* her was corporally assumed by that Holy Spirit who is the one² undivided source of all grace and all perfections of grace.

III.—St. Proclus says³ that the Incarnation is 'a prodigy surpassing understanding.' The Blessed Virgin could not merit it, nor even Christ Himself,⁴ when she did become Mother of God, and thus compassed a prodigy surpassing understanding. It is not to be wondered if Pius IX. declares that 'she surpasses all angels and saints . . . and that under God no greater could be conceived.' When she attained to a dignity so surpassingly great, and when that dignity demanded freedom from all sin, virginity *before* and *after* the birth of Christ, the respect due the *fruit* of her womb should also be due to the womb which produced the Fruit.

St. Thomas confirms this when he says there are three things God could not make any better : the Homo-Christus, the Beatific Vision created for the blessed,⁵ and the Blessed Virgin. As she is exalted above all the angelic choirs she

¹ *Summa*, iii. q. 2, 11 ad 3 : 'B. Virgo dicitur meruisse portare Dominum omnium non quia meruit ipsum incarnari sed quia meruit ex gratia sibi data illum puritatis et sanctitatis gradum ut congrui posset esse mater Dei.'

² *Divisiones gratiarum sunt idem autem spiritus* (1 Cor. xii. 14).

³ *Ad Armen.* Epis. 2.

⁴ *Summa*, iii. 2, 11, c.

⁵ *Summa*, i. 25, 6 ad 4. St. Thomas (*Summa*, part i. 12, art. 5, c), speaking of Beatific Vision created for the Blessed, says : 'Anything elevated to something else surpassing its nature needs to be disposed by something which is above its nature, v.g., if air is to assume the form of fire it must be disposed in some way . . . therefore (ad 1) created light is necessary to see the Divine Essence—not because it makes it intelligible, since the Divine Essence is *secundum de intelligibile*—but necessary in so far as the intellect becomes disposed by that mode by which potentiality becomes more powerful to operate by habit, just as corporal light is needed in exterior vision in making some actual transparent medium capable of being influenced by colour.'

cannot be any nobler, and the reason is she is Mother of God, and therefore, like the Homo-Christus, has a kind of infinite dignity that comes from an infinite good—God Himself; so nothing can be better than them, as nothing can be better than God. Now, to destroy the virginal body—the instrumental cause of so meritorious an act¹ as bearing the Creator of the Beatific Vision and all created perfections—demands a reason: our bodies shall be reformed for the better in the Resurrection; but the Blessed Virgin's cannot, as it is perfect.² Hence, disintegration of the virginal body would be opposed to divine wisdom 'which superabounds in us.'³ It is also opposed to divine love and divine justice: to divine love, because it is more attached to what is better ('Deus majus diligit meliora'),⁴ and God shows His love by wishing it a greater good. Now, He so loved man in the state of innocence that it was impossible for the first man⁵ even to 'dash his foot against a stone.'⁶ What care, then, must be exercised over the body of His own Mother, first, because it is consubstantial with what is 'seated at His right hand';⁷ and, secondly, because we have seen that perfection of the soul demands perfection of the body in the Beatific Vision?⁸ It is opposed to divine justice, and so much so that I would ask is the following apodictical? St. Thomas says Christ merited by His Passion to be exalted.⁹ This is clear to all since the pains He

¹ *Summa*, iii. 49, 6 ad 1: 'Dicendum principium merendi est ex parte animae corpus autem est instrumentum meritorii actus.'

² Cf. Suarez in 3 S. Thomae, p. 27, disp. 2, sect. 2: 'Omnes Patres qui de B. Virgini scribunt docent corpus B. Dei Genitricis Mariae fuisse in sua specie suoque sexu perfectum.'

³ Epis. i. 8.

⁴ *Summa*, part i. q. 20, art. 4.

⁵ *Summa*, part i. 97, 2: 'Per divinam providentiam quae sic ipsum tuebatur ut nihil ei occurreret ex improviso a quo laederetur.'

⁶ Ps. lc. 12.

⁷ *Summa*, iii. lviii. art. 3, c: 'Secundum gratiam unionis quae importate converso distinctionem naturae et unitatem personae et secundum hoc Christus secundum quod homo est Filius Dei et per consequens sedens ad dexteris Patris ita tamen quod $\tau\acute{o}$ secundum quod non designet conditionem naturae sed unitatem suppositi.'

⁸ *Summa*, i. 2^{ae} art. v.

⁹ *Summa*, part iii. xlix. art. 6: 'Christ humbled Himself in His Passion beneath His dignity in four ways, therefore He merited to be exalted in four ways.' He humbled Himself (1) to Passion and death to which He was not indebted; (2) as regards place: His body in a tomb and His soul

endured surpassed all that men could suffer in bitterness, in kind,¹ in subjective feeling, and in voluntary assumption. Still, no matter what pains He endured, no matter what good² He effected, He could never merit the Incarnation. But once the 'Word became flesh,' then that sacred flesh merited to be exalted at any moment.³ Still less could the Blessed Virgin Mary merit the Incarnation; yet, *a pari*, the moment the Word assumed her sacred flesh that moment her flesh, which was also consubstantial with His, merited to be assumed.

One objection may naturally arise: the parity is not complete—the flesh of Christ could be only exalted at any moment because united to a soul united to the Word. This objection will be answered fully in the next part. But here we may reply that if instead of the Word assuming her sacred flesh He raised the Blessed Virgin body and soul to the Beatific, like St. Paul⁴ (supposing his body was wrapt as well as his soul), but, *unlike* him, allowed her to remain. Great is the honour but still less than the glory of the Word stooping to assume her flesh in her womb on earth. Now, if the principle holds in things divine: 'Major minorem ad se trahit,' God should do her a less favour where He has done her a greater. When He honoured her by assuming her flesh on earth He honours Himself by raising that flesh to heaven. According to the teaching of the Constitution *Ineffabilis*, we must believe God has done her the lesser favour, since 'she far surpasses all angels and all saints in the copiousness of all celestial gifts.' Pius IX. at least refers in these words to the instant of the Immaculate Conception. Now, if the Blessed Virgin Mary were not then

in Limbo; (3) as regards shame, confusion and insults; (4) in being delivered to human power. He should be exalted (1) by Resurrection; (2) by Ascension; (3) by 'concession' (*concessus*), at the right hand of the Father, and by the manifestation of His Divinity, i.e., He should be called God and should have the same reverence paid Him as paid to God; (4) by judiciary power.

¹ Part iii. 46, art. 6.

² *Summa*, iii. q. 2, art. 11, c: 'Nulla ejus operatio potuit esse meritum unionis.'

³ *Summa*, iii. 49, 6 ad 3: 'Dispensatione quadam factum est in Christo ut gloriæ animæ ante Passionem non redundaret ad corpus.'

⁴ 2 Cor. xii. 2: 'Whether in the body I know not.'

endowed with the grace preserving from disintegration the body united to the soul, which is the 'seat of all graces,' God could have done more; but as we know He could do no more as far as created intelligence can grasp, then she must be in heaven, body and soul, since such an honour could be understood to be due to the womb and the breasts that the 'Word did not abhor';¹ and then we have realized the words of Pio Nono, implicitly the Pope of the Assumption: 'All beautiful and perfect, she displays such a fullness of innocence and sanctity that, under God, no greater can be conceived.'

IV.—'The Blessed Virgin is one with her Son in sharing the perpetual benediction.'² Venerable Bede says that the most pure flesh of Mary is consubstantial with that of her Son; but the sacred flesh of the Son should never see corruption: therefore neither should His Mother's flesh be dissolved. Otherwise, what was consubstantial was divisible—partly corruptible and incorruptible—and, if so, the flesh of Mary would not be consubstantial with that of her Son, since her flesh would see corruption and her Son's would not. It may be objected that the sacred flesh of Jesus and Mary are consubstantial but differently informed—that of the Son is anointed by the Divinity of the Word and even then would have been subject to corruption had it not been preserved by Divine power;³ that of the Mother is not anointed by the divinity of the Word, and if preserved (as all Catholics believe) it is preserved by Divine grace which is to be proved.

The first reply to this objection is that even though the sacred flesh of the Son and the Mother are differently informed, it should be all the greater reason that the flesh of the Mother should not see corruption since it is consubstantial with the flesh of the Son, which is divine, and preserved because it is divine. The most pure flesh of Mary is therefore worthy of all honour and respect, and should be

¹ Non horruisti Virginis uterum.

² See Gospel in Common Office of Blessed Virgin Mary: 'Unigenito Dei carnis suae materiam monstrasse rerum consubstantialemque Matri Filium.'


³ See page 114.

far removed from all the effects of sin, from which her Son chose to be free,¹ otherwise He would dishonour in her what He honours in Himself. But as He respected His own sacred flesh by preserving it, so also should He preserve what is consubstantial. Again, if the Son of God would not by His second birth² suffer the virginity of His Mother to be corrupted, neither should He allow the body of His Mother to be corrupted at her second birth, or, in other words, at her entry into the next world.

The following argument from St. Thomas³ should also meet this objection: 'God first illumines the substances nearest Himself, and by *these* He illumines those more remote, and therefore the Word first grants immortal life to the body naturally united to Himself, and BY IT operates the resurrection in all others.' Now, the body by which Christ operates the resurrection in all others is consubstantial with that of the Blessed Virgin, therefore the body of the Blessed Virgin must be resurrected before all others,⁴ since it far surpasses all others in being naturally united to the soul above and beyond all others nearest to God.

If this is not conclusive, since it does not show at *what time* before the General Resurrection the body of the Blessed Virgin should be assumed, it must be granted that the body of the Blessed Virgin should remain in the tomb long enough after her death to show that she was really dead, and afterwards resurrected. As death and burial proved the Resurrection of the Son, so death and burial should prove the Assumption of the Mother. St. John Damascene mentions a tradition that the singing of angels lasted for three days and three nights round the spot where the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary was interred, but as he seems to state this on the authority of Denis the Areopagite, or whoever wrote the work attributed to him, we may safely say there is no proof to show how long she remained in the womb of the

¹ Cf. Suarez in 3 St. Thomae 27, disp. 2, sect. 2.

² *Summa*, iii. 38, c: 'Ad hoc venit ut nostram corruptionem tolleretur unde non fuit conveniens ut virginitatem matris nascendo corrumpere.' 

³ *Summa*, iii. 56, art. 1.

⁴ See page 132. It should be at least before all others, when it was the first, after that of her Son, to be raised without ever seeing corruption.

earth ; but it should be as long as her Son remained, if not longer, because the spear of Longinus made it certain that our Lord was dead before He was interred. Burial alone could prove that Our Lady was really dead if we are to suppose that her body was free from the *rigor mortis*, as some of the saints were for some time after death.

But once it was proved that the Blessed Virgin had 'slept,' as St. John Damascene would put it, her body should be assumed ; because the axiom '*quod semel assumptum nunquam dimittitur*,' applied to the union of the Word and our nature, should also apply to the union of Jesus and Mary, since the Word assumed our nature in Mary. Now, in the Incarnation the union between Jesus and Mary was so close that no closer could be conceived in the Beatific Vision itself ; and if the flesh of Mary is assumed (as all Catholics believe) it is not nearer to God in heaven than it was on earth when she became His Mother and the Word was made flesh in her womb. If, then, the flesh of Mary was fit to be united by the strictest ties with God on earth, it is equally fit, '*hic et nunc*,' to be united to Him by the strictest union in heaven.

It was fit from the first instant after death to be assumed to heaven ; then the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary should not remain longer on earth than was necessary to prove that death had really occurred and that the body was really resuscitated.

A third answer to this objection, and, to my mind, the strongest proof of the corporal Assumption, is the fact that the Blessed Virgin is Immaculate. In the corporal Assumption her triumph over the serpent would be crowned, her prerogatives suitably rewarded. First, her triumph over the serpent would be crowned because by her Assumption both sexes would be honoured and she herself exalted. St. Augustine says, 'God ought to honour both sexes as Satan dishonoured both' ; 'Both sexes fell, both must be restored.'¹ The one was restored by the Ascension, the other must be restored by the Assumption ; the

¹ '*Uterque ceciderat sexus uterque fuerat reparandus.*'—In Natal. S. J. Bapt.

one by God made man, the other by a pure creature, whose humility crushes the pride of Lucifer, and raises her to the place to which he, in his pride, aspired, and the triumph is all the greater for the Blessed Virgin Mary, and all the more galling to her eternal foe, when it immediately follows her death, so that death becomes the occasion of his supreme humiliation. In the fall Lucifer not only triumphed over both sexes, but over the spiritual and material principle of each sex. In the Assumption both sexes triumph over him, and the material principle is exalted as well as the spiritual, and, both united in Mary, from that day forward reign over him and all other creatures, good and bad, pure and composite, with a sway only surpassed by that of Christ Himself.

Again, by the Assumption all the prerogatives of the Blessed Virgin Mary are suitably rewarded. She is singular in her own conception, singular in the conception of her Son, singular in her virginity, singular in her maternity, singular in her sufferings, singular in the copiousness of all gifts and graces, and therefore entitled to a singular reward. Were she not corporally assumed, but had to wait like the rest of the elect, the manner in which she would receive her *complete* reward¹ in no way differs from theirs, nor would she perfectly triumph over Satan even then, because if she is not now corporally assumed he could always boast that he triumphed over her most pure flesh, if he did not triumph over her soul, and in this way that he made her undergo humiliation like the rest of the elect when their bodies and hers were denied the enjoyment of the Beatific Vision till the general resurrection. To the Catholic mind this is unthinkable and impossible—unthinkable, because she is the 'Mother of my Lord'²; and impossible, because she is immaculate. Being immaculate, she amply triumphed over the devil in her soul. Now, the soul with the body form but one person; and therefore, since she completely crushed the serpent's

¹ Cf. *Summa*, iii. 9, 27, 5 ad 2 : 'Maria habuit triplicem perfectionem gratiae Sc. in ejus sanctificatione in conceptione Christi et in ejus glorificatione *tertia* est potior secunda et secunda quam prima.'

² Luke i. 43.

head by the spiritual principle of her nature, she must also crush his head by the material principle. Otherwise there could not be *one* person called Mary 'arising out of the substantial union of these two principles.' They could not unite any more than water and oil could commingle, or if they did, there should be two Marys—one the *spiritual* conqueror of Satan, one a material principle bearing for all eternity the stigma of subjection. Because if the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary were corrupted for one moment, in that moment the devil would exult for ever, for St. Thomas teaches corruption is the effect of the first sin; and even though the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary would rise glorious and incorruptible the moment after, still for one moment it was betwixt the fangs of the serpent, and that moment could never be forgotten. I say, further, if the virginal body were corrupt there would be two Marys, because no one could say absolutely, 'Mary *amply* triumphed.' A distinction would have to be made: in her soul, yes; as regards her sacred body, no. But the Immaculate Conception only affects the soul? Pius IX. means more than freedom from original sin, for his words are: 'Decebat omnino . . . ab ipsa originali culpae labi plane immunis *amplissimum* de antiquo serpente triumphum referret.' Now, one of the gifts of grace that Satan deprived our first parents of was corporal immunity from our corruption. If the triumph of the Blessed Virgin Mary is to be 'most ample,' she must not only conquer Satan but carry off all the spoils he took from our forebears. So that, except death, whatever else was lost in the fall was recovered in the Immaculate Conception,¹ and in the most magnificent manner possible. The full text occurs in the Office of the Immaculate Conception, second day within the octave, and let the kind reader judge for himself whether or not I am justified in saying that the Blessed Virgin Mary could not 'achieve an absolute triumph over the ancient serpent' unless her body were as free from corruption as her soul was from sin.

To sum up: The Immaculate Conception is the strongest

¹ See vii. die infra, Oct. i. Concep., lectio vi.: 'ac de ipso plenissime triumphans.'

proof for the corporal Assumption. First, because if the body of the Blessed Virgin Mary were corrupt even for one moment, it could no more unite with the soul than oil with water. In both cases the one would be above the other. In the case of the Blessed Virgin Mary, a body once a subject of corruption would be beneath a soul which triumphed over the source of corruption. Secondly, all agree, 'actiones sunt suppositorum,' that is, actions *are* attributed to the composite as a whole, or, in other words, to the individual, they are *not* attributed to *that* part alone which does or *suffers* the action. For instance, when the body is sick the *man* is said to be sick; when the soul thinks the *man* is said to think. Apply this to the doctrine of the Assumption. Were her sacred body once subject to corruption (i.e., corrupt even for a moment), the Blessed Virgin then would be once a subject of Satan. Her soul is immaculate; then she was never a subject of Satan, but he was *always* her subject. Then, according to the communication of idioms, a *suppositum* called the body that was once a subject *is* a *suppositum* called the soul which was never a subject—body and soul form *one* person, that is, an *individual* and *incommunicable* substance of a rational nature; then we have a contradiction in terms, viz., that one and the same person should be at one and the same time the subject and master of another person. It follows, then, as a logical necessity that the body of the *Immaculate Virgin must* be free from corruption, and *must* be assumed.

I come to the last part, which will deal chiefly with objections, and I do not think there will be any call to go far into deep waters to meet them.

I. 'All old authors,' says Maldonatus,¹ 'remark an antithesis between Mary and Eve.' Before the fall Adam came first, then Eve. In the Redemption Eve came first, then Adam. Before the fall Eve sprung from Adam, in the Redemption Adam sprung from Eve. Before the fall Adam and Eve were made free from corruption, and should never see it. *A fortiori*, in the Redemption the second Adam and the second Eve should never see corruption when,

¹ Luke i. 38.

according to St. Paul, grace more abounds.¹ The second Adam not only did not see corruption, but became the seed of incorruption; neither should the second Eve see corruption if the parity is to be maintained in the eternal Eden, as it must, because the temporal Eden was the type of the eternal; and to give here one proof that temporal Eden is the type, the tree of life is *only* mentioned in Genesis and Apocalypse. In Genesis it is said: 'And He cast out Adam; and placed before the paradise of pleasure Cherubims, and a flaming sword, turning every way, to keep the way of the tree of life.'² In the Apocalypse, and in the last chapter: 'And he showed me a river of water of life . . . and on both sides of the river, was the tree of life.'³ And again,⁴ 'that they may *have* a right to the tree of life.' There is a river in the earthly paradise, and there is also a river mentioned in the heavenly Eden. In first Eden Adam and Eve are alone before all others—Adam first and then Eve; in second Eden again Adam first and then Eve should be alone before all others. But against this it may be urged:

(a) St. Matthew says 'many bodies of the saints that had slept arose, and coming out of the tombs *after His resurrection*, came into the city, and appeared to many.'⁵ Maldonatus approves of the opinion that these saints did not die again, but ascended with Christ into Heaven, and he says their resurrection was a proof of the singular charity of our Lord, who wished to die alone, but not to rise alone. From this it would follow that the second Eve would not be alone in the second Eden before all others, but there should be others there corporally present before her.

(b) There is no parity in positive matters. To Adam and his posterity it is said: 'Unto dust thou shalt return.'⁶ No one, not even did Christ exempt Himself, from death.

II. Only of Christ have we scriptural proof that His body enjoys the Beatific Vision, and as regards the Blessed Virgin Mary, though Benedict XIV. believed the words of

¹ Rom. v. 20.

² Gen. iii. 24.

³ Apoc. xxii. 1, 2.

⁴ Apoc. xxii. 14.

⁵ Matt. xxvii. 52.

⁶ Gen. iii. 19.

Psalm cxxxi. 8, 'Arise, O Lord, into thy resting-place: Thou and the ark which Thou hast sanctified,' could only apply to the Resurrection and Assumption, yet he saw no sufficient proofs to justify him to declare the Assumption an article of faith. And again, Pius IX. did not accede to the request of nearly two hundred Fathers of the Vatican Council, and declare the Assumption *de fide*, though they grounded the arguments for their request on the doctrine of the Constitution *Ineffabilis*.

III. As regards tradition, there is no word of the Assumption in the very early ages of the Church. And hence, 'in absence of direct evidence either of Scripture or of tradition directly apostolic, some theologians would not go so far as Catharinus, who holds that the Assumption is *de fide*, or Cardinal Gotti, who says the man who denies may be gravely suspected of heresy—but call it a truth or a pious and probable opinion.'¹

I. (a) The opinion that resurrected dead ascended with our Lord is *only* an opinion;² and even granting it is true, still the Blessed Virgin Mary remains alone with her Divine Son in Heaven before all others, even though others were there before her—in this way, that her body and His alone were the first in Heaven which never saw corruption.³ Thus the corporal Assumption becomes the complement of the Immaculate Conception, and the body as well as the soul differ from all others just as Gideon's fleece was alone moist with dew whilst all the ground was dry, and again, all the ground was moist whilst the fleece alone was dry.⁴ If

¹ Cf. Father McGuinness, *De Deo Consummatore*, p. 368.

² St. Chrysostom, 88th Hom. on St. Matthew, says: 'It was not an apparition of phantoms for they had a great number of witnesses in the city.' But he does not say if they ascended with Christ. Father Morris, in his work *Jesus, Son of Mary* (P. iii. 396) says: 'It was not uncommonly believed that the dead bodies of the saints went into Jerusalem, that is, above'; and, according to him, 'The Church of the First-born and the spirits of the just seem a most useless tautology if they do not mean two things in Heb. xii. 23.'

³ St. Thomas says (*Supplement*, 78, 2): 'All men shall rise again from ashes in the common resurrection unless it be otherwise permitted to some by a special privilege of grace.' According to the teaching of the Angelic Doctor (cf. p. 126) the Blessed Virgin should be first in dignity, if not in time, to be corporally assumed after the Ascension, and in time too, only for the will of God for her to remain with the Church in its infancy.

⁴ Judges vi. 37-40.

this passage be a classic vision of the Assumption, as it is of the Immaculate Conception, it would be easily understood why Gideon said to God: 'Let not Thy wrath be enkindled against me if I try once more seeking a sign in the fleece'; and why 'God did that night as he had requested.' For just as one miracle only confirmed the other in the figure or type, so in the reality, prefigured by the fleece, the miracle of the Assumption would confirm that of the Immaculate Conception, and *vice versa*.

(b) The axiom 'in positivis nulla est paritas' cannot apply to the Blessed Virgin, for she is a singular exception to many laws, general and penal. For instance, it was said to Eve, 'In sorrow thou shalt bring forth.'¹ This law is made an exception to the general law that natural operations are accompanied by pleasure, and alone, amongst all, the Blessed Virgin brought forth her Son with the most intense pleasure,² and thus for once more then restored the original law. And again, she alone conceived without knowing man, and after and while she brought forth remains a virgin as she was before; and again is a singular exception to all laws of generation.³ And, again, though a spouse she was never a subject. If Mary is an exception in these instances to fixed and positive laws—three resulting from the fall,⁴ one existing from the beginning—why should she not be exempt from other equally fixed and positive laws? If God reminded Adam he was but dust and would return to it, it was to punish his pride; but as there was no pride in the Blessed Virgin Mary to reprove or punish, and as her sacred body was always perfectly subject to her soul and her soul to God, her sacred body should never see

¹ Gen. iii. 26.

² 'In illo artu nullus fuit dolor sicut nec aliqua corruptio sed fuit ibi maxima jucunditas ex eo quod homo Deus est natus in mundum.'—*Summa*, iii. 35, 6, c.

³ *Summa*, ii. 98, art. 2. The common opinion of scholastics who follow SS. Thomas, and Augustine, who says: 'Absit ut suspicemur non potuisse prolem fieri sine libidinis morbo.' St. Gregory of Nyssa holds the opposite opinion, viz., that in a state of innocence the human race would have been multiplied, like the angels, by Divine power.

⁴ 'Maria fuit expers maledictionis Hevae quia peperit sine dolore et non multiplicavit conceptus nec fuit subjecta viro.'—*Summa*, iii. 30, 2 ad 2; 35, 6 ad 1.

corruption, because St. Thomas teaches¹ that the soul had power, supernaturally and divinely given, to preserve the body from all corruption as long as it remained *subject* to God. Again, if she was sinless like Eve before Eve fell, and far more so, she should like Eve be free from death, and like Eve be corporally assumed, if Eve had not sinned. The parity must hold even though both die—for death in the case of Eve was in punishment for sin ; in the case of Mary, if *not* in atonement, it was certainly not in punishment. And with the Blessed Virgin Mary there is more than a parity : there is also divine justice,² which St. Thomas says is the primary cause of our resurrection ; for the conditions which should have justified Eve's corporal assumption on her departure from the world—had she not sinned—were all united in Mary in a far greater degree at her departure. Therefore, since Mary never sinned and was ' full of grace,' she should be corporally assumed, especially after the coming of the second Adam,³ otherwise *grace* would not ' more abound.'⁴

II. It is scarcely correct to say we have no scriptural proof that Mary was assumed. The Church has not yet declared that any particular text, such as the verse of the Psalm already quoted,⁵ or any passage such as the description of the woman clothed with the sun,⁶ or the twenty-fourth chapter of Ecclesiasticus, should be applied to the Assumption, as the text Genesis iii. 15 is applied to the Immaculate Conception. And as there are texts which might be reasonably applied to the Assumption there is nothing to prevent the Church at any future time from

¹ *Summa*, i. q. 97, art. 1.

² *Ibid.*, iii. 56, art. 1 ad 2.

³ *Rom.* v. 14.

⁴ *Rom.* v. 20. Cf. St. Chrysostom, *Rom.* v. 17 : ' We have received not only the balm to heal the wound, but also health, beauty, honour, glory, and all the grandeurs which surpass our nature. Suppose a man owe ten groats, and for this paltry sum is cast into prison, and his wife and children and servants along with him ; and suppose a stranger gives him not only ten groats, but ten thousand talents, and then introduces him into the palaces of the kings, makes him sit on a throne, and surrounds him with all the pageantry of supreme honour, would the debtor then think of the ten groats which the stranger had previously paid for him ? It is the same in the Redemption : Jesus Christ has paid far beyond our debt. It means all the difference between a vast sea and a drop of water. Inquire no more how this spark of death is extinguished in the midst of this ocean of gifts. Such is the truth St. Paul insinuates when he says : " Much more those who receive abundance of grace and justice shall reign in life " ' (10th Homily).

⁵ *Ps.* cxxxi. 8.

⁶ *Apoc.* xii. 1.

declaring, by virtue of her infallible magisterium, that such and such texts do apply.¹

III. If Benedict XIV. saw no sufficient grounds for making the Assumption an article of faith, it was not for any lack of authorities² to justify him in declaring it *de fide*; and after quoting many he pronounced it rash to say anything against what was *universally* received. Now that the Immaculate Conception is *de fide* it would still be more dangerous; then why did Pius IX. not accede to the request of so many of the Vatican Fathers? Those who know the history of the times can best give the reasons; but Pius IX. says, in the Constitution *Ineffabilis*, many petitions were presented to his predecessors and himself before the dogma of the Immaculate Conception was declared. And it was on this Constitution the same Fathers relied, and especially on the words: 'The most holy Virgin was bound by a most close and indissoluble chain with her Son.' And can any flaw be detected in the argument they have drawn from them, viz. :—

The Blessed Virgin Mary was associated in the perfect triumph of Christ, which consists in the triple victory over sin and the fruits of sin, concupiscence and death; but the Blessed Virgin triumphed over sin by her Immaculate Conception, and over concupiscence by her virginity; then she must have triumphed over death by her corporal Assumption.

IV. Father Morris, in his thesaurus, *Jesus, Son of Mary*, effectively answers the last objection :—

St. Methodius [he says] in the third century, treating of the woman clothed with the sun . . . combats the opinion of those who take it of the Blessed Virgin Mary. This shows the opinion in existence that they thought the Blessed Virgin Mary was (in Heaven) and interpreted the passage by means of a *tradition* to that effect.

The early Christians were more than careful to show respect to their sainted dead.³ We hear of the tombs of SS. Peter and James and Cecilia; but where is the account

¹ Cf. Epist. for Assumption: 'Qui creavit me requievit in tabernaculo meo et in civitate sanctificata similiter requieri.'

² *De festis B.M.V.*, viii. 18.

³ 'Ossa Polycarpi petiosissimis cariora et quovis aura pretiosiora sepulta sunt ut decitat.'—Ep. Eccli. Smyrnenis.

of the tomb of the Blessed Virgin Mary besides that given by the pseudo Dionysius? or who heard of her relics? The 'disciplina arcani' might explain the absence of records, but it should explain, too, the absence of any tradition whatever regarding the Assumption far more than absence of any other; for to preach the Assumption along with the Resurrection would only confuse issues. The Resurrection proved the divinity of the Christian Church and its Founder, and to mention the Assumption in proof of the divine maternity would have, perhaps, led the 'unlearned and unstable' to conclude, as some sect (the Collyridians¹) did in the early ages, that Mary was divine in the sense that her Son was. When the divine maternity was proved from other reasons, and when the unity and trinity of God, when the divinity of Christ, when the doctrine of grace, were firmly rooted in the hearts and minds of the faithful, then it was time to speak openly of the Assumption; 'when the winter is past, the rain over and gone, and the flowers have appeared on our land.'² Butler says:³ 'The Assumption was celebrated with the utmost solemnity at Jerusalem in the fifth and sixth ages.' In view of this fact could it be proved that the corporal Assumption is *not* directly apostolic, as far as 'disciplina arcana' would allow it to be revealed to a chosen few in every generation during the first ages, and should it be objected that there were public traditions for the Immaculate Conception during the same first ages, whilst there were none for the Assumption, I reply: Since Mary is Immaculate, her body *must* now be exalted above the stars, so whatever tradition holds for the Immaculate Conception holds for the Assumption.

In conclusion, I sincerely thank the Rev. Editor, and some of the priests of the diocese for kind and valuable suggestions.

FELIX O'NEILL.

¹ Cant. ii. 11.

² So called from certain cakes called in Greek Collyrides, which they offered to the B.V.M. as a kind of divinity, thus changing piety and devotion into superstition and idolatry.—Butler.

³ See *Lives of the Fathers and Martyrs*, Aug. 15, for a learned and masterly exposition of the subject, though he is wrong in saying 'none among the children of Adam being *exempt* from that rigorous law' (of death).

GADELICA MINORA—II.

IN our first article¹ we stated that Modern Irish idiom requires that one of the pronouns *é, í, iad* (*ead*) be inserted after the copula in sentences of identity, when the material predicate is a definite noun, either formally or equivalently. This is true whether the material predicate precedes the copula (as in type D), or is at the end of the sentence (as in types B, C, H), or intervenes between the copula and the subject (as in types A and G).² This, however, was not always the rule. Though we find, for instance, in the Würzburg and the Milan Glosses examples of types containing the pronoun, we also find copious examples where there is no pronoun inserted. It is reasonable to suppose *a priori* that at first the pronoun was not necessary in types A and G³—the only two types in which its presence creates any difficulty. In all the other cases where it is present, it is either proleptic or retrospective, and was absolutely necessary to complete the form of the sentence, because in affirmations and denials the predicate must, *in some form or other*, come immediately after the copula. The following examples seem to bear out this theory of the original absence of the pronoun in type A. In the *thirty-six* folia of the Würzburg Glosses there are *fifty-two* examples of its absence as against *twelve* of its presence. In the *hundred and forty-six* folia of the Milan Glosses, on the other hand, there are only *twenty-seven* examples of its absence as against *eighteen* of its presence. Nevertheless, the twelve examples from the Würzburg Glosses show that the influence of the other types must have made itself felt very early. For the convenience of students I have arranged the examples under

¹ I. E. RECORD, July.

² In E (as a distinct type) the copula is not expressed. In F the predicate is not a definite noun.

³ I have no certain example of type G in Old Irish.

various headings, and have numbered them for the sake of facilitating future reference.

A.—EXAMPLES FROM WÜRZBURG GLOSSES.

1°. *The Predicate is a Noun preceded by a Possessive Adjective.*

1. Fol. 4d 2—nipa farnainmsi bias forib .i. plebs dei.
2. „ 5d 34—ná bad fornert dofema.
3. „ 9d 25—mad moriarsa dognethe and. . . .
4. „ 12c 25—issathorbe feisin són nammá.
5. „ 13b 21—massu armbethuni siu nammá (cretmeni).
6. „ 13c 24—is achorp fessin arafoím cachsíl.
7. „ 16b 8—nifarmbrónsi immafolngi fáiltí domsa.
8. „ 21b 8—isarathsom ronnicni, et non merita.
9. „ 21c 20—israd dae immidforling domsa nimmarilliud.
10. „ 23d 5—isaindochbál fessin condieig cách act tiamthe.
11. „ 25d 22—condip atholsom dognedsi.
12. „ 33c 5—ni adoenacht fesine rudanordan acht deacht.

2°. *Predicate is 'dia,' or 'deacht,' or 'dominus,' or 'crist.'*

13. Fol. 1a 2—isdiasom domsa.
14. „ 4b 14—india (?).
15. „ 4c 4—isdia bendachthe isnabithu.
16. „ 6a 3—is dia rodordigestar.
17. „ 10a 1—is dominus immurgu (dicit uxorem a viro non descedere).
18. „ 14d 25—iscrist dodlugi lim.
19. „ 14d 40—iscrist pridchimme.
20. „ 16a 17—isóendia atreba indib.
21. „ 23a 27—isdia rofitir forsercsi limsa.
22. „ 28b 2—amal asnóindia omnium adcobra ícc omnium.
23. „ 29d 29—isdia cotaóeiade treagnímosom.
24. „ 32c 13—(is) deacht asrubart inso fridóinecht.

3°. *Predicate is some other Proper Name.*

25. Fol. 1d 9—ismacc miastar in die iudici.
26. „ 6d 10—is iesse asbunad dossom iarcolinn.
27. „ 13a 16—. . . combad spirut nóib robói in profetis ueteris.
28. „ 17c 1—itmacidoní domroisechtatar.
29. „ 18d 9—aristiamthe immeruidbed, et niroimdibed tit.

4°. *Predicate is a Definite Genitival Phrase.*

30. Fol. 4d 11—ní ffrinne rectto (*the righteousness of the Law*).
 31. „ 6c 26—iscumtach caritatis dilectio proximi.
 32. „ 8c 3—niforcital óisa foirbthi forchanim dúib.
 33. „ 9d 2—is básad inna flatho doem et dofich.
 34. „ 10b 3—isdered mbetho inso. . . .
 35. „ 13b 6—israd dée immumforling conda apstal liussa.
 36. „ 13b 21—massu bethu crist nammá cretmeni issiu.
 37. „ 13c 10—massu dóinecht (crist) nocretim.
 38. „ 14b 6—ní luct corint nammá dianduthraccarsa
 amaithsi. . . .
 39. „ 15b 17—isairi is indocbál crist pridchimme. . . .
 40. „ 19a 20—isiress crist nombeoigedar.
 41. „ 21c 20—israd dæ immidforling domsa.
 42. „ 24a 28—intain asmberat isrecht nóibas et ní croch crist.
 43. „ 28a 11—istitul indí archiunn.
 44. „ 30c 12—asberat istol dæ forchanat. . . .
 45. „ 32c 15—ore ismac nadeachté dodrimthirid.
 46. „ 33c 6—huaere ba macc dé.

5°. *Predicate is a Noun preceded by the Article.*

47. „ 3d 3—ní incholinn donaitháira acht isanaccobor.
 48. „ —ní in corpp (as airlam do comalnad recto dé).
 49. „ 13c 21—ní ind días (MS. 'nindías') biis archiunn
 focheirt in terram. . . .
 50. „ 16d 7—isindalmsan arafocair anúas. . . .

6°. *Miscellaneous.*

51. Fol. 13c 10—(mas) su bethu frecn(dirc) tantum nomthá.¹
 52. „ 24a 28—(intain asmberat) isrecht nóibas. . . .

I have not included, in the above, examples like that on fol. 27c 9, 'ni bo intain nombeid arsúil tantum dogneith toil far coimded'; nor glosses introduced by 'sechis,' 'nochis,' like that on fol. 9c 33, 'nochisinduine adras donédiu sin.' The list would be much longer, of course, if these were added.

¹ The *Thesaurus* translates this, 'If it is a present life *tantum* that I have'; but it obviously means **THE** present life.

B.—EXAMPLES FROM MILAN GLOSSES.

1°. *Predicate is a Noun preceded by a Possessive Adjective.*

53. Fol. 18d 3—isánaram di.¹
 54. „ 55d 23—is duremdeicsiusu adæ.
 55. „ 73d 1—matis munamait dudagnetis ⁊ maniptis mu
 charait dudagnetis.
 56. „ 87b 10—is acétnae nais.
 57. „ 95a 5—ised asbertis banert (=ba annert) fadesin
 immedfolnged choscur doib. . . .
 58. „ 103b 5—nímese immid folngi doibsom acht it an
 drochairiltin.
 59. „ 108b 8—nít at áairiltin fessin donárbaid in popul dia
 soirad. . . .
 60. „ 132d 1—it mo gudise. . . .

2°. *Predicate is 'dia,' etc.*

61. Fol. 35c 23—huare is dia dodbeir
 62. „ 42b 24—asdia dorigni in firmimint nisin.
 63. „ 44d 21—ni dia dudgní son acht is hé conairleci.
 64. „ 53d 9—is dia donróidni. . . .
 65. „ 85b 16—is dia astosach duthuistin cech dulo.
 66. „ 126c 10—is airi asbersom is dia rodlabrastar. . . .
 67. „ 131d 12—amal bid dia faridgellad taidchor doib as
 indóiri. . . .

3°. *Predicate is some other Proper Name.*

68. Fol. 36c 23—huare isdia dodbeir ⁊ ni duaid huaid fessin.

4°. *Predicate is a definite Genitival Phrase.*

69. Fol. 43c 6—arisfailtigiud inpopuil immedfolngi failte inna rí.
 70. „ 67c 7—is² inne so inna ermiten.
 71. „ 128d 15—airis sóinmige inbetho frecndairc adfiadar is
 indsalm so.

5°. *Predicate is a Noun preceded by Definite Article.*

72. Fol. 25c 5—huare asindeacht fodaraithminedar ⁊ noda-
 fortachtaigedar.
 73. „ 26c 2—ni atobae namma fil and dogní dasalm de.
 74. „ 45b 15-16—it inna nime ata forcitlaidi.

¹ For 'di' the *Thesaurus* suggests 'adi.'

² The *Thesaurus* suggests that 'issi' should be read (note, p. 228, vol. i). But this seems unnecessary.

75. Fol. 34d 7—is inpopul fadesin amal sodin duadchuridar ánd.
 76. „ 51c 9—is innuall dongniat horumaith fora naimtea remib. . . .
 77. „ 56a 20—is inméit sin is téchtæ doib dilgadche. . . .
 78. „ 56a 21—is inméit sin dano bias dilgadche dæ do. . . .
 79. „ 59b 2—ní aforcenn rusuidigsiursa ol duaid.

In the above twenty-seven examples from Milan I have not included identifications introduced by 'nochis,' 'sechis,' nor cases in which the predicate had taken on an adverbial signification. Cf. :—

43a 22—sechis na salmu ón dano.

37d 16—nochis ind apstalacht són trissa cocrann.

84c 9—sech immurgu is euseph duchoid in egipt. . . .

In the 'Fragment of an Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter,'¹ which Kuno Meyer considers to have been written about 750, I find the following instances of the absence of the pronoun : (a) 'is Duíd a óinur ruscachain inna salmu' (Revised Text, p. 24) ; (b) 'is Duíd a óinur rogab inna salmu' (ibid. p. 26) ; (c) 'cesu Duíd a óinur rsugab' (ibid.) ; (d) 'is Duíd rochachain' (ibid.) ; (e) 'is Duíd dorat cuibdius foaib' (ibid.) ; (f) 'is Duíd a óinur rochachain inna salmu' (p. 28) ; (g) 'it gnima a thrócaire dodnucsat hi firinni ocus cresini' (p. 32) ; (h) 'is ordd rúine ocus immaircidetad (fil forsna salmu)' (p. 26).

The above examples ought to convince the most sceptical that in Old Irish it was not essential to have the pronoun inserted before the material predicate in type A. At the same time the occurrence of even twelve examples of its presence in the Würzburg Glosses, and eighteen in the Milan Glosses, seems to point to an early modelling of this type on the others—notably B and D.² These latter are very

¹ *Anecdota Oxoniensia*, Medieval and Modern Series, Pt. viii. (Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1894).

² This conclusion is rendered all the more probable from the proportion of cases where the pronoun is absent to cases where it is present, in Würzburg and Milan, respectively.

frequently met with in the Glosses, and so might easily and naturally tend to the insertion of the pronoun, which then gradually became the rule. This theory at all events affords an easy explanation of a difficulty of which one does not otherwise see any solution that is tenable. The change involved was helped, no doubt, by sentences containing 'insin' or 'inso,' for a consideration of which I must refer the reader to a subsequent article. To illustrate the analogical process postulated, let us take two sentences like many others that we find *passim* in the Glosses :—

1°. in peccad is hé rogéni anuile comaccobor.

2°. is hé rogéni anuile comaccobar in peccad.

In 1° the pronoun is retrospective, in 2° it is proleptic ; but in both it is absolutely necessary for the expression of the thought. In Würzburg, 3c 25 (quoted below), however—where we actually find the thought expressed—the presence of the pronoun is analogical. The passage to this form may have been helped, as already hinted, by the intermediate stage :—

3°, is hé *insin* rogéni anuile comaccobor in peccad,

where 'insin' anticipates the noun-predicate 'in peccad.' The following are the occurrences which I have noted :—

(a) WÜRZBURG GLOSSES.

- 80. Wb. 3c 25—ishé inpeccad rogéni anuile comaccobor.
- 81. „ 3d 11—issí indainim asairlam dochomalnad recto dé ní incorpp.
- 82. „ 4c 40—nípat hé indii betathuicsi diiudeib nammá beite isindinducbáil sin acht bieit cit geinti hiressich.
- 83. „ 4d 16—níceilsom tra asné crist inlie asrubart.
- 84. „ 8d 23—ishé dia aseola indium sa.
- 85. „ 12a 23 (in marg.)—Mad inœclis tra inchoss ishé óis achtáil et indlaám ishé óis achtáil asmáa alailiu.
- 86. „ 15c 17—ishé dia (efficit nos), gl. 'Qui autem efficit nos . . . Deus.'
- 87. „ 25d 8—ished andedesin didiu bias in die iudicii, prae-mium iustis paena peccatoribus.
- 88. „ 27b 6—madhœ farmbethusi crist robia indocbál less.

89. Wb. 28b 7—issí rún indforcillsin nopridchimse.
 90. „ 28c 21—mathé nabriathrasa forcane.
 91. „ 29d 17—ished atredesin foloing.

(b) MILAN GLOSSES.

92. Fol. 24d 4—asrubartatar nant he macc dæ rogenair iar-
 colain 7 nant hœ rocrochsat.
 93. „ 38c 3—ní hé apstal citarogab intestiminso.
 94. „ 38c 7—issí run inna fiugrae rongab in faith.
 95. „ 40c 17—air dommuinfide bed nisel intí dia matis hé
 indfersai grandi insin namma dumberad duaid.
 96. „ 40d 7—ised tobchetal nime intorainn.
 97. „ 45c 9—issi a lobrae inpopuil son isindoiri mad dufrinni.
 98. „ 45c 9—issi indfortacht diade hisuidi as lorc 7 as flesc.
 99. „ 46a 19—ishe inmachdad insin¹ robói forsnaib doirsib.
 100. „ 46c 14—is he a trachtad adi file inna diad *usque*
misericordia.
 101. „ 48a 21—ised acumachtae cétnae indí dæ rodamsorsa
 diugalarsa 7 durat digail forsna assaru.
 102. „ 71b 14—it hé atimnae adi namma rusarigestar. . . .
 103. „ 74b 1—ised andédeso rogabad dún . isnaib argu-
 mentaib archiunn.
 104. „ 77b 6—is hé introp cétnae dunadbat is indisiu.
 105. „ 100c 3—is ed andédeso tadbát som híc.
 106. „ 107a 11—inmater sion asmber som issí hierusalem ón.
 107. „ 118d 20—ithe innagnusi insnadat dunni int sonartae²
 innamúr doforsailced hilluaithred do accubur
 a athcumtaig *iterum*.
 108. „ 125b 1—ishae tintud indi asfiat son.³
 109. „ 137b 7—is he in fersso rogab chirine octecht imbethil
 .i. haec requies rl.

(c) TURIN GLOSSES.

110. p. 2, col. 2, l. 55—is hé candadas innandegnimae sôn gnite
 inchadcoimnidi retecht fobathis dofoirn-
 dither trisin mbrat find.

¹ If 'insin' is pronominal the sentence, of course, does not belong here; 'insin' would be predicate; 'inmachdad . . . doirsib' would be the subject.

² Leg. 'in sonartai,' Ascoli, Thurneysen (v. *Thesaurus*, vol. i. p. 402, note h).

³ The *Thesaurus* translates, 'This is a rendering of fiat. I should prefer "this is THE" . . .'

In the 'Fragment of an Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter,' quoted above (page 141), I have found no instance of the presence of the pronoun immediately before the material predicate in type A.

In subsequent articles we shall deal with the proleptic and retrospective use of the pronouns in Sentences of Identity, and also with sentences containing 'insin' or 'inso.' All these are of special interest as showing what were probably steps in the evolution of the A type.

Seafóro ó nualláin.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—XII

PERHAPS it is on account of our usually finding the numerous laws passed against ecclesiastics made so prominent in historical works that we know less than we ought of the hardships inflicted on the laity. Yet they had to suffer grievously.

For instance, the legislation respecting marriage was a burden that weighed heavily on our Catholic ancestors. What was sacred to them was deemed an offence in the judgment of the law-courts. And the penal code not only excluded the priest, it put the parson into his place. For a marriage contracted otherwise than in the presence of the parson a man was liable to a fine of a hundred pounds (3 James III.). A marriage performed not according to the Anglican rite rendered the husband incapable of enjoying the privileges of a freeman and the wife of having a dowry, jointure, or any share in her husband's property (*ibid.*). And if the wife were a recusant, the husband thereby became disqualified for holding any public office (*ibid.*). The same comprehensive Act obliged parents under a fine of a hundred pounds to have the child publicly baptized according to the Anglican rite within a month after birth. It is obvious that had the royal theologian's enactment been complied with, in the next generation Ireland would have been Protestant, but, like all the other penal statutes, it was simply disregarded. No matter what the temporal consequences might be, marriages and baptisms according to the rite of the one holy Catholic Church went on every day. But for this the laity had to suffer. The plantation of Ulster is well known : it was only one of the Scotch Solomon's means of taking revenge. We may be sure that throughout the land in less conspicuous instances, which history does not record, similar deeds of crafty injustice were committed.

By far the most complete and graphic description known to the present writer of James's cruel treatment of the Irish

Catholics is the one contained in a Memorial which was, in 1619, presented on their behalf to Philip III. of Spain by Fr. Richard Bermingham, O.P. He says that an additional¹ burden has been laid upon the people. It consists in this. The King has granted to a heretical Scotchman for life power to exact the fine of 'un real' (about $2\frac{1}{2}d.$) for every child born of Catholic parents, $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ for every Catholic marriage, and $2\frac{1}{2}d.$ for everyone that dies a Catholic! Father Bermingham adds that the last mentioned fine was demanded even when the family of the deceased was so poor as to be unable to pay it, so that in many instances the body lay unburied till another person gave the money, and that in some instances no person able and willing was to be found!

It hardly admits of a doubt that the heretical Scotchman alluded to is Andrew Knox, who was in 1611 sent over by James to be Bishop of Raphoe, and was invested with all the authority necessary either for the conversion of the benighted Irish or for their disappearance from the face of the earth. This zealous champion of Protestantism made no secret of his confidence in his own ability to eradicate Papistry. He boasted that he would succeed where all others had failed. On one occasion in a familiar exchange of views with Chichester, a ferocious persecutor, the right

¹ He could speak from experience, because, as he incidentally mentions, he had been arrested for preaching, and for a long time was kept in Newgate Prison, Dublin. Father Bermingham, another Dominican, who had been incarcerated with him, and a hundred more priests, regular and secular, were liberated, he says, at the petition of the Spanish Ambassador, Conde de Gondomar, just before his departure from London. We know, from other sources, that the Count's first term of office ended in May, 1615. He had great influence with King James, and was so skilful a diplomatist that in England he was known as 'the Spanish Machiavelli.' And he was such a good Catholic that Paul V. sent him a Brief in recognition of his services to religion. After his deliverance, Father Bermingham returned to Spain, where, as he remarks in his Memorial, he had been educated for twenty years, and where he had received the Dominican habit in the convent of Nuestra Señora de la Peña de Francia. The Memorial is signed 'Fray Ricardo de la Peña'; and in the Acts of the General Chapter, 1629, he is called Fr. Richardus de la Penna. (See them in *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 114, and De Burgo's note there.) The Dominican novitiate of Nuestra Señora stands nearly on the centre of the range of hills called Sierra de la Peña de Francia, which lies east of Ciudad Rodrigo and Salamanca. The original MS. of the Memorial is to be seen in the Public Archives (Archivo Historico-Nacional), Madrid.

reverend minister of the Gospel expressed his dissatisfaction with the Lord Deputy's method, and exclaimed: 'You never took the proper means, you did not treat the Catholics as they deserved. I will inflict such sufferings on them as will make them renounce the Pope. I will give them reason to remember me for ever!'

It was hardly necessary, or rather it was hardly possible, to add to the penal code, as regarded births and marriages. Hence, during the next reign, so far as the laity only were concerned, there appears not to have been any fresh legislation.¹ However, this was made up for by Cromwell. In those dark days, boys and girls were made slaves and shipped to the Barbadoes. And if the reign of Charles II. was not marked by vexatious enactments, the Williamite government was not slow in supplying what it considered a defect. Though the following sections are rather long, it seems better to quote them, in order to let the Government of that time speak for itself:—

AN ACT TO PREVENT PROTESTANTS INTERMARRYING WITH PAPISTS.
(Ninth William III. 1697.)

Whereas many protestant maidens and women, as well such as be heirs apparent to their ancestor or others having left unto them by their father or other ancestor or friends, manors, &c., or other great substance in goods or chattels, &c., or having the tuition or guardianship of protestant children entitled to such estates or interests as aforesaid, by flattery and other crafty insinuations of popish persons have been seduced and prevailed

¹ But whatever the King personally may have said or done, that the dignitaries of the Established Church in this country were just as hostile as their predecessors is evident from the following:—

'The Protestation of the Archbishop and Bishops of Ireland against the toleration of Poperie, agreed upon and subscribed by them at Dublin, the 26 of November, in the yeare of our Lord 1626.

'The *Religion* of the Papist is *superstitious* and *Idolatrours*, their faith and doctrine erroneous and heretical; their Church, in respect of both, *Apostaticall*. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their *Religion*, and confesse their Faith and Doctrine, is a grievous sinne: and that in two respects.

'First, it is to make ourselves accessarie, not only to their Superstitions, Idolatries, Heresies, and in a word to all the abominations of Poperie; but also (which is a consequence of the former) to the perdition of the seduced People, which perish in the deluge of their Catholique Apostasie.' London, printed 1641.

upon to contract matrimony with, and take to husband, papist or popish persons ; which marriages have not only tended to the ruin and destruction of such estates and interests, and to the great loss and damage of many protestant persons, to whom the same might descend or come, but as well to the corrupting and perverting such protestants so marrying, and the protestant persons in their tuition or guardianship, as aforesaid, that they forsake their religion and become papists, to the great dishonour of Almighty God, the great prejudice of the protestant interest, and the heavy sorrow of their protestant friends ; for remedy whereof be it enacted : that if any protestant maiden or woman unmarried, being heir apparent, &c., or being possessed of or entitled to any personal estate of the value of five hundred pounds sterling, shall at any time after the first day of January next, marry or take to husband any person whatsoever, without having first obtained a certificate under the hand of the minister of the parish, bishop of the diocese, and some justice of the peace living near the place, or any two of them, where such person is resident at the time of marriage, that he is a known protestant, such protestant person so marrying, and the person she shall so marry, shall be for ever afterwards disabled and rendered incapable of having the aforesaid estates—and that by such marriage as aforesaid, all and every of the said estates shall go to, and be vested in, and in law deemed and esteemed to be the right, title, estate, and interest of the next protestant of kin, &c., &c.

SECT. II. And whereas the marriages of protestant persons to and with popish maidens and women have proved pernicious to the protestant interest, it commonly happening that such protestant persons and their issue, being influenced by such popish wives, are reconciled to popery and become papists ; for remedy whereof, be it further enacted by the authority aforesaid, that in case any protestant person or persons shall, after the said first day of January next marry any maiden or woman, without having obtained a certificate in writing under the hand of the minister of the parish, bishop of the diocese, and some justice of the peace living near the place where such maid or woman shall be resident at the time of such marriage, or any two of them, of her being a known protestant, such person or persons, so marrying any maiden or woman, shall from and after such marriage, be in law deemed and esteemed to all intents constructions, and purposes, to be a papist or popish recusant, and

shall for ever afterwards be disabled and rendered incapable of and from being heir, executor, administrator, or guardian to any person or persons whatsoever, as also be disabled to sit in either house of Parliament, and rendered incapable of and from having, bearing, or exercising, any civil or military employment whatsoever, unless such person so marrying shall, within one year after such marriage, procure such wife to be converted to the protestant religion and shall obtain a certificate under the hand & seal of the bishop of the diocese, or archbishop of the province, or chancellor of this kingdom, that she hath renounced the popish religion, and is become a protestant, and shall procure the said certificate to be enrolled in the Court of Chancery in this kingdom.

C. III. And whereas several popish priests have of late endeavoured to withdraw several of the soldiers enlisted in His Majesty's army, from His Majesty's service, by marrying them to popish wives : be it therefore enacted, That any popish priest, or protestant minister, or other person whatsoever, that shall marry any soldier enlisted in his Majesty's army in this kingdom to any wife, without such certificate as aforesaid, shall forfeit the sum of twenty pounds for every such offence, to be levied by warrant from any justice of the peace in any county in this kingdom, where such offence shall be committed, of the goods and chattels of the offender, or in default thereof, the party so offending to be committed to the county gaol, there to remain without bail or mainprize, until he shall pay the said sum.

It is well known that many descendants of Cromwell's soldiers were Catholics, and it is probable that some of the soldiers themselves were converted. In default of positive information beyond what is contained in the preamble to this Act, we may very well suppose that a number of similar misdemeanours on the part of the Williamite soldiers suggested the need of legislation against conversions and marriages. However, this law, as the rest of the penal code, did not prove a hindrance. We know, for instance, from a letter written in 1700 by Samuel Leeson, Mayor of Derry, to William King, Protestant Archbishop of Dublin, that a Father Colgan was condemned to Derry jail for having married soldiers that were Protestants to Catholic women. This priest is almost certainly the Dominican of the same

name who, after two years' confinement in Derry jail, died there in 1702.¹

During the reign of Queen Anne apparently the only new piece of legislation was the Act² which deprived a Catholic widow of the care of her children, and empowered the Lord Chancellor to make them his wards.

But in this reign we find an instance of the law of William III. being put into execution. Some time before A.D. 1712 a priest of the diocese of Ardagh was convicted of having married a Catholic and a Protestant, and was therefore condemned to transportation. But he escaped from prison, and when arrested a second time he escaped again. A proclamation offering twenty pounds for his apprehension was issued in 1712. However, until some time after the accession of George I. he succeeded in baffling the priest-hunters, till at last he was taken either in the winter of 1715 or in the May of 1716. All these documents bearing on the case are preserved in the Record Office, Dublin :—

(Carton 242, 5730, 31.)

To their Exc. the Lords Justices & the R^t. Honb^{le} the Lords of His Maties Privy Council of Ireland.

The humble petition of Timothy Kinnett and Thomas Carsen, Humbly Sheweth :

That one Bryan McHugh was formerly att an Assizes held for the County of Longford convicted of celebrating a marriage between a Protestant and a Papist contrary to the Statute and thereby incurred the penalty of a Popish regular and was ordered to be transported, & in order thereunto was ordered to be transmitted to Dublin, but the said priest made his escape who was again apprehended and a 2nd time either was rescued or escaped upon which the Lords Justices & Council in 1712 issued a Proclamation with a reward of Twenty Pounds, to any Person or Persons who should apprehend him the said Hugh. That your Pet^{rs} att the great expense and hazard of their lives did last winter apprehend and bring before Robert Newcome a Justice of the Peace for the County of Longford the said Bryan McHugh, who committed him to the Gaol of Longford where he remained untill he was removed to Dublin by *Habeas Corpus* in order to

¹ See *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 585.

² 2 Anne, Sess. I. c. I.

be transported. That y^r Pet^{rs} being the Persons that apprehended him (as by the annexed affidavit may appear) humbly pray y^r Excell^{ies} & Lordships to order y^r Pet^{rs} the said reward grounded on y^e Proclamation.

And they will pray.

Tim : Kinnett.

Tho : Carton.

By the Lords Justices and Council of Ireland.
Gallway.

Ordered that the within petition of Timothy Kinnett & Thomas Carson and the certificate annexed be and hereby are referred to a Com^{tee} of the whole board or any three of them to examine the same and forthwith to report their opinion to the board what is fitt to be done therein.

Given att the Council Chamber in Dublin the 10th day of October 1716.

EDW. TUAM.

FERRARDS.

C. S. ABERCORN.

MOUNTJOY.

DONERAILE.

JO. MEATH, STACKALLEN.

JO. FFORSTER.

JEFF : GILBERT.

BENN : PARRY.

OLIVER ST. GEORGE.

The King
against
Brian McHugh

Whereas Brian McHugh the defendant was convict att a generall Assize &c. held at Longford for the County of Longford of celebrating a marriage between a Protestant and a Papist contrary to the statute and thereby incurred the pains, penalties and forfeitures of a Popish Regular, and was sent to Dublin in order to be transported beyond Sea pursuant to y^e said Act but the said McHugh made his escape and returned again to y^e County of Longford, but by y^e directions of the then Lords Justices of the Kingdom of Ireland was again apprehended in ye County of Longford & again made his escape and a reward of Twenty Pounds was offered by a Proclamation from y^e Lords Justices and Privy Council bearing date in July one thousand seven hundred and twelve, to any person or persons who should apprehend the said Bryan McHugh in order that he might be brought to justice.

Now Timothy Kinnett & Thomas Carsen this day make oath that they were the two persons who by virtue of the said Pro-

clamation apprehended the said Bryan McHugh with the great hazard of their lives att Mostown in the Barony of Moydow & Parish of Kilcommock in the County of Longford & conveyed him to the Goale of Longford where he was left in safe custody, and was thence as these examinants hear brought up to Dublin by order of His Maties Writt of Habeas Corpus.

Jur^m cor^m me 12^o Julii 1716.

W. CAULFIELD.

Council Chamber Dublin the 24th day of November 1716.

May it please your Excies & Lordships

Pursuant to the annexed order of reference on the Pet^{on} of Timothy Kinnett & Thomas Carsen for taking & apprehending Bryan McHugh a Popish Priest we have mett and examined the same & do find that there was a reward of £20 promised to any person or persons who should apprehend the said McHugh but it not appearing to us by any Certificate either from a Judge of the said Assize, Sheriff or Clike of the Crown that Pet^{rs} did apprehend the sd McHugh we are humbly of opinion that they are not entitled to the reward mentioned by Proclamation till such time as they shall prove by an authentick Certificate that they took & apprehended the above mentioned Bryan McHugh.

All wh^h is nevertheless submitted to yo^r Excies & Lordships by

ABERCORN, NEWTOWN, JOH: FFORSTER, FRED: HAMILTON,
OLIVER ST. GEORGE.

TIMOTHY KINNETT & THOMAS CARSEN.

To their Excies the Lords Justices & Council.

The Humble petn of Timothy Kinnett & Thomas Carsen
Sheweth

That y^r Pet^{rs} formerly petitioned the honb^{le} board setting forth that one Bryan McHugh was formerly convict at Longford for celebrating a Marriage between a protestant and a papist contrary to the statute & thereby incurred the penalty of a popish regular and was ordered to be transported & in order thereto was transmitted to Dublin but the said McHugh made his escape who was again apprehended and a second time either was rescued or escaped upon which the Lords Justices & Council in the year 1712 issued a Proclamation wth a reward of £20 to

any person or persons who should apprehend him the sd McHugh. That yo^r Pet^{rs} at the great expense & hazard of their lives apprehended & brought before Sir Robert Newcomen a Justice of the Peace for the County of Longford the sd McHugh who committed him to the Goale of Longford where he remained until he was removed to Dublin by Habeas Corpus in order to be transported & therefore prayed yo^r Excies to grant them the reward mentioned in the Proclamation wh^{ch} Petition was referred to a Com^{tee} of the Council who made their report that it not appearing to them by any certificate, either from a Judge of the Assize, Sheriff or C^{ke} of the Crowne that the Pet^{rs} did apprehend the sd McHugh it was their opinion that y^r Pet^{rs} were not entitled to the Proclamation reward till such time as they should prove by an Authentick Certificate that they took & apprehended the sd McHugh. That it appears by the annexed Certificate of Sir Robert Newcomen that y^r Pe^{trs} were the persons who apprehended and took the s^d Bryan McHugh, who was transmitted to Dublin to be from thence transported pursuant to his former sentence.

Y^r Pet^{rs} therefore humbly pray yo^r Excies & L^{ps} to grant them the Proclamation reward for the said service.

And they will humbly pray &c.

Tim : Kinnett.

Tho : Carsen.

Whereas y^e Lords Justices & Councill of Ireland did by their Proclamation bearing date y^e 11th of July 1712 promise a reward of twenty pounds st : to any person or persons y^t should apprehend & take Bryan McHugh, a popish priest convict who being transmitted to Dublin in order to be transported made his escape : These are therefore to certify y^t Timothy Kinnet and Tho : Kerson both of y^e Barony of Moydow & County of Longford did with great hazard and much trouble apprehend & take y^e s^d Brien McHue on or about y^e first day of May last, and then brought him before me & y^t I immediately comited him to y^e Goale of Longford as y^e Proclamation directed, all w^h I give under my hand this 18th day of Dec. 1716.

ROBERT NEWCOMEN.

Mostowne Dec^r 18th 1716.

Sr,—I hope y^t enclosed is such as y^e would have and y^t y^r next will tell me y^t y^u have gott y^r poore men their mony w^h I think they doubly desearve, for let me assure y^e y^t it was with

great hazard & difficulty they took this man, & they are often insulted by their Popish neighbours for what they did : I gave them my word too y^t I would applye to y^e Government in their favour, & this engages my more than ordinary concern for them.

I am,

Yr very humble servant,

ROBERT NEWCOMEN.

(Addressed)

To Jo : Cauldwell Esq^r at ye
Crowne Office in Dublin.

ffree

Rob^t Newcomen.

Our readers will not fail to notice that the priest-catchers had not a pleasant life. Other documents preserved in the Record Office bear witness to the contempt in which men of this occupation were held, and some of the documents will be quoted at the end of this article. But to continue our examination of the penal laws respecting marriage. Though it is certain that between the reign of Anne and those of the succeeding sovereigns there was a marked difference, and that with the accession of George I. an era of comparative toleration commenced, nevertheless great injustice was committed against Catholics. Even though their condition was gradually alleviated their lot was a hard one. What must be considered a ferocious Act was passed in 1726. It forbade any Popish priest to assist at the marriage of a Papist and a Protestant under pain of death. De Burgo mentions that some priests were executed for having acted in contravention of this statute, but he does not enter into details nor give their names. All such marriages were declared null and void by Act of Parliament in 1746.¹

The executions to which De Burgo alludes apparently did not take place in Dublin. The legal documents belonging to these reigns and referring to occurrences in the metropolis are preserved. In the Record Office ever so many papers about the trials, etc., of this period may still be

¹ 19 George II., c. 13.

seen. In the class most likely to contain papers referring to offending priests convicted of and condemned for having broken the law about mixed marriages, no such entry was found. That cases occurred in other parts of the country is antecedently probable, but nearly all the records of Grand Juries, Assizes, etc., have perished.

It may be mentioned that a Proclamation referring to abduction and an intended marriage is still to be seen in the Record Office. Three of the persons named in it were prominent Catholics who resided near Duleek, Co. Meath:—

A. (1722-3, 21 Jan.)

Lords Justices in Council,

For apprehending Sir Andrew Aylmer, Garrett Darcy, John Ambrose, Garrett Ambrose, Thomas Ledwitch, William Mullan, Nicholas Bath, and ——— Nugent, *alias* Sheridan, a Popish priest, for carrying away Mary Dowdall, with intent to marry her to Garrett Darcy.

The Aylmers lived in Mount Aylmer (or Balrath), the Darcys lived in Platten, and the Baths in Athcarne Castle. The Dowdalls lived in Athlumley Castle, Navan.

The only other Record Office paper in any possible way connected with our subject, so far as one person's knowledge extends, will now be given. But as will be observed, in it no mention of marriage is made, though the phrase 'seducing to the Popish religion' may be due to a reminiscence of the above quoted Act of William III. And besides, as will be noticed, the priest was guilty also of the offence of not having registered himself, as he was obliged to do by the notorious Act of 1703 (2 Anne), an Act we may add which was followed by a similar one in 1709 commanding all registered priests to take the Oath of Abjuration.

(Carton 248, 7061.)

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices and the Right Honorable
the Privy Council of Ireland.

The humble Petition of Francis Morley, son of
Jane Morley, Widow.

Sheweth

That the said Jane Murphy petitioned your Excellencies setting forth that her daughter Jane Morley, a Protestant,

had been carried away and seduced to the popish religion by Luke Tyrrel, a Popish Priest, and prayed your Excellencies would direct said Tyrrel to be prosecuted at the expense of the crown.

That your Petitioner by the directions of said Jane, his mother, expended the sum of eleven pounds two shillings and three pence halfpenny in pursuing and procuring witnesses to prosecute said Tyrrel at the last Assizes of Mullingar when he was convicted for being a Popish unregistered priest, as by a bill of said expenses herewith annexed may appear.

May it please your Excellencies and Lordships to grant your petitioner an order for said sum and he will pray.

FRANCIS MORLEY.

The King
against
Luke Tyrrel

A bill of expenses of Francis Morley, Chief Prosecutor, which he was at in pursuing and apprehending and convicting Luke Tyrrel, an offending Popish and Unregistered Priest for seducing a Protestant young girl to the Popish religion contrary to the laws established, and carrying her upwards of forty miles to the City of Dublin in order to send her to France.

	£	s.	d.
To expenses on the road to Dublin in pursuit of said Tyrrel, a man and two horses	0	18	6
To an Attorney for drawing examinations and warrants	0	6	8
Paid constable to search to apprehend him	0	13	4
To him and servants—Expences five days in Dublin with two horses, and two days travelling home	3	15	10
To his expences a second time in Dublin to answer to the Tholsell being bound over to prosecute	1	1	8
To persons for serveing 15 judges' sumons	0	8	1
To the expenses of 15 witnesses in Mullingar during the Assizes	2	7	8
To his own expenses, Servt. and horses during the Assizes	1	10	6

(Endorsed)

£11 2 3

The Petition of Mr. Francis Morley,
the

14th Feb. 1742.

The Petitioner was order £5 inserted
into Mr. Meare's warrant of the
same date.

Probably the mixed marriages which, not to be uncommon, continued down to a comparatively recent period,¹ were in some instances due on the Catholic side partly to a desire to retain estates, farms, and other kinds of real property. In other instances they were due to the gradual cessation of hatred and the formation of friendship between Catholic and Protestant. That in spite of all the penal laws and proclamations, there was an under-current of compassion and of kindly feeling on the part of many Protestants towards their oppressed neighbours is certain. Otherwise not a Catholic would have been left in Ireland. The laws provided for the total extinction of Papistry, but instances might here be quoted of their not being put into execution or not being availed of by fair-minded and good-hearted Protestants.

It is, however, worth mentioning as indicative of the hostile spirit of certain judges that administered the Act prohibiting mixed marriages, that they made no secret of the purpose which Parliament had in passing the Act, and of their being in thorough sympathy with it. The late Canon O'Rourke, P.P., of Maynooth, in his interesting book *The Battle of the Faith in Ireland*, writes as follows:—

In the case of Ogle and Ogle against Archbold, in which a Protestant woman married a Papist, the Lord Chancellor in giving judgment for the discoverer said: 'I think this is a plain forfeiture of these £500 by this marriage . . . and though this is a penal law, yet it is not to be construed as other penal laws, for it is a *remedial* law only, and made to prevent a mischief arising from the increase of Papists in this kingdom.' In the case of Clarke against Parsons, Baron Momtney laid it down with pious unction that these Acts 'were not to be considered as penal laws, but for the advancement of religion, and to be extended to promote that end.'

Was this ignorance and error, or was it hypocrisy and cant? Whichever it was, there can be no doubt that these luminaries of the law and personifications of justice, and many others as well, did decide cases as if the axiom, '*Favorabilia sunt amplianda*' applied to the law in question.

¹ 1850, Synod of Thurles.

And speaking of the same law in the period commencing with 1750, in which year the sum of £500 was enacted as a penalty for its violation, John Scully, in his able work, *A Statement of the Penal Laws which Aggrieve the Catholics of Ireland* (Dublin, 1812), observes¹ :—

It was at one time supposed that the former punishment of death was virtually mitigated to the penalty of £500 by the fair construction of the last mentioned Act, and had become merged in the new prohibition. However, the contrary doctrine has been adopted by the highest law authority, and in several cases, particularly in the King at the prosecution against the Rev. Mr. G——, John MacDermott and others, where Lord Kilwarden, Chief Justice of the Court of King's Bench, said : 'If a Catholic clergyman happen, though inadvertently, to celebrate a marriage between two Protestants, or between a Protestant and a Catholic (unless already married by a Protestant minister), he is liable to suffer death.'

The priest in this case was a Dominican belonging to the old chapel in Denmark Street, Dublin. By assisting at the marriage he exposed himself to the penalty of felony 'without benefit of clergy'; it would have been useless to plead ignorance of the statute passed in 1708 (by which for his delinquency he was 'to suffer the punishment of a popish regular, i.e., transportation, *at least*), or of the other passed in 1710. 'He is always presumed to know,' quoth the Lord Chief Justice. We may be perfectly certain that he did know, and that he did deliberately expose himself to the punishment of the law rather than neglect what he considered to be his duty. The history of the penal times on the part of priests and people is made up of such instances. Generation after generation offered the same unyielding opposition to wicked laws, and accepted the consequences. It was this heroic perseverance and patience that paved the way for and merited Catholic Emancipation. But, on the other hand, if such a judge as Lord Kilwarden could speak as he did, and represent or express the spirit of the executive at the end of the eighteenth century, what

¹ Vol. i., p. 19.

must that spirit have been in the reign of Queen Anne, or during an earlier and still more bigoted period !

Yet no sufferings could separate priests and people. The people were prepared to run all risks and to brave every danger in delivering the priests from the hands of their persecutors. It is well known that some women in Drogheda rescued or tried to rescue the Franciscans from a party of soldiers that intended to convey them to Dublin. This was not a solitary instance. At another time two women did assist in rescuing a priest. The original of the following proclamation is preserved in the Record Office :—

Whereas persons in a riotous manner did in manifest violation of the laws, rescue the said James Kilkeney from the persons who were conveying him to Goal ; We therefore the Lords Justices and Council, do hereby publish and declare that we will give the necessary orders for the Payment of one hundred pounds ster. to such person or persons as shall take and apprehend the said James Kilkeney, as also the sum of twenty pounds ster. to such person or persons as shall take and apprehend the said Patrick Beakin, Una McManus, and Margrett Tristan, or any of them, or any other person or persons concerned in the rescue of the said James Kilkeney so as any of the said Rescuers be brought to justice and convicted thereof. And we do hereby strictly charge & command all sheriffs &c., &c., to be aiding and assisting in the taking & apprehending the said James Kilkeney, &c., &c.—and in the taking and apprehending all Popish Archbishops, Bishops, Regulars of the Popish Clergy, & all exercising forraign ecclesiastical jurisdiction and all Popish priests that have presumed or shall presume to celebrate Mass without taking the Oath of Abjuration, or who have or shall come into this Kingdome contrary to law, as they will answer the contrary at their peril.

It is improbable, to say the very least, that the proffered reward tempted anyone. The poor Catholics were proof against bribes. There is no receipt for the money in the Record Office. And the same observation applies to the following instance. Apart from what befell John Totty, it is a case of a Proclamation and nothing more :—

ORMONDE. (1679. 14th April.)

Whereas it appears by the examination of John Totty, one of the officers at Mace in the city of Dublin, taken upon oath

before the Lord Mayor of the said City, that upon the first day of this instant April, the examinant being commanded went with the Magistrates and other officers, pursuant to an order of this board, to a Mass house on the Merchants key in this city, where they found a priest and many people assembled together, and that the Lord Mayor of this city ordered them to forbear their meetings, or having any publick Mass, for that we the Lord Lieutenant & Council had given orders to the contrary, and that the examinant taking the said priest by the shoulder and pulling him away, the said priest cryed out that he would be revenged for it. And that the same night betwixt nine and ten of the clock, the examinant was met near the Tholsel in this city by two men whose names this examinant knows not, who forcibly seized on him, and took him by the throat and there almost strangled him ; and that immediately after three or four men came with clubs, and therewith knocked him on the head with several blowes, whereby he fell flat to the ground, and left the examinant on the ground for dead, one of them stamping on the examinant's face with his foot, after he had received many bruises, and that one of them with his rapier run the examinant into his left side and said, ' You rogue, will you pull down the holy altar ! ' And whereas we conceive it necessary that diligent and strict enquiry should be made after the persons who committed the said outrage, whose insolence therein we cannot but look upon, not only as a high breach of the peace, but also as a heinous contempt of his Majesty's authority, &c., &c.

He then offers £20 reward for such information as will lead to the detection and apprehension of any of those who beat or abused the said John Totty.

The next document shows how an informer got in virtue of a Concordatum Warrant the exact sum stipulated for the apprehension and delivery of a regular priest. However, the matter did not end there: again a Proclamation was issued, and as far so we know, it was attended with similar want of results. We may remark, in passing, that, according to another document in the Record Office, Father Hennessy had a short time before returned from France.

By the Lord Lieu^t and Council.

PEMBROKE.

Wee think fitt and so do conclude condescende and agree by these our Letters of Concordatum to grant that Richard Huddy

shall have & receive the sune of Eleven pounds three shill. for apprehending one William Hennessey a fryar. These are therefore to will and require you out of such her Maties Treasure as now remains, &c.

Given at the Council Chamber in Dublin the 14th day of July, 1707.

(To the Receiver, &c.)

R. FREEMAN

DROGHEDA

CHA. FEILDING

P. SAVAGE

MOUNT ALEXANDER

ABERCORN

RT. PYNE

W. KILDARE

THOS. BLIGH

EDW. DOWN & CONNOR

J. FAIRFAX

Richd. Huddy £11 3.

(On reverse) Rec^d the contents, £11 3.

Richard Huddy.

(Endorsed)

14th July, 1707.

Concordatum

Richard Huddy, for apprehending William Henesy, a Fryer.
£11 : 3 : —.

Poundage	0	5	7
Pells	0	1	1½
Ballance	10	16	3½

Q. 45.1.

14th July, 1707.

11 3 0

PROCLAMATION.

Lords Justices (Narcissus Armagh, R. Freeman).

10 Dec. 1707.

Whereas Richard Huddy of Ballynoe in the County of Cork, Gentleman, having apprehended and brought to justice one William Hennessy a regular of the Popish clergy, his the said Richard Huddy's house in Ballynoe aforesaid, and his goods, were in October last destroyed by fire, by some disaffected persons, in revenge for his service in taking the said William Hennessy, to the end such person or persons as burnt the said house and goods may be known and discovered, and such good services in apprehending such Popish regulars no way discouraged by

such wicked persons escaping and going unpunished, We the Lords Justices and Council, have thought fit by this our proclamation, to publish and declare that if any person shall discover all or any of the said persons who burnt the said house or goods, or were concerned therein, so as they or any of them shall be apprehended and convicted thereof, the person so discovering the same shall not only have Her Majesty's full and free pardon for the same, and all felonies and other offences, except murder, which shall be granted without fee or charge ; but shall also have the sum of twenty pounds for discovering the same.

And we do hereby charge and command all and every the Justice of the Peace in the said county of Cork and other the adjacent countys, to use their utmost endeavours to cause the persons who burnt the said House and Goods to be apprehended.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin the Tenth day of December, 1707.

BLESINGTON. W. KILDARE. EDW. DOWN AND CONNOR.
CHA: FEILDING. P. SAVAGE. R^t. PYNE. ROB.
DOYNE. ROB. ROCHFORD. THO: KEIGHTLY. CHA:
DERING. F. FAIRFAX.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

Dublin. Printed by Andrew Cook, Printer to the Queen's most excellent Majesty on the Blind-Key. 1707.

The only other case we shall mention is the last of the kind, so far as we know, or so far as appears from the legal documents that happened to come under our notice. In this instance, as in the others already quoted, there is nothing to show that the sum of money offered induced anyone to come forward with information. It will be enough to give the substance of the Proclamation:—

DORSET (Lord Lieutenant). 22 November, 1751.

Whereas we have received information upon oath, that on Monday, the fourth day of this instant November, George Brereton, Esq., High Sheriff of the County of Carlow, by virtue of a writ of Capias, arrested John Taafe a priest—Papists, &c. assembled and surrounded the house at Carlow in which Brereton was, and threatened to tear him to pieces, if he would not release Taafe—on the next day about 500 persons pursued him as he was leaving the town and pelted him with stones. £50 pounds reward.

If the people sometimes took the law into their own hands, there was ample justification for so doing. Their oppressors could not be restrained, their religion could not be defended, in any other way. It is not so now. Hence we who live in quiet times are not to judge, and do not judge, the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries by the standard of our own.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[*To be continued.*]

NEW PHASES OF AN OLD CONTROVERSY

WHEN lecturing 'de Scientia Dei,' Perrone, the distinguished Professor of the old Collegio Romano, declined to deal with the questions around which had been waged for centuries the most celebrated controversy in the history of Theology; he pleaded inability; and in this he believed he but followed in the footsteps of the great Augustine. He was of opinion that the controversy itself took its rise in a philosophy which, to his mind, was antiquated, and foreign, in his time, to modern schools.¹ But theologians have not been moved by the example set them by the learned professor: in our day the controversy still proceeds; even from the chair of the great University, which is occupied by the worthy successors of the distinguished Perrone, a solution is offered of the difficult questions connected with the Divine Science; with something of the old zeal the old doctrines are propounded, and the teaching of the opposite and formidable school rigorously assailed.

It is a distant cry back to Molina and Bañez. We have waited now a long time for a solution of the questions at issue; yet in the interval, and for want of a satisfactory explanation, nothing terrible has happened. Doubtless, we can pull along still as before. At the same time it is the duty of theologians to explain difficulties that present themselves in their teaching, and to reconcile doctrines in seeming conflict; and the obligation is imperative according as the matter involved is important. And indeed the general feeling is, notwithstanding the fruitless labours of centuries, that a satisfactory explanation of the points involved is not beyond human intelligence. Against those who will have St. Augustine speak for the opposite view, it may be argued that his famous passage,² which is found in the

¹ *De Deo Uno*, Pars. iii., c. i., art. iii., 324, 325; art. iv., 335.

² Enarr. in Ps. xlix., 18: ' . . . et quomodo cognoscit (Deus) dicere non audeo, quoniam et scire non possum.'

Exposition of the Psalms, should not bear the strict interpretation generally given it; when the great Doctor says, 'Universas creaturas . . . non quia sunt, ideo novit Deus; sed ideo sunt, quia novit,'¹ he would seem to be far from confessing ignorance of the manner of God's knowledge. And, in truth, if we can render satisfactory explanation of profound doctrines, such as that of the Hypostatic Union, why cannot an exposition be given that will be generally acceptable, of the Catholic teaching, which lays down that God works in man 'velle et perficere,'² and at the same time, 'relinquit illum in manu consilii sui'³? At least, certain it is the Angel of the Schools confesses not that any peculiar mystery surrounds the controverted points. He never evades a hard question; never hesitates to answer. And even if Thomists and Molinists alike cite him for their respective opinions, therefrom no one may contend that the Angelic Doctor himself ever wavered—he may be Molinist, he may be Thomist, he may be neither, but he certainly is not here Thomist and there Molinist. Who will make so bold as to assert that St. Thomas contradicts himself?

This, however, must be admitted in favour of those who are sceptical about the possibility of a solution. Neither party to the controversy seems to have full confidence in its own position. And it may be said with equal truth of either side, that the conclusion drawn by an unbiassed witness to a full-force attack is, that if the assailed position has not been completely demolished in the onslaught, at least there is little left to glory in. Poor tribute to the intelligence of these latter centuries, that leading theologians, on the one hand, may only defend the doctrine of human liberty by recourse to a miserable expedient in the 'sensus-compositus-et-divisus' distinction,⁴ and that, on the other, theologians of equal ability and distinction have

¹ *De Trin.*, lib. xv., cap. 13.

² S. Paul., ad Philipp., ii. 13.

³ Eccli. xv. 14.

⁴ It is not denied that the distinction in other connections is allowable and necessary.

none but shifty arguments to support their teaching that man is subject in his actions to the Supreme Being !

Whatever be thought about Perrone's opinion of the philosophy which, he says, gave rise to the controversy under consideration, it is strange certainly that the dispute arose only when the Jesuits and Dominicans of the sixteenth century came on the scene. If all along from the time of St. Thomas there had been matter for controversy, it is an extraordinary thing that the same escaped notice from earlier scholastics, who by many are reputed to have been very fond of disputing, and accused of excessive subtlety. Could it be that Molina broached new doctrine ? Or did Bañez and his followers prove false to the teaching of their great master ? Real or only apparent, something there must have been forbidding indeed in the doctrine of both schools ; the forces engaged were not blind nor ignorant, and the storm was violent and prolonged.

It is proposed in the present paper to discuss two questions which lie at the root of the controversy, viz. : (1) What is Free Will ? (2) What the manner of the Divine Causality ? The authority of St. Thomas will be invoked at times in the course of the article, but beyond this, no special argument will be formulated 'ex auctoritate.' The Molinists quote the revealed word, the Thomists do likewise. Any dangerous or heretical teaching that might seem to be involved in any interpretation is explained away in some sort ; and the Church is silent. The Thomists claim that the Fathers of the Church taught as they teach, the Molinists do the same ; but unfortunately the holy Fathers are no longer here to repudiate the claim of the one or the other, or of both.

I.

Free Will is defined by the Molinists : ' Facultas, quae, positis omnibus praerequisitis ad agendum, potest agere et non agere.'¹ The 'praerequisita' are the 'judicium intellectus,' 'virtus peculiaris voluntatis' and 'Concursus

¹ Suarez, *de Gratia*, Prol. i. cap. 3, n. 4 ; Urráburu, S.J., *Psych.*, lib. 2, Disp. 7, cap. 2, art 3, n. 129.

Divinus.¹ Thus the definition may run : ' *Facultas quae, posito quod praerequiratur ex parte intellectus et voluntatis ad agendum, et Concursu Divino, potest agere et non agere.*' As it reads, this definition means that Free Will is a something outside intellect and will ; which is, of course, altogether unintelligible. Or it means that Free Will is the ' *actus secundus* ' ; for, presupposing the ' *judicium intellectus* ' and the ' *virtus voluntatis*,' nothing else remains but the ' *actus secundus.*' But the Molinists attach quite another meaning to the words of their definition of Free Will. What they wish to convey is that Free Will is a faculty which is not determined by the intellect or the ' *Divine concursus*,' but by itself alone ; according to their explanation Free Will can only be an intellectual appetitive faculty which is not determined by an intellectual cognoscitive faculty, but an incomposite faculty—an appetitive faculty which, ' *qua appetitus*,' and unmoved and undetermined by any other influence, determines itself. Now how can this be ? That Free Will is of such a nature is against all human experience.² It is opposed to all sane philosophy : an appetitive faculty that is not drawn and determined by a cognoscitive faculty—an incomposite faculty determining itself is a simple impossibility. What is ' *in potentia* ' cannot of itself pass into an ' *in actu* ' state. It is useless to urge ' *quod . . . est in actu primo proximo completum in suo ordine nequit dici proprie in potentia. . .*'³ It can and must, strictly speaking, be said to be ' *in potentia* ' ; for on the admission of the Molinists themselves the ' *facultas* ' (the rational appetite) ' *in actu primo proximo constituta* ' is perfectly indifferent, and can act and not act.⁴ Then to plead that the faculty determines itself, but in some inexplicable way, is to make a gratuitous assertion. The thing is under our observation—we can examine free actions, and so define the nature of the faculty of which they are determinations.

The Thomists are at the other extreme. Billuart accepts

¹ Urráburu, *loc. cit.*

² This assertion is proved in the course of the article.

³ Urráburu, *Theod.*, Disp. 7, cap. 2, art. 4, Objec. 6.

⁴ Cf. Urráburu, *ibid.*

the wording of the Molinistic definition, but interprets in an altogether different sense. To the 'praerequisita' of the Molinists, Physical Premotion must be added.¹ Then he explains: 'Facultas quae, positis omnibus praerequisitis (exclusa Physica Praemotione) ad agendum,' etc., is the definition of Potential Free Will; but by this form of words it is not meant that the faculty of Potential Free Will can be exercised; there can be no act without Physical Premotion. 'Facultas quae, positis omnibus praerequisitis (inclusa Physica Praemotione) ad agendum,' etc., is the definition of actual ('actualis') Free Will;² but be it distinctly noted, this faculty not only can; but it must act—once Physical Premotion is present the act must follow. That is the Thomistic doctrine. It is simply astonishing how anyone of ordinary intelligence, whose mind is not obsessed with the strange—say metaphysical, if you will—findings of the human mind wandering outside the regions of reality, can seriously contend that this is the nature of that thing which men call Free Will. Billuart's Potential Free Will cannot be exercised. And to call the 'facultas quae positis omnibus praerequisitis (inclusa Physica Praemotione) ad agendum,' etc., 'libertas actualis,' is plainly an abuse of words; the 'libertas actualis' of the celebrated Dominican is not a 'facultas expedita,' but the faculty actualised—the 'actus secundus.' Consequently, according to this view, Free Will which everyone believes we possess is non-existent.

What, then, is Free Will? What creature possesses this faculty? It is the faculty of a rational nature; we find it in man. All rational creatures, however, have not actual Free Will—children, generally speaking, who have not attained their seventh year have no actual Free Will. Nor is it found in all persons who have arrived at mature years—imbeciles, lunatics, have not Free Will. Again, even in sane persons and during the years of discretion, Free Will is not had at all times; during sleep men have not actual Free Will; a man who is so intoxicated that his reason becomes

¹ *De Actibus humanis*, Disper. ii. art. i. parag. iv., 'Quinta tandem. . .'

² *Ibid.* 'Dices primo. . .'

entirely obscured, has no actual freedom; and concupiscence, which darkens the mind, lessens actual freedom. Finally, in 'motus primo-primi' there is no exercise of Free Will.¹ 'Motus primo-primi' are determinations of the faculty by the bare apprehension; the appetite of the lunatic and the intoxicated is determined by the mad ravings of the imagination; the appetite of the child is determined by the mere apprehension.² When does a man act freely, then? A man acts freely, according to the common estimation of mankind, when he uses his reason. A man acts freely when he is not determined by the mere apprehension of an object or the vagaries of the imagination, but when his rational appetite is led, moved, and determined by the practical judgment of his reason. 'Liberum arbitrium est facultas voluntatis et rationis.'³ Free Will is a will determined by a free judgment.⁴

If we can only get away from a certain nebulous kind of metaphysics, which is really 'sine fundamento in re,' there shall be no wrangling here. The matter is clear from the evident working of the human faculties. Cardinal Bellarmine admits that the 'judicium practicum' determines the

¹ Cf. Lehmkuhl, *de Actibus humanis*.

² How is it that the Thomists and Molinists do not find any peculiar difficulty in explaining God's knowledge of the actions of children, of lunatics, etc.? What is the difference between the action of a man when stupidly drunk and when sober? How does the mere fact of becoming sober create such a tremendous difficulty as regards the Divine Knowledge and Influx, with respect to a man's actions? or, What happens to the child when it begins to act freely? Is some new and extraordinary faculty bestowed? Nothing in the world happens unless all of us are utterly astray, but that it begins to use its reason—the little appetite begins to be determined by reason rather than by the mere apprehension.

If this great difficulty exist in explaining God's knowledge of free actions, then there is a difficulty of a like nature in respect to some of the actions of brutes. They have some freedom. '... Possunt enim agere, si judicant esse agendum vel non agere, si non judicant' (*De Veritate*, quaest. xxiv., art. 2, corpore). They judge. '(Bruta) habent judicium ordinatum de aliquibus' (*ibid.*). For instance, the beast of the field chooses between grass and hay; the house dog will frisk round and wag his tail, if he judges you a friend, but growl and snarl if he considers you a foe.

³ Lib. 2, *Sentent.*, Dis. xxiv., q. i., a. i. Cf. *Prima Secundae*, quest. i., a. i., resp.

⁴ Although the will of a person acting in ignorance is determined by the judgment of the intellect, still moralists say that 'ignorantia invincibilis facit aut involuntarium aut saltem non voluntarium.' But of course the reason is that there is no freedom as regards the action or the object in its true light.

will.¹ Salmanticenses (Thomists) write thus : ‘ . . . posito ex parte intellectus ultimo iudicio requisito ut voluntas operetur, debet ipsa praedictum iudicium omnino sequi, ita ut in sensu composito nequeat ab eo discedere.’ And they continue :—

Adde, quoties voluntas existens prius indifferens ad utrumlibet, potius ad hoc extremum quam ad oppositum se applicat, assignandam esse hujus aliquam rationem : neque alia videtur assignabilis, nisi quod agens iudicat sive vere sive falso hic et nunc ita sibi expedire. . . . Et sane experientia omnes edocemur nunquam unum prae alio eligere, nisi quia sic eligere potius quam opposito modo hic et nunc conveniens arbitramur.²

But let us appeal to higher authority.

Quid dicit Doctor Angelicus ? ‘ . . . Voluntas ut deliberata et ut natura non differunt secundum essentiam potentiae ; quia naturale et deliberatorium non sunt differentiae voluntatis secundum se, sed secundum quod sequitur iudicium rationis . . . ’³ ‘ . . . Voluntas fertur . . . consequentur ad apprehensionem rationis . . . ’⁴ ‘ . . . Voluntas . . . per aliquid determinatur ad unum, scilicet per consilium rationis . . . ’⁵ ‘ . . . Inclinatione naturalis voluntatis non solum est in ultimum finem, sed in id bonum quod sibi a ratione demonstratur.’⁶

To the foregoing doctrine is raised this objection originating in the false notion of human liberty which finds expression in the interpretation given by the Molinists to the celebrated definition already treated of. The ‘ iudicium practicum ’ which, it is here asserted, determines the will is, they say, either necessary or free. If necessary, then there is an end to human liberty ; but even if free, human liberty, according to this doctrine, will be formally in the intellect.⁷ If by ‘ erit libertas formaliter in intellectu ’ is meant that the root of human liberty is in the intellect—

¹ Vide Urráburu, *Psych.*, lib. 2, disp. 6, cap. 3, art. 2, n. 54.

² *De Voluntario*, disp. 2, dub. 1, n. 15.

³ Lib. ii., *Sentent.*, Dis. xxxix., quaest. ii. art. ii., ad secundum.

⁴ *Secunda Secundae*, quaest. lviii. art. iv. ad 2^{um}.

⁵ *De Malo*, quest. iii. art. iii., ad 5^{um}.

⁶ *De Virtutibus*, quest. i. art. v., ad 2^{um}.

⁷ Cf. Urráburu, *Psych.*, lib. 2, disp. 6, cap. 3, art. 2, n. 55.

wherein does the statement offend? 'Totius libertatis radix est in ratione constituta,' says the Angelic Doctor.¹ The objection is of no avail. The appetite is free, the judgment is free. The appetitive faculty follows the cognoscitive faculty: as the cognoscitive faculty, so the appetitive. If the judgment of the intellect is free the rational appetite is free. But where is proof that the judgment is free? The judgment of the intellect is free and not determined 'ad unum,' because it extends to mere material things, to intellectual and to purely spiritual things. Perhaps this reason will not carry conviction. Here, then, are two others. 'Judicium . . . est in potestate judicantis'—to have power over our judgment is to have a free judgment, of course—'secundum quod potest de suo judicio judicare; de eo enim quod est in nostra potestate possumus judicare. Judicare autem de judicio suo est solius rationis, quae super actum suum reflectitur. . . .'² Therefore, since the intellect can reflect on its act, the judgment is free. Again, the judgment of the intellect is free or in our power, because the causes of the judgment are in our power, viz., the object perceived, our moral and intellectual habits, external influences, such as companions, surroundings, etc.³ So far about the 'judicium practicum' of the intellect.

There remain for consideration the other alleged 'prae-requisita.' What are we to think of Physical Premotion and 'Concursus Simultaneus'? A *posteriori*, there is not a tittle of evidence for either the one or the other. What is Physical Premotion? A direct immediate divine influx predetermining the creature in its action. What is 'Concursus Simultaneus'? A direct immediate divine influx co-operating with the creature in its action. The words

¹ *De Veritate*, Quest. xxiv. art. ii., corpore, circa medium.

² *Ibid.*

³ Space may not be reasonably asked of the Editor now for proof at length. But there should be no difficulty in admitting the validity of this reason. We can turn away from an object that presents itself; the drunkard can break with the evil habit, and bad companions may be shunned. The supposition, namely, that these agencies cause the judgment is evident: the vice of intemperance, for example, influences the judgment of a man addicted to excessive drinking, and the example and counsel of the wicked influence the minds of companions.

'immediate, direct' are to be taken in a strict sense: it is an influx from the Divinity itself, 'nulla interveniente creatura.'¹ But who in the world has ever experienced this influx? It is altogether incomprehensible, mysterious and esoteric. Billuart² even confesses that there is some mystery about the thing. In fact, the doctrine appears to partake in a measure of the nature of Occasionalism of some sort or other. What, then, is the actual position of the Thomists and Molinists? They state a true principle, draw an unwarranted conclusion, and claim that their teaching is supported by the highest authorities. The principle is that creatures are totally dependent on God and that He has supreme dominion over them, even as regards free actions. In this we are all agreed. But this necessary dominion of God and dependence of the creature is had, according to the Molinists, by a mysterious divine influx called 'Concursus Simultaneus,' and, according to the Thomists, by a divine influx more mysterious still, which they call Physical Premotion.³ Let us see. It cannot be that keen observation of the human faculties in their working throws no light on the subject. Of course 'there are more things in Heaven and earth than are dreamt of in our philosophy;' but that we may not understand a free creature's subordination to its Creator—who will believe? Free Will, as we find it, is the will led by a free judgment. Action, according to St. Thomas, is 'communicatio quaedam.' Action of the will is the communication between or the union of the rational appetite and the thing presented as result of the judgment of the intellect. There can be no difficulty as regards the subordination of the faculty itself: like the soul it is from God and conserved by God. The actualisation or reduction of the faculty and the thing presented by the intellect have then to be accounted for. 'Inclinatio naturalis voluntatis non solum est in ultimum finem, sed in id bonum quod sibi a ratione demonstratur.'⁴

¹ Cf. Urráburu, *Theod.*, Disp. 7, cap. 1, art. 3; cap. 2, art. 1; and cap. 3, art. 1.

² *De Deo*, Disser. viii. art. 4, parag. 2. 'Resp. Mysterium esse.'

³ Urráburu, *Theod.*, Disp. 7, cap. 2, art. 2, n. 277.

⁴ S. Thomas, *de Virtutibus*, quest. i. art. v., ad 2^{um}.

Therefore the will is actualised or determined by the thing presented by the intellect : the will is subordinated to the object for which the ' *practicum judicium* ' of the intellect is pronounced. But how is this object, or which comes to the same, how is the judgment, subordinated to God ? The judgment of the intellect is subordinated to God, because the causes of the judgment are subordinated to Him. The causes of the judgment are the object perceived, our intellectual and moral habits, external influences, such as companions, surroundings, etc. And the things we perceive, those amongst whom we live, and the other agencies that influences the judgment, are God's creatures subordinated to Him ' *in esse* ' and ' *in agere* ' ; habits, intellectual and moral, are to be referred to causes, which in turn are perfectly subordinated to God.¹ Thus is established perfect subordination to the Divine Being, as regards the free actions of free creatures. The subordination here explained has its warrant in the nature and working of things : but Physical Premotion or ' *Concursus Simultaneus* ' none whatever. In support of their theory the Molinists will cite authorities asserting divine co-operation with the actions of free creatures ; but the deduction, from the passages of the authorities they quote, that God's co-operation with our actions is in the form of a direct immediate influx such as the Molinists introduce is an arbitrary process. This is the famous passage² of St. Thomas which is cited for Physical Premotion :—

*Sed quia nulla res per seipsam movet vel agit nisi sit movens non motum ; tertio modo dicitur una res esse causa actionis alterius, inquantum movet eam ad agendum : in quo non intelligitur collatio, aut conservatio virtutis activae, sed applicatio virtutis ad actionem ; sicut homo est causa incisionis cultelli ex hoc ipso quod applicat acumen cultelli ad incidendum movendo ipsum. Et quia natura inferior agens non agit nisi mota . . . [namely, ' *ab aliis* '] ; hoc non cessat quo usque perveniatur ad Deum ; sequitur de necessitate quod Deus sit causa actionis cujuslibet rei naturalis ut movens et applicans virtutem ad agendum.*

¹ In an exhaustive treatment of the subject, supernatural as well as diabolical influence would, of course, be considered.

² *Quest. Disput. de Potentia, quest. iii. art. 7, corpore. ' Sciendum. . . '*

But that cannot be twisted into Physical Premotion. How does God apply the faculty 'ad agendum'? 'Sicut homo applicat acumen cultelli.' In other words, as the carpenter is the cause of the action and determines by applying the saw to the wood, which reduces it 'e potentia in actu'; so also God determines and is the cause of man's actions, by placing him in a world of fellow-creatures and things, which agencies determine his intellect and will. Yet, as the knife when applied performs the action peculiar to it as an instrument, so a free creature when applied, that is, when placed in a universe of things, does likewise, namely, it understands and wills—its intellect is impressed by objects and its will drawn. 'Exemplum claudicat.' The subordination of a saw to the carpenter is different from a free creature's subordination to God: to place the saw to the wood is not a sufficient application—the carpenter must work the instrument also; but to place a man in a world of creatures, which determine his intellect, and, 'mediante intellectu,' his will, is a full and sufficient application. The nature of the Divine influx is clearly conveyed when the Angelic Doctor says: 'Et hoc non cessat quousque perveniatur ad Deum'; that is, the faculty is moved by the object, the object by something else, and so on, until finally you are brought back to God as the First Mover.

II.

Both parties to the controversy agree that God's knowledge is rightly termed the cause of things. But the Divine knowledge is multiplex; and which Divine Science causes, and how far it causes—on these questions they are divided. The Thomists say that the Divine Science called 'scientia visionis,' is the cause of things: the Divine Intellect the 'immediatum principium operandi.'¹ The Molinists contend that the Divine Science does not cause, 'nisi proponendo voluntati objectum et ostendendo modum et convenientiam producendi illud . . .'; and they hold that the

¹ Billuart, *de Scientia Dei*, Disser. v. art. iii., Appendix.

Science which causes in this manner is the 'Scientia simplicis intelligentiae.'¹ That is the position explained.

Now three assertions are made here : (a) Causality should not be attributed either to the 'Scientia simplicis intelligentiae' or the 'Scientia visionis' ; (b) the Divine Speculative Science (improperly called by the Molinists 'scientia simplicis intelligentiae') precedent to the Divine Will to create, and representing ideally the creation, contains not only 'essentias rerum cum suis proprietatibus ac praedicatis necessariis,'² but every action of every creature, in a manner as perfectly determinate, though yet in an ideal order, as the same are beheld, after the Divine creative Will and Decree, 'in ordine reali' ; (c) the Divine Intellect or the Divine Science, 'conjuncta Voluntate Divina' is the 'immediatum principium creandi.'

(a) Causality should not be attributed either to the 'Scientia simplicis intelligentiae' or the 'Scientia visionis.' 'Scientia secundum rationem scientiae non dicit aliquam causalitatem' ;³ on the contrary, it presupposes its object. Therefore to 'scientia qua scientia' causality must not be attributed. Now when the term 'scientia visionis' or 'scientia simplicis intelligentiae' is used, there is question of 'scientia qua scientia' ; consequently the assertion stands. Where does St. Thomas attribute causality to either ? In the *Summa*,⁴ when he puts the question, 'Utrum Deus habeat scientiam non entium ?' the truth of the above minor is clearly seen. His answer is in the affirmative : God knows 'non entia secundum quid' ; and the knowledge is called 'scientia visionis' : He knows 'non entia simpliciter' ; and the knowledge is termed 'scientia simplicis intelligentiae.' All through it is a question of 'scientia qua scientia.' Moreover, as regards the 'scientia simplicis intelligentiae,' this must be said. According to the Angelic Doctor, this science is of things which 'nec sunt nec erunt neque fuerunt'⁵ ; it

¹ Urráburu, *Theod.*, Disp. 4, cap. 1, art. 4, n. 26, Prob. 1^o.

² Idem., *loc. cit.*, art. iii. n. 14.

³ Lib. i., *Sentent.*, Dis. xxxviii., quest. 1, art. 1, corpore.

⁴ Par. i. quest. xiv. art. ix.

⁵ Ibid., corpore.

is of things which have no reference to real existence, of things which are not caused. And obviously, it is not to be introduced when there is only question of things that are caused, which 'vel sunt vel erunt vel fuerunt.'

(b) The Divine Speculative Science precedent to the Divine Will to create, representing ideally the creation, contains not only 'essentias rerum cum suis proprietatibus ac praedicatis necessariis, . . . ' but every action of every creature, in a manner as perfectly determinate, though yet in an ideal order, as the same are beheld, after the Divine creative Will and Decree, 'in ordine reali.' By this science, which, under the name of 'simplicis intelligentiae' the Molinists admit is the cause of things, at least 'proponendo Voluntati Divinae,' God sees, Thomists and Molinists alike will agree,¹ the essences and necessary attributes of things; but free actions at least, only in an indeterminate manner; for instance, by this science God sees the conversion of Peter and his non-conversion both equally possible—but according to them, Peter is not seen, in this speculative science, converted, saved, and glorified.

There is more than one reason why this view cannot be admitted. First, it attributes to God an imperfect and halting knowledge. Secondly, before the judgment of the Divine Intellect preceding the Will to create is passed, everything disposed according to God's wisdom, mercy, and love, must be present to the Divine Mind, in an absolutely definite and determinate way—not only essences and necessary attributes, but every action and every detail of every creature from first to last. This is required because God cannot act blindly. Moreover, actions even 'ut possibiles,' cannot be seen in the essences of creatures without any respect being had to the other factors which go to their production; action is not possible from an essence alone, or even from a faculty alone. Free actions, for instance, can only be seen coming forth from their causes, viz., the faculties of rational creatures not nudely taken but in-

¹ Urráburu, *Theod.*, Disp. 4, cap. 1, art. 3, n. 14. Cf. Zigliara, *Theol. Nat.*, lib. iii. c. ii. art. iii, Billuart, *de Deo*, Disser. v. art. ii. p. iii.

formed with habits, and the other agencies we see influencing them in the real order of things. Lastly, it is the constant teaching of the Angelic Doctor that everything that is is only an imitation of the Divine Essence: the obvious meaning seems, beyond all doubt, to be that the Divine Essence, independently of the Divine Creative Will, represents creatures and their actions, of course ideally, but at the same time in an absolutely definite and determinate way. Otherwise, what are we to think? How can we clear ourselves of the imputation that our teaching involves this, that the Divine Will may alter the Divine Essence?

It will be objected, however, that in this view human liberty is impaired. But how? It is not laid down that free actions are the outcome of the simple Will of God, without any regard to secondary causes. ' . . . Primi effectus ex sola divina Voluntate dependent: utpote si dicamus quod Deus voluit hominem habere manus . . . et . . . intellectum . . . alia (e.g., actions) ex ordine aliarum causarum (dependent).'¹ Nor that they are found in the Divine Essence already determined independently of human intellects and wills. It is asserted that this Divine Speculative Science contains every rational creature surrounded by every circumstance of life and their free actions resulting from free human wills determined by free human judgments.

God is the Divine Artificer; and it should be admitted that practical science corresponds with speculative science; for example, the knowledge which is brought into play in building a house is only the knowledge had in the plan and design applied. ' . . . Cognitio artificis practica sequitur cognitionem ejus speculativam, cum practica efficiatur per extensionem speculativae ad opus.'² How do Thomists and Molinists reconcile their opinions with this doctrine?

(c) The Divine Intellect or the Divine Science, 'conjuncta Voluntate Divina,' is the 'immediatum principium creandi.' Some theologians hold that the Divine Principle executing the works of God is the 'potentia activa Dei,'

¹ *Summa*, S. Thomae, Pars. i. quest. xix. art. v., ad 3^{um}.

² S. Thomae, *de Veritate*, quest. ii. art. 8, corpore.

that is, a principle, according to them, adequately distinct from the Divine Intellect and Will. But this view cannot be admitted. Any principle that is in God must be in 'linea intellectuali,' and consequently referred back to the Intellect or the Will. '... Ipsa scientia vel voluntas divina secundum quod est principium effectivum, habet rationem potentiae.'¹ In the second place it may be argued that the Divine Will, though it has not, 'ratione sui,' the forms or divine exemplars, still as it must move and apply the 'formale activum principium,' it should be called an immediate operative principle. Be it so. The question is not discussed here. Here it is sought to establish that the Divine Science is really and truly 'immediatum principium Divinae operationis.' First of all, it is easy to see that the Divine Will must be presupposed: the form of the intellect or the intellect is only a principle of operation, 'secundum quod habet inclinationem ad effectum';² which inclination is conferred by the will. Now that the divine science 'non causat res nisi proponendo Voluntati objectum,' etc., is erroneous; even in the case of a created artificer the intellect not only proposes but actuates and informs the work through the hands and instruments. Much more truly is it so when the Artificer has no hands, because He requires none. God is the Divine Artificer, and He works by His Intellect and Will: the Divine Intellect is the 'immediatum principium Divinae operationis.' '... Scientia Dei se habet ad omnes res creatas, sicut scientia artificis se habet ad artificiata. Scientia autem artificis est causa artificiatorum; eo quod artifex operatur per suum intellectum. Unde oportet quod forma intellectus sit principium operationis; sicut calor est principium calefactionis.'³ It cannot be denied that calor is the immediate principle of calefaction.⁴

¹ Idem, *Summa*, Pars. i. quest. xxv. art. i., ad 4^{um}. Sylvius doubts the authenticity of this passage.

² Ibid., quest. xiv. art. viii., corpore.

³ Ibid.

⁴ It is not meant to say that the Divine Science *per se* is the 'immediatum principium,' for example, of human actions. The Divine Science is the principle of human actions, through the instrumentality of human intellects and human wills.

This doctrine seems to express the obvious meaning of St. Augustine when he says : ' Universas creaturas . . . non quia sunt, ideo novit Deus ; sed ideo sunt, quia novit.'¹ And is there any other doctrine conceivable, which St. Thomas wished to propound in the following :—

' . . . Cognitio quae accipitur a rebus cognitis, consistit in assimilatione passiva, per quam cognoscens assimilatur rebus cognitis . . . ; sed cognitio quae est causa rerum cognitarum, consistit in assimilatione activa, per quam cognoscens assimilatur sibi cognitum.'² ' . . . In cognitione Dei est e converso, quia ab ejus intellectu effluunt formae in omnes creaturas : unde sicut scientia in nobis est sigillatio rerum in animabus nostris, ita e converso formae non sunt nisi quaedam sigillatio divinae scientiae in rebus.'³ ' . . . Sicut Dei scientia Dei quidem est cognoscitiva tantum, creaturarum autem cognoscitiva et factiva ; ita Verbum Dei, ejus quod in Deo Patre est, est expressivum tantum ; creaturarum vero est expressivum et operativum. Et propter hoc dicitur⁴ : Dixit, et facta sunt ; quia importatur in Verbo ratio factiva eorum quae Deus facit.'⁵

BERTHOLD MULLEADY, O.D.C.

¹ *Loc. supra cit.*

² *De Veritate*, quest. ii. art. 8, ad 2^{um}.

³ *Ibid.*, art. i., ad 6^{um}.

⁴ *Psal.* xxxii. ix.

⁵ *Summa*, Pars. i. quest. xxxiv. art. iii., corpore.

A GREAT CATHOLIC EDUCATIONIST

IT has been said that the Prussian schoolmaster won Sadowa. A suspicion of plagiarism is inevitable when we compare this statement with words attributed to Wellington, 'Waterloo was won on the play-grounds of Eton.' But it is well to remember that the truth of these famous words has been called in question. The sage and shrewd Mr. Dooley, remembering doubtless his Roscommon origin, has something to the effect that 'Waterloo was won (if it was won) on the pratie fields of Connaught.' The Kaiser, in a glow of patriotic fervour, proclaimed that it was won on the plains of Pomerania. The French, again, are certain it was won by the gold that bribed Grouchy, or by the timidity that held him irresolute.

History is thus a delightful study, admitting of a refreshing variety of opinion, a variety indeed, so great that Mr. Birrell is reduced occasionally to a feeling of sceptical despair, and 'is tempted of the Devil to forswear it altogether as the pursuit of the unknowable.' Availing ourselves, therefore, of the ample liberty left us in such uncertainty we might, if we chose, suggest that perhaps the Prussian needle-gun had as much to say to the defeat of the house of Hapsburg as even the Prussian schoolmaster; while we must also admit that there may be something in the view of certain Austrian military critics which attributes the disaster of '66 to the pedantry of General Benedek's chief of the staff, who refused to allow the eager troops to obey their own military instinct and deal effectively with Steinmetz when they came across him as he was descending from the defiles of the Bohemian mountains at the head of the Crown Prince's army.

But for the moment, let us assume the truth of the epigram which gives the credit to the pedagogue. Let us take it for granted as one of those half-truths, or guesses at truth, with which we have so often to rest content. Let

us, then, inquire whether the conclusions so frequently deduced from this doubtful premiss really flow from it.

One of the consequences of Sadowa in Austria was, as might have been expected, a violent Liberal agitation against the Church, and particularly against her influence in the schools. The argument was irresistible. In syllogistic form it would have run : The Catechism is taught to most Austrian boys and girls in the schools, and many Austrian officers receive Confirmation. *Atqui*—the Austro-Hungarian troops were worsted near Königgratz. *Ergo*—the Church is at fault. Under the cover of this delightful logic Liberal politicians were enabled to start a vigorous secularist campaign which has long since run its course without opening up the road to Berlin, or bringing the day of vengeance for Mollivitz and Sadowa one step nearer.

But in other countries than Austria secularists have come to regard Germany as a sort of convenient example to fling at their opponents' heads, as in some vague way proving all their assumptions. They never pause to inquire are German schools so wholly secular ? They never dream of devoting some time to the quiet study of educational progress in 'the Fatherland.' If they did they might make not a few surprising discoveries. It will be granted presumably, that in perhaps no respect is German education more admirable than in its *Volkschulen* or elementary schools. If they did not win Sadowa they have at least been largely instrumental in carrying their country to its present position of great and growing prosperity. They have given her several generations of frugal, intelligent, industrious workmen, whose busy hands have done perhaps more than Bismarck and Moltke to make Germany respected and feared. But it will be new to many that one of the men most responsible for the Prussian system of primary education was a Catholic, and a singularly devoted and loyal son of the Church. This very year Catholic Germany has celebrated, with great enthusiasm, the hundredth anniversary of his birth, and reprints of his numerous works are issuing from the press. A study of these reveals the fact that, like Arnold in another sphere, this wise and practical German recognized that education

without religion was an impossibility. Let us first, however, take a glance at his life and then we shall consider his principles.

Lorenz Kellner was born near Heiligenstadt, in Prussian Saxony, on January 29, 1811. He came of a family of teachers, and so inherited an aptitude and an enthusiasm for this most difficult of callings. His father had been a disciple of Pestalozzi, that strange Swiss dreamer who failed in every practical concern of life and yet may well be reckoned the founder of modern pedagogics—such was the inspiration of his dreams. It would be strange if such a father neglected the education of his own son, and so we find the young Lorenz early started upon a very successful school career which ended in a training college at Magdeburg. From this he passed as teacher to the cathedral school of Erfurt, in 1831. Here he at once began to give proof of his exceptional teaching capacity. Love of his profession, conscientiousness in his work, a rare power of clear exposition, and a rarer power of investing knowledge with living interest, made him popular and successful beyond his hopes. Here, too, he conceived the revolutionary idea of compiling text-books which should be something more than mere collections of facts and rules and figures. He started with the assumption, not denied of course in theory, but more or less ignored in practice, and very especially in elementary schools, that children have other faculties than memory, and can exercise other virtues than patience. He conceived they might be taught to feel and think.

He fancied that even in the case of children in the lowest classes of elementary schools it was not impossible to train heart and mind and will simultaneously. He was specially interested in the teaching of the vernacular, and set himself to compile carefully graded and carefully selected text-books. He chose such excerpts in prose and verse as should awaken interest, develop taste, afford example, and stimulate thought. He was one of the first to aim a fatal blow at the iron tyranny of grammar in the old systems of teaching. Perhaps, however, if he lived now he might be inclined to think that the revolt has carried us a little too far. His

statement that 'Grammar is a means and not an end,' is golden, but will not justify the almost total exclusion of grammar which is creeping in under the ægis of the New Pedagogics. That he succeeded in giving practical form to the principles here enunciated is proved conclusively by the widespread popularity his school-texts enjoyed. His Practical Course for the Teaching of German ran through no less than thirteen editions between 1840 and 1867. It was in a very real sense of the word epoch-making. It marked the end of the dry-as-dust, mechanical period, and made it clear that the study of their native language had a nobler function and higher possibilities than merely to teach children how to spell and read and parse.

But the ideas embodied in this series demand teachers who are conscious of the dignity of their calling, and are animated with higher ideals than that of just earning their salary, or, at least, of not losing it. It may be safely stated that there is no secular profession where ideals are so necessary or so difficult to preserve. Without genuine interest in the work and sympathetic relations between teacher and pupil no real education is possible. Hence the burden of Kellner's writings is that teachers should be grounded in Christian charity and draw a spirit of devotedness from that high and universal motive. He very rightly saw that it is precisely in the humbler branches of the profession that the nobler qualities and higher ideals are most necessary.

In a short time he was to have a wider field for the carrying out of his theories. In 1848 he was appointed *Schulrat*, or Provincial Inspector, in West Prussia. The Revolution, which shook so many thrones, startled the ruling powers, and they began to see that they must strive by education along religious lines to cope with the spirit of unrest which threatened to keep the German peoples in the seething-pot for ever, and defer indefinitely the long-cherished dreams of Germanic unity. Hence they invoked the aid of the various Churches, which statesmen are always willing to employ, but never to respect as independent guardians of higher laws. Whatever about the universities, it would never do to de-Christianise the schools of the people, and as it had not yet,

for obvious political reasons, occurred to Prussian statesmen that they could dragoon Catholicism out of the land of Luther, they determined to employ it as a hated but useful ally. Hence Catholics were chosen to superintend the reforms in Catholic provinces, and West Prussia, with its large Polish population, was entrusted to the energetic and able hands of Kellner.

He found matters in a bad way. The teachers were poorly paid and wretchedly trained. They had consequently little knowledge to impart and less skill to impart it. Educational torpor was widespread ; higher standards unknown. Kellner set himself manfully to work at a reform, and, as he was well supported from head-quarters, he soon succeeded in changing the face of things. His efforts were first directed towards winning the confidence and awakening the zeal of the teachers. He knew that if they were not always model pedagogues the fault did not lie wholly with themselves. Men who were half-farmers or clerks or mechanics could not be expected to do much for their pupils. So while insisting on much more application and efficiency he also laboured to improve their status and increase their incomes. 'If a man cannot live by the school he cannot live for the school,' was his motto. Justice, conscientiousness, sympathy, soon made him respected and even popular, and enabled him to carry out many reforms and inaugurate many more.

But his health was not of the best, and was severely tried by a harsh climate and a life of continual travelling in a district not over-blest with good roads. Hence when the post of *Schulrat* at Trier fell vacant he applied for it, and was at once appointed. Here he laboured with ever-widening fame from 1855 till his most edifying death, at the ripe age of eighty-one, in 1892.

Even here the state of primary education was far from being what we associate with Germany, far from what it has since become, and Dr. Kellner had to begin all over again. But he had some advantages. He was in the pleasant Rhineland with its beautiful climate and bright and happy people. Moreover, he was supported by his

firmly-established prestige. Hence from the start he was able to set about far-reaching changes which had as before for principal object the choice of suitable candidates, their efficient training and their adequate maintenance alike in youth and in old age. He did not, of course, neglect the schoolrooms, or overlook the importance of hygiene. But he rightly saw that the Alpha and Omega was the getting, by some means or other, of men who could and would teach. With the proper material all other reforms were easy ; without it, all other reforms were vain, or rather were hopeless of fulfilment. Hence on this point he concentrated all his efforts ; to this end he directed the activity of his untiring pen.

Having thus done his part by his subordinates, he could in turn exact fidelity to their high trust from them, and could deal drastically with neglect of duty. He patiently investigated in person the various cases of complaint, and while he could make allowance for extenuating circumstances, he would not lightly condone wilful inefficiency or neglect. Hardworking himself in a degree exceptional even in Germany, he expected the men in whose hands lay so much responsibility for the future of their country to respond to their obligations. That they have done so as far as, granting the imperfectibility of human affairs, we may reasonably expect, is evidenced by the fact that West Prussia and the Rhenish Provinces are among the most progressive parts of Germany.

But if his life's work had been confined to two provinces, and he had merely been a successful head inspector of striking personality, he would not be the Dr. Kellner of whom Catholic Germany and Austria are so proud. He was much more. His writings, all devoted to some aspect of educational life, place him among the greatest experts in pedagogics of his age. I have already said that his school-texts were eagerly welcomed and widely employed ; they were also largely imitated. Further, he was frequently engaged in controversy on questions of education, and he embodied his views in numerous books and brochures that still retain their value for teachers. Even in the heated atmosphere of the religious strife which has torn Prussia

since the Falk Laws, his great services have not been denied by the opponents of the Church. One of these writes of him: 'Kellner's influence is remarkable no less with Protestant than with Catholic teachers.'

That this should be so is a great tribute to the man; for he lived through the storm and stress of the Kulturkampf, and never lowered the flag or parleyed with unmanly fears. Before all things he was a Catholic, not only as a man, but as a teacher and an expert in pedagogics. Religion was for him not something to be politely tolerated as being precious to the people or useful to rulers, a sort of ceremonial ornament which for the present at least cannot be dispensed with, but which must be carefully kept from encroaching too far upon secular knowledge.

No, for him, as for the founders of the teaching Orders within the Church, religion was the basis of all true education. It was of course necessary for the sound formation of youth, but it was no less necessary for the character of the teacher himself. He saw, and surely it was not hard to do so, that it is impossible to obtain a supply of intelligent and devoted men to staff the primary schools of any nation for the more than modest income which is the most that even the richest exchequer can afford. Hence he sought in religion and Christian charity the basis of that devotion which alone can arm a man against the disappointments, drudgery, and disgust inherent in the life of all teachers, but very particularly in that of those who get the raw material of some remote rural parish, and have to nourish the delicate flower of learning in such stony and uncongenial soil.

It is easy from the arm-chair and writing-desk of the theorist to expatiate on the teacher's high and glorious calling and the need for ideals. But it is another thing to go each morning into a not over cheerful or commodious room where some hundred youngsters reeking of peat-fires, often in sodden clothes and with hungry faces, are mechanically droning forth their lessons in that sing-song so trying on the nerves. How is freshness to be preserved? How is one to continue for twenty or thirty years a life like that

without a lowering of ideals? Indeed, what motive force can be found in £100 per annum for an educated man to continue it at all? The Greeks were so impressed with the hardship of the lot that it was a current saying, when a man had proved a misfit or a failure, that he had turned schoolmaster. And it is quite true that if they, have not some spark of that charity which Dr. Kellner postulates they are the most pitiful drudges imaginable. If they have it and preserve it in the wear and tear of their severe life they are heroes worthy of all honour, they are invaluable citizens weaving unseen and unknown the future greatness of their country.

It is as refreshing as it is rare in these latter days to find a lay educator—no pietist, be it noted, bent on turning all young people into monks or nuns, but a practical and successful school reformer in the best educated of all countries—laying down and vigorously upholding maxims such as these :—

The soundest and truest principle of all education, that principle which embodies the truth of all others ever formulated, can be nothing else than this : Educate men to follow and imitate Christ.

Whoever labours in the teaching profession without Charity will be always a hireling and fail of his reward. He will sow with frozen hand in frozen soil, and ever find himself divided in heart and wretched.

Therefore there can be no greater benefit than to strengthen our teachers in Faith and Charity, and every idea conducive to this end stands higher than the most methodical training and most perfect scientific system.

If a teacher desires to win the full and sincere trust of the neighbourhood he must unite himself by the closest bonds with its religious life, and show in his whole bearing that his religion is for him a matter of heart, and the outward profession of it an inner necessity. On the other hand, the more the primary teacher drifts apart from his Church and loses love for it, the more also does he sever himself from the people and their confidence.

The Gospels will ever remain the best and truest ' breviary ' for teachers. The love of the Saviour for children, His manner

of teaching. His gentleness and patience are that most adorable and perfect model by which every spiritual activity should be guided.

I have said that we must, above all, remember that this was a level-headed man of the world, an official of that Prussian Government which was little likely to rest satisfied with a pious dreamer or a misty idealist of the ages of faith. He yet lays down for lay teachers, working for the wages of the State, the same ground principles as those great Church educators who had of course as first and primary end the training of citizens for that great *Civitas Dei* which is to be peopled from all states, but is identical with none. Yet we often hear that men and women imbued with such ideas were quite unfit to educate youth for the stern realities of life. We hear, principally it is true from freshly emancipated schoolboys masquerading as profound thinkers and eminent sociologists, a great deal of criticism of what they style pietistic education. No doubt there is such a thing. No doubt it is quite possible to train up children in a hot-house air of external piety resulting in a short-lived outward show of goodness. But the chief objection to such a system is just this, that it does not produce piety. That a really pious education, by which I mean one which will teach a youth to reverence God and man and respect his own soul, to penetrate his life by Christian faith and shape his conduct by Christian morality, is likely to unfit him for any honest and honourable calling is a gratuitous absurdity—unless indeed we have reached the advanced standpoint of the late-lamented Ferrer! If we could trace the inner history of those who have rolled down the slopes of life, or plunged over its precipices, we should find that in ninety cases of every hundred some weakness in their moral fibre was the cause, some hidden canker eating at the bud, some want, in short, of Christian piety.

Of course if by success is meant the success of a Wall Street speculator 'cornering' the food of the poor that he may rake in more millions, or that of a ruthless conqueror, 'from face to foot a thing of blood, whose every motion is

timed with dying cries,' then we can only regret that a Christian education is not always successful in producing failure. But where success is to be fairly won by the exercise of sobriety, honesty, industry, self-control, it should be clear that a religious training, which alone can claim any efficacy over the will and heart of youth, has a solid mercantile value which it is fanaticism to ignore. Nor is it enough to say that such a training does not always accomplish its end. No one, distantly acquainted with the conditions of human life, could expect such a result. The freedom of the will, in our present providence, involves that deepest of all mysteries, the permission on the part of God of the perversion of that free will, and no training, however perfect, will secure a satisfactory result in the case of all. There must ever remain a percentage, and, alas! a large percentage, of weak and flabby creatures who will prove poltroons in the fight. Only it is bewildering logic to suggest as a remedy for this painful fact the lessening of the one influence calculated to have the desired effect.

It is as if one should reason: 'Even wholesome food cannot always keep the delicate alive; therefore let us give them less and less of it.' If even the salutary truths of faith are barriers all too weak, in many instances, to stem the turbulent tide of passion, it is a rather singular remedy to suggest the removal of all barriers, or the setting up, in lieu of the Decalogue and the solemn sanctions wherewith God has invested it, of some emasculated lay morality based upon eugenics and evolution, or, what is equally futile, of a morality wrapped up in Christian terminology, but utterly robbed of its Christian character by the implicit denial of nearly all Christian truth.

Taine, though bitterly hostile to the Church, had intelligence enough to see, and honesty enough to admit, that the doctrines of the Church were necessary for the ordered continuance of society. Goethe, likewise, a stiff-necked pagan who, even in his declining years, could not be induced to re-consider his attitude towards revealed truth, yet had his moments of vision, when his clear intellect worked itself

free from the shackles cast round it by a long career of libertinism. In one of these he wrote :—

The Gospels are true ; for there is active in them the reflection of a splendour which emanated from the person of Christ, and that certainly is divine, if the Divinity has ever manifested itself on earth. Were I asked, Can I find it in my nature to offer Him a worship of adoration? I would answer, most assuredly. I bow before Him as the heavenly revelation of the highest principle of morality. . . . Mental culture may continue to progress, the natural sciences may grow in ever-widening extension, the human spirit may develop how it will, but it will never surpass the grandeur and moral elevation of the Christianity that gleams and glows in the Gospels.

If this be so, it follows that any attempt to improve secular education at the expense of religion would be foolish, even if we were to make the utterly unwarranted admission that they are antagonistic. Denominational schools can be defective, and beyond all doubt often are. But are State schools necessarily perfect? The cool assumption that if you get rid of the Catechism and banish the priest you have solved all educational problems lies at the root of the secularist propaganda. Yet they have driven out both in France, and what is the result? Every year's reports contain louder and louder wails over the condition of affairs—teachers inefficient and wanting in devotion, pupils insubordinate and intolerant of authority. Then, too, there is an alarming increase in juvenile crime, and several other signs which he who runs can read. In the recent revolution in Portugal there perished with the sack-ing of the Campolide the one school which might fairly claim to have reached a European standard of efficiency. The legislators who out of hatred of religion reject the most devoted material to be found and repudiate those principles which alone can excite either enthusiasm or devotion, may indeed inscribe progress on their banners, like any other false and hollow shibboleth, but their progress will be that of a train which has got detached from its engine on a stiff up-gradient, and Birr or Armagh can tell us what usually happens to these. They will find that for communities, as

well as for individuals, there is profound wisdom in the Scriptural advice : ' Seek first the Kingdom of God and His glory and all these things will be added to you.'

Dr. Kellner at least will not hear of any necessary conflict between efficiency and denominationalism.

It is a false belief, foreign to the very nature of Christianity, indeed a calumny upon it, when men spread the wild assertion that the Christian school will neglect the temporal aspects and circumstances of life, and only insist upon the religious element to the exclusion of general knowledge ; or that it will only produce sentimentalists and pietists, who stumbling with uplifted eyes over this earth of ours, find themselves quite astray, or, simmering in feeble emotions, lose the necessary independence and activity.

Christian education does not by any means despise the knowledge and accomplishments necessary for temporal life, or the development of the mental powers ; neither does it repress them. But it starts with the conviction that knowledge and power, without religious foundations, have neither real worth nor adequate aim ; and that they do not afford sufficient guarantee for the temporal or eternal weal of human society.

This is sanity, and sanity is sometimes lost sight of in religious controversy. State and Church may conceivably find their interests in conflict ; but it is only a very perverted notion of policy which can find the ground of conflict in the schools of the people. The State will undermine its own power by tampering with the religious upbringing of its subjects, and it can insist upon efficiency in secular matters without encroaching upon the rights of the Church.

All the signs point to a near future, rich in promise for Ireland. We have watched for some time the eastern horizon brightening, and asked ourselves, with bated breath, ' Is this at length the Dawn ? ' We almost fear to hope, for our national hopes have been so often blighted that we are slow to expose ourselves to the bitterness of fresh disappointment. But it would appear as if we were indeed approaching the goal of so many desires. There is reasoned ground for expectation that, like the other nations of the earth, we shall soon have the moulding of our own destiny. This does

not mean that we shall necessarily mould it aright. There are, indeed, some timorous souls who are convinced in advance that we shall certainly mould it wrongly.

Yet, though we should be shamefully wanting in courage and self-respect if we shrank from the responsibility, we should be greatly wanting in prudence and common sense if we entered upon the task with excessive self-confidence. We have many difficulties before us as a nation. We have hard political and social problems to solve, and very little constructive political experience. Nor is there any problem more pressing than the question of our schools, the most neglected and impoverished of all branches of the executive. Progress is a crying need ; improvement imperative. There can be no doubt on this point, nor indeed is it questioned. The only danger is that reform may get side-tracked into barren controversies over first principles. Enthusiasm without wisdom and experience is very dangerous, and enthusiasm with experience is very rare. Let us hope that when we do start upon the long delayed duty of uplifting our schools we shall do so in a temperate and practical spirit, with the full recognition that whatever about other countries secularisation is not for Ireland. It is not desired by any of our conflicting creeds, or by any weighty section of our divided population. The State can train its teachers better, can pay them less inadequately, can improve its buildings, and bring its curriculum more into harmony with the needs of an agricultural population, without lessening the far from excessively religious character which our so-called 'National' Schools possess. At least if it be done, let us be spared the hypocritical invocation of the talismanic words, 'progress' and 'reform.' Dr. Kellner has afforded proof, if indeed proof were needed, that practical reform and genuine progress are more likely to begin with the strengthening of religious influences than with any attempt to weaken or undermine them.

G. J. P.

MEMOIR OF FATHER JAMES DIXON, FIRST PREFECT-APOSTOLIC OF AUSTRALIA

SEVENTY years ago there was buried in a Wexford village a saintly missionary—the Rev. James Dixon, one of the convict priests of '98, who was the first Prefect-Apostolic of New Holland, i.e., Australia ; and I am sure that a brief memoir of his career will be acceptable to many readers, particularly as some of the facts are here printed for the first time.

James Dixon was born of respectable parents at Castlebridge, three miles north of Wexford town, in June, 1758, and studied for some years under Father Sutton, Parish Priest of Oylegate (four miles from Enniscorthy), whence, after being duly ordained (as was then the custom), he proceeded to Salamanca, in 1778, and subsequently to Louvain, where he completed his studies in 1784. The young priest returned to his native diocese of Ferns early in 1785, and was sent to assist in various parishes ; and, in 1794, was appointed by Bishop Caulfield as curate of Castlebridge, portion of a parish which embraced St. Margaret's, Ardtramont, Tikillen, Ardavan, Ardcolm, Ballyvaloo, Screen, St. Nicholas, and Kilpatrick. The then rector of this union of nine parishes was Rev. Frederick Draffen, and he at once formed a friendship with Father Dixon, whom the fair-minded incumbent described as 'one of the gentlest and most inoffensive of men.'

Early in May, 1798, a fortnight before the 'rebellion,' a wretched informer named Francis Murphy (whom Father Kavanagh, O.F.M., incorrectly styles *Thomas*), a servant to Mr. Edwards of Cribstown, Co. Wexford, gave information to the authorities that Father Dixon was a 'United Irishman.' The result was that on Saturday morning, May 26, the worthy priest was summarily tried before a magistrate, and sentenced to transportation, being first sent to Dun-

cannon Fort.¹ Next day the 'rising' began at Oulart Hill; and on Sunday, June 3, Murphy, the Catholic informer, was shot. Hay writes :—

The Rev. Mr. Dixon, a Roman Catholic clergyman, who had been condemned before a magistrate and sentenced to transportation, was sent off to Duncannon Fort the day preceding the Insurrection; and this was on the testimony of a man named Francis Murphy, whose evidence was positively contradicted by three other witnesses. These facts, together with the public odium incurred by the man himself, induced Thomas Dixon, a sea-faring captain and master of a vessel, who also kept a porter-house in Wexford, to take a summary mode of avenging the fate of the clergyman, who was his relation. For this purpose, he brought the man out of gaol, upon his own sole authority, and conducted him down to the Bull Ring, where he obliged three Revenue officers, who were then prisoners, and whom he brought out along with him, to shoot him, and afterwards bear his body to the quay and throw it into the water. This execution took place, with all its shocking circumstances, while most of the townspeople were at prayers, and was utterly unknown to the principal inhabitants; but at all events, Dixon could the more readily accomplish his vengeance, without fear of being prevented, on account of the public execration generally prevalent against informers.

Among the particular friends of Father Dixon at Castlebridge were Colonel and Mrs. le Hunte of Artramont; and, as a proof of the absolute terror of the Protestant inhabitants in Wexford town at this crisis, one need only cite the evidence of Mrs. Brownrigg, a Protestant lady, who tells us in her MS. narrative that 'on June 2, Colonel le Hunte, Mrs. le Hunte, and many others, went to the chapel [the old Franciscan Friary], renounced their religion, were christened, and marched in procession through the town.' Many Orangemen, in order to save their lives, begged to become Catholics, and, for a time, were most ostentatious in the profession of that religion. However, as has been well observed by a contemporary writer, 'the majority of

¹ A diarist of the day chronicles: 'Twelve prisoners marched to Duncannon Fort, by the Wexford Cavalry, among them a Priest of the name of Dixon.'

these neophytes were afterwards the most prompt in coming forward to give their testimony against those whose religious faith they pretended to adopt.'

On June 22, after the surrender of Wexford to General (afterwards Sir John) Moore, Lake proved a second Cromwell. Edward Hay, who was an eye-witness of the whole 'rebellion,' says that 'it is scarcely possible to describe all the horrors and devastations that took place, as all the atrocities of war were most woefully exhibited.' Bishop Caulfield, who was a staunch loyalist and who, aided by Father James Roche, saved Lord Kingsborough's life at the peril of his own, thus writes, in a letter to his friend Archbishop Troy, of Dublin, dated Wexford, July 31, 1798:—

I remained until the King's army began to come in (it was Thursday, the 21st of June), then I was in as perilous a situation as ever, not knowing but an indiscriminate slaughter might be their first act. However, I sat down with Lord Kingsborough and some others, at his place of concealment, to a bit of salt beef at the fall of night, and got a Captain Bourke, of the North Cork Militia, a worthy fellow, to see me home. . . . I had made up my mind to the worst at the set out, and afterwards took every occurrence as preparatory to the fatal moment I apprehended. . . . When the *rebels* were defeated everywhere, and the King's army was approaching, a gentleman, my close neighbour, came to me and told me he would go out to meet them at the risk of his life, and represent me to the commander as *the protector of the Protestants*, etc. I thanked him, and said that *Government well knew my loyalty*, and I was satisfied I had nothing to fear from the King's forces, etc.

In sheer fright, the Bishop had burned all the official documents connected with the see of Ferns, including the brief of his consecration; and it is also worthy of note that the vestry or parish records of Wexford and Enniscorthy were burned at this time.

Father Philip Roche and Captain Keough were the first two to be immolated on Wexford Bridge, with seven others, on Monday, June 25, followed two days later by Bagenal Harvey, Cornelius Grogan, and Patrick Prendergast; and, on June 28, John H. Colclough and John Kelly, of Killann,

were executed. In all, sixty-five persons of good social position were hanged on Wexford Bridge, the actual executioner being a depraved scoundrel called Dunn, a sergeant in the King's County Militia. 'The heads of the persons executed,' as Madden writes, 'he used to carry to his own house after the execution, rolled up in the linen of each, and in the course of the evening he proceeded to the town-house, mounted the roof, and fixed the heads on pikes.' Dr. Richard Waddy, who basely betrayed Harvey and Colclough, afterwards, in a fit of *delirium tremens*, killed Father Byrne, O.F.M., of Taghmon, whom he had invited to dinner at Clough East Castle.

Through the influence of Colonel le Hunte, Father Dixon was allowed out on bail, and being recommended a change of air to the south of England, he was in sore trouble, feeling loth to relinquish his curacy at Castlebridge. Hay writes thus :—

After the Insurrection, the Rev. James Dixon was anxious to spend some time with his step-brother, Mr. Denis Butler, a merchant in Bristol, where he might enjoy that peace and tranquillity which the distracted state of his native country wholly precluded. His intentions were well known to the late Colonel le Hunte, who lived in the vicinity of Castlebridge, where Mr. Dixon resided, and had, therefore, the best possible opportunity of being acquainted with his unimpeachable conduct and demeanour, invited him to accompany his lady and family to England, where, on his landing, he was recognized by some of the incensed Wexford refugees, who immediately denounced him as a *Catholic priest*. By this outcry (and the prejudice against his order) those on the beach were roused to inflict severe treatment on him. It is probable that these active prejudices might have proved fatal, had not the providential interposition of the Rev. Mr. Draffen, the Protestant clergyman of the parish where the Rev. Mr. Dixon officiated as a Catholic priest, interposed in his favour, protected and covered him from the full exercise of their rage. This philanthropic divine [Rev. Frederick Draffen, subsequently Surrogate of the Consistorial Court of Ferns] was as distinguished for his loyalty as his attachment to the constitution of his country, and for his exemplary piety and abhorrence of rebellion. This act of manliness and goodness on the part of the Rev. Mr. Draffen cannot be too much extolled, and

whilst it manifests the purest sentiments of Christianity, *it cannot fail to impress the strongest conviction of the Rev. Mr. Dixon's innocence which, along with other representations of the principal gentlemen of the country, laid before the Lord Lieutenant, did not prevent his transportation to Botany Bay.*

This innocent clergyman [Father Dixon] was brought back from Milford a prisoner, and lodged in Waterford gaol, where he was tried and condemned on evidence that is in every degree questionable; and, notwithstanding the strongest proofs of his innocence, yet prejudice was too triumphant on this occasion in preventing a reversal of his sentence.

It is here interesting to quote some of the accusations brought forward at Father Dixon's trial. Of course the chief offence was being a first cousin of Captain Dixon, whose name was branded with infamy owing to his massacre of the loyalists in Wexford. Needless to say that the good priest was one of the first to dissociate himself with any efforts made by his relative in furthering the cause of the 'rebels.' However, the evidence of the informers was all-sufficient; and although the usual Spring Assizes opened in March, 1799, continual courts martial were held at Ross, Enniscorthy, Wexford, Gorey, and Newtownbarry, where numbers of really innocent people were executed, or else transported.

Father Dixon was specially charged with having 'commanded a company of rebels at Tubberneering.' This was absolutely false. Twenty years later, when closely pressed by his curate, subsequently Dean Murphy of Ferns,¹ as to whether there was the least foundation for such a base calumny, he distinctly told him that 'it was wholly devoid of truth, inasmuch as he was never present at a battle in his life.' Nay more, Father Dixon never even visited the townland of Tubberneering, nor of Clough (not far from Gorey), where the insurgents gained a victory over Colonel Walpole on June 3, 1798.

Another charge against him was that he sang a stirring 'rebel lyric,' with the refrain: 'Hurrah for the Shamrock and Erin-go-bragh,' and also that he had worn a 'rebel

¹ Very Rev. Patrick Murphy, who was P.P. of Glynn for 50 years, died at Wexford, January 22, 1867.

badge, with a medal, on which was inscribed the watchword "Erin-go-bragh." This accusation was equally false, as the faithful pastor did not know of the existence of such a song, nor yet, as narrated in after years by his curate Father Brennan, was he anything of a singer, not being musically gifted. For all that, Father Dixon was tried by an Orange court martial, and sentenced to be hanged, but the penalty was commuted into 'transportation for life to Botany Bay,' in September, 1799.

Dr. Caulfield, Bishop of Ferns, thus writes to his friend Archbishop Troy, on May 21, 1799 :—

Every day now brings new changes and new arrestations, so that not one individual is safe, *for there will be found people to swear anything.* I myself was called on last Saturday to turn a priest out of his parish for refusing to absolve the man who informed against the unfortunate Father James Dixon, and if I do not, I and all of us must be considered as systematically concerned in the Rebellion. This was given me in such an air and tone as would really terrify me, had I not been prepared and my mind made up for the worst. I declare that from the repeated or continual attacks on me, life or death is become almost indifferent to me, but I commit myself to the mercy of God and the dispositions of Divine Providence. *I can truly say (but it would ill become me to boast) that I saved more lives, and prevented more mischief, than all the yeomanry and army in this part of the country during the Rebellion.*

Between May 26, and November 30, 1798, seventeen Roman Catholic churches in the diocese of Ferns (Co. Wexford) was burned by the Orange faction, and six more were consigned to the flames during the first five months of the year 1799. On June 9, 1799, the chapels of Marshals-town and Munfin—both near Enniscorthy—met with a like fate; and on June 24 the thatched church of Crossabeg,¹ of which Father Dixon was subsequently pastor, was burned. On the Feast of SS. Peter and Paul (June 29), Killanieran Church, near Gorey, was consumed by fire, as the result of an Orange carousal; and, on July 1, Monageer Church, near historic Boolavogue, received similar attention. For all

¹ This thatched chapel was built in 1765, and Father Redmond Roche was appointed P.P. in 1778.

that, as Hay laments, '*not a single person has as yet [1803] been punished or even arrested for the perpetration of these crimes.*'

The Wexford Summer Assizes were held, in 1799, commencing on Monday, July 24, the presiding judge being Baron Smith, and a paltry reward of £100 was offered for the discovery of those who had burned the above-mentioned twenty-eight Catholic places of worship, but without any avail. In fact, to accentuate the domineering spirit of the ascendancy party, another church was demolished on 1st October, namely, that of Kiltealy, 5 miles from Enniscorthy. 'It would be impossible,' as Father Kavanagh writes, 'to recount a tithe of the hardships and cruelties to which the Catholics were subjected.' Lord Cornwallis wrote from Dublin to his friend Castlereagh, on September 26, 1799: '*The same wretched business of courts martial, hanging, transporting, etc., attended by all the dismal scenes of wives, sisters, fathers, kneeling and crying, is going on as usual, and holds out a comfortable prospect for a man of any feeling.*'

Bishop Caulfield thus briefly announces the fate of Father Dixon, in a letter dated October 19, 1799: 'The Rev. James Dixon was tried at Waterford; his sentence was death, but changed to transportation; he is sent to Botany Bay.'

The horrors of New Geneva, near Waterford, where Father Dixon had been confined as a prisoner until he was put on board the transport ship, 'Friendship,' have been frequently described, and it is here merely necessary to add that the saintly priest underwent fearful tortures. At last, after a tedious voyage, on January 16, 1800, the convict-ship reached Port Jackson, and Lieutenant-Colonel Collins, in his *Account of the Colony of New South Wales*, writes:—

Several of the convicts had been bred up in the habits of genteel life, or to the professions in which they were unaccustomed to hard labour. Such must have become a dead weight upon the provision-store, for notwithstanding the abhorrence which must have been felt for their crimes, yet it was impossible

to divest the mind of the common feelings of humanity, so far as to send *a physician, the once respectable sheriff of a county, a Roman Catholic clergyman, or a Protestant clergyman and his family*, to the grubbing hoe, or the timber-carriage.

Fortunately for himself, Father James Dixon was specially privileged by the Government to remain as a convict at Port Jackson, and was thus able to exercise his office—even though in secret—among his fellow-companions. Of course his functions as a Catholic priest were not performed with the sanction of the ruling powers, and thus for three years the Catholic convicts were officially denied the services of a chaplain. It was only on April 21, 1803, that Governor King published a proclamation permitting Father Dixon ‘to exercise his clerical functions.’

Meantime, in County Wexford, the Catholics were persecuted unceasingly, and, during the year 1800, three chapels, viz., Glanbrien (Oylegate), Caim (Ballindaggin), and Ballymackesy were burned by the Orangemen. The last instance of this fell work was on August 12, 1801, when the little thatched chapel of Courtnacuddy, five miles from Enniscorthy, was committed to the flames. Although, in 1799, Bishop Caulfield published a pamphlet replying to the base calumnies of Sir Richard Musgrave, yet, as late as the year 1802, the cowardly baronet ‘repeated all his calumnies,’ as Renehan writes, ‘in a more offensive form . . . in which such phrases occur as “anointed impostors,” in reference to priests,’ etc. Archbishop Troy, writing to a lay friend on August 15, 1803, says that ‘Plowden completely vindicated Dr. Caulfield.’ However, with the death of Robert Emmet, on September 20, 1803, may be said to date the termination of the ‘rebellion’ of 1798.

In Cardinal Moran’s monumental *History of the Catholic Church in Australia*, we are given the General Order issued by Governor King, on April 21, 1803, ‘to be observed by the Rev. Mr. Dixon and the Catholic congregation in the colony,’ from which it appears that Father Dixon was allowed ‘to perform his clerical duties once in three weeks in the settlements at Sydney, Parramatta, and Hawkesbury, in rotation.’ Under these strange conditions, the first

offering of the Holy Sacrifice of the Mass in Sydney was on Sunday, May 15, 1803, by Father James Dixon, who officiated at Parramatta on the 22nd, and at Hawkesbury on the 29th. But to crown all, the Holy See, at the petition of Father James M'Cormack, O.F.M., Guardian of St. Isidore's, in Rome, constituted the Wexford convict priest as 'Prefect-Apostolic of New Holland'—being, as Cardinal Moran writes, 'the first ecclesiastical appointment made by the Holy See for the Australian Church.'

Alas! a little over twelve months had elapsed from the Governmental permission to assist at Mass, when it was bruited abroad that the Irish convicts—almost all zealous Catholics—were utilizing these assemblages as a meeting-place 'to mature their plans for another rebellion.' These false reports resulted as might be expected, and fondly wished for, by the anti-Irish Catholic section, and in November, 1804, the permission for attendance at Mass was withdrawn, by order of the Governor. Early in 1805, an order was issued compelling *all* convicts to assist at the services of the Church of England. 'If anyone absented himself, he was to receive, for the first offence, twenty-five lashes; for the second offence, fifty lashes; and for absenting himself a third time he was to be transported to a penal settlement.'

Notwithstanding eight years of continual persecution and hardship, Father Dixon still laboured zealously for the cure of souls in Port Jackson, and was a veritable missionary-apostolic. Cardinal Moran writes:—

In the exercise of his sacred functions, Father Dixon was beset with many difficulties. A small tin chalice was made for him by one of the convicts. Some old damask curtains were transformed into a many-coloured vestment. There was, for a time at least, no altar-stone, and the consecrated oils had to be procured from Rio Janeiro.

In 1805, the old Dutch name of New Holland was changed to that of Australia, and thus, in that year, we find Father Dixon as Prefect-Apostolic of Australia, a position which he held till 1816.

Meantime, in County Wexford, Bishop Caulfield, of Ferns, bowed down with years and sorrow, obtained from the Holy See a coadjutor in the person of Rev. Dr. Patrick Ryan,¹ Secretary to the Board of Trustees, Maynooth College (on October 25, 1804), who was consecrated in 1805. The Government, through Mr. Marsden, promised him 'support and protection in the discharge of his episcopal functions in Wexford'; and, in July, 1806, he came to reside in Enniscorthy. The earliest entry in the present Episcopal Register of Ferns diocese reads as follows: 'On September 8, 1805, died the Rev. William Synnott, Parish Priest of Enniscorthy, and, immediately, the Most Rev. Patrick Ryan was made pastor of that flock.' Enniscorthy has ever since been a mensal parish, managed by an administrator; and Bishop Ryan took up his residence there, in the house recently occupied by Mr. Robert Owens, in Slaney Place. Finally, in 1809, Bishop Ryan, with the permission of the Holy See, transferred the episcopal chair of the diocese of Ferns to Enniscorthy, and built the *old* cathedral, which was replaced by the present cathedral in 1845. The last public appearances of Bishop Caulfield were on September 14, 1808, when he was at Dublin, and condemned the Veto; and, on July 3, 1809, when he was again present at Dublin, and subscribed to the condemnation of Blanchard's errors. He died peacefully at Wexford on January 14, 1814.

Bishop Ryan was a *persona gratissima* at Dublin Castle, and hence, having learned the sad condition of Father Dixon, he made representations to the Government, in 1808, as to the desirability of allowing the convict priest to come back to his native country. Accordingly, in November, 1808, Father Dixon was at length accorded permission to quit Australia, and he returned to Ireland in 1809. '*On his departure*,' as Cardinal Moran writes, '*the whole settlement was left without any minister of religion*;' and, in 1810, Father James Harold left Sydney.

In 1810 we find Father Dixon as curate, near New Ross,

¹ Rev. Dr. Ryan was P.P. of Coolock (Clontarf), from 1797 to 1805, and was Prebendary of Wicklow.

but his movements were closely watched by the Government spies, and, about Christmastide of that year, an Orange informer gave intelligence to a reverend magistrate named Handcock that another insurrection was being hatched. I cannot do better than quote from the minutes of the *Privy Council Correspondence*.¹ The Rev. Thomas Handcock, Prebendary of Whitechurch, diocese of Ferns, wrote to Dublin Castle on January 10, 1811, that 'many disaffected persons above the lowest rank held meetings in the town of New Ross, and a priest named Dixon who, in 1798, was convicted of treason, and who had just returned from Botany Bay, when he was appointed to the care of 500 to 600 souls at Ross.' Readers will observe the carefully worded memorandum in reply to this reverend maligner, as, of course, Dublin Castle was well aware, through Bishop Ryan, of the return and preferment of Father Dixon. The minute is dated January 14, 1811, and, thanking the Rev. Mr. Handcock for his communication, adds: 'No precaution can be taken against the misconduct of the priest whom he mentions, *except that vigilant attention to his conduct which Mr. Handcock so laudably exerts for the security of the country.*' This reply was certainly a snub for the reverend prebendary-informer.

The year 1810 found the Catholics of Ireland almost in as degraded a position as a century previous; and this was principally brought about by the prevalence of the Orange system, and the cool presumption of the 'ascendancy' party. The Catholic claims were defeated in Parliament by a majority of 104; and, on July 30, 1811, there was a proclamation issued by the Lord Lieutenant 'against the election or appointment of delegates or representatives under resolutions made by persons styling themselves "A Meeting of the Catholics of Ireland."' As a proof of how very demoralised was the ascendancy spirit of this epoch, it is only necessary to chronicle that when the Honourable Percy Jocelyn, Protestant Bishop of Ferns, son of the Earl of Roden, was charged with unnatural offences by his coachman, James Byrne, the unfortunate Byrne was

¹ Madden's *Privy Council Correspondence*, Dublin, 1845.

dexterously counter-charged with libel and was tried before Justice Fox, on October 11, 1811, being sentenced to be publicly flogged three times and imprisoned in Kilmainham Jail for two years.' However, a Nemesis pursued this Honourable and Right Rev. Father in God, for, ten years later, after his promotion to the see of Clogher, in 1820, he was again charged with an unnatural crime, and fled the country.¹ The Emancipation Bill, introduced by Grattan, in the session of 1813, was withdrawn and subsequently lost; and the Lord Lieutenant issued a proclamation against the 'Catholic Board,' on June 3, 1814, declaring it 'an unlawful assembly.'

On August 28, 1816, a memorandum was presented to the Propaganda at Rome, by Father James Hayes, O.F.M., a brother of Father Richard Hayes, O.F.M., of Wexford, who figured so prominently in the Veto question. The document has reference to Father James Dixon, and I quote it the more readily as we have no other information regarding this much persecuted priest, from 1812 to 1816:—

The undersigned certifies that neither in the Colony of Sydney Cove, where there are several thousand Irish Catholics, nor in any part of New Holland [Australia] is there at present any priest or Catholic missionary. In 1804, Rev. James Dixon, a priest and native of the County of Wexford, and Diocese of Ferns, in Ireland (transported to New Holland together with many others of the laity of the same county, one of whom was Mr. Michael Hayes, eldest brother of the writer of this memorandum), was appointed Prefect-Apostolic of that region by the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, at the petition of the undersigned, presented in his name by the Father Guardian of Saint Isidore's Convent.

The undersigned further certifies that the Rev. James Dixon, with whom he is personally and intimately acquainted, resides at present in the house of his brother, Mr. Nicholas Dixon, about two miles from the town of Wexford, the native town of the writer of this memorandum, who has seen him there, and *who*

¹ Bishop Jocelyn was deposed in 1822, and he fled to Edinburgh, where he lived under an assumed name till his death in December, 1843. He had been admitted to bail in £500. His accomplice (John Movelly) also fled.

has continually and familiarly conversed with him there, from the year 1811 to the year 1815; and who further attests that the said Rev. James Dixon has been for a long time laid up with the gout, and that he has no intention of ever returning to New Holland.

As a result of this petition Father Flynn, a zealous Irish Cistercian monk, was appointed Prefect-Apostolic at the close of the year 1816, and he arrived in Sydney in November, 1817. He was compelled to leave in January, 1818, whereupon Rev. Dr. Slater, of the Mauritius Islands, was given charge. At length, on June 29, 1834, Rev. Dr. Polding, O.S.B., was consecrated Bishop of Hiero Cæserea, and Vicar-Apostolic of Australia, and was made Archbishop of Sydney in 1842.¹

Bishop Ryan died at Wexford, whither he had gone to seek medical advice, on March 9, 1819, aged fifty-one, and was buried in Enniscorthy Cathedral, which he had founded, being succeeded in the see of Ferns by Dr. James Keating, who was duly consecrated in the Franciscan Friary, Wexford, on March 21 of the same year. A month later Father Redmond Roche, Parish Priest of Crossabeg, died, and at once Bishop Keating collated Father Dixon, who had been curate of the parish from 1811 to 1819, to the pastorate of that picturesque district.

Father Dixon lived to see Emancipation carried, and the abolition of tithes; as also the passing of the Church Temporalities Act, which obliterated the Protestant sees of Ferns and Leighlin, with the death of Bishop Elrington, on July 12, 1835. In reference to the iniquitous system of tithes, public attention was first called to them by the massacre at Newtownbarry, Co. Wexford, on June 18, 1831, and among the victims was a younger brother of the late Very Rev. Canon Doyle, Chancellor of the Diocese of Ferns, who is still lovingly remembered as Pastor of Ramsgrange, and as an ardent Nationalist.

On January 14, 1831, the last general inspection, by order of the Government, of the County Wexford Yeomanry took place, and they were disbanded shortly afterwards.

¹The foundation stone of St. Patrick's Church, Sydney, was laid on St. Patrick's Day, 1836. There are now (1911) 196 priests in Sydney, and the Catholic population is 178,000.

The infamous Archibald Hamilton Jacob, who had publicly insulted Bishop Ryan and Father Dixon, died on December 29, 1836 ; and at the election of 1837, Mr. James Power, of Edermine, and Mr. John Maher, of Ballinkeel, were triumphantly returned as the people's representatives for County Wexford—both staunch Liberals.

Bishop Keating, on May 9, 1835, reconstructed the parochial divisions of the diocese of Ferns, and appointed the Rev. Loftus Brennan as curate of Crossabeg, to aid Father Dixon whose health was fast failing. Finally, after a lengthened missionary life as curate and parish priest of Crossabeg, Father Dixon died in the Franciscan Friary, Wexford, on January 4, 1840, and was buried at the Epistle side of the altar in the sequestered chapel of Crossabeg, near Ballymurrin, Enniscorthy. His epitaph is simple, and reads as follows : ' Of your charity pray for the soul of the Rev. James Dixon, Pastor of Crossabeg and Ballymurrin. He died on the 4th of Janaury, 1840, in the 82nd year of his age.' May he rest in peace.

W. H. GRATTAN FLOOD.

DOCUMENTS

CATHOLIC CLERICAL MANAGERS' ASSOCIATION

THE Annual Meeting of the Council of the Catholic Clerical Managers' Association was held in Dublin, on June 22. Right Rev. Mgr. Murphy, D.D., V.G., P.P., Maryboro', presided.

Most Rev. Dr. Finegan, being appointed Bishop of Kilmore, resigned his place on the Council. Dean Staunton died since its previous meeting, and Canon Phelan, Ossory, resigned, owing to illness. His place was filled by the appointment of Very Rev. James Canon Doyle, D.D., V.G., P.P., St. Canice's, Kilkenny.

Communications were read from a Teachers' Association, and a sympathetic reply was ordered to be sent.

A vote of deep regret for the lamented death of Dean Staunton, a member of the Council and of its Standing Committee, was passed in silence, and the condolence of the Council ordered to be sent to his Very Rev. brother and other relatives.

A vote of congratulation to Dr. Finegan, a member of the Council, on his elevation to the Bishopric of Kilmore, was passed with acclamation and ordered to be sent to his Lordship.

Monetary and other business having been transacted, the Council discussed the various matters brought before it, and passed the following resolutions unanimously :—

'That we request the Commissioners of National Education to take immediate steps towards the re-introduction of the teaching of agriculture in the Primary Schools of the rural districts of this country, and with that view, to have the teachers suitably trained and prepared for this form of instruction, and to provide demonstration plots so that teaching in this subject may be of a really practical and scientific character. Most of the children attending our Primary Schools in rural districts are destined for agricultural pursuits, and we strongly urge that the fundamental principles of agriculture and horticulture should be placed before them in a practical manner during their school life.'

'It is desirable that an Annual Conference of all the Catholic Clerical Managers of each diocese be held in each diocese at a convenient date, and that each diocesan secretary convene each meeting and report its proceedings to his Provincial Council.'

'That, while agreeing with the arrangement that female

teachers before and after confinement be exempted for three months from their school duties, we earnestly recommend that the substitutes they will be obliged to employ for this period be paid for by the Board of Education.'

'That we acknowledge the sympathetic reports of the Commissioners of National Education and the words of Mr. Birrell, Chief Secretary, in favour of Primary Education, but we deplore the delay that is taking place in the giving of practical aid towards the heating, cleaning, and upkeep of our schools. That the £21,000 promised by the Right Hon. gentleman is not a moiety of the sum expended by the Managers for these purposes inasmuch as it calculates on only £42,000 being spent annually for them, whereas the Report of the Commissioners of National Education issued in 1910 shows that for repairs, painting, white-washing, and improvement of school and furniture there were expended £23,821; for heating, cleaning, and other expenditure, £40,283: total, £64,104—exclusive of calls upon the Managers for other necessary school purposes. That thus, therefore, the Treasury should give at least £32,000 to the Managers' £32,000, and that the Board of National Education, and the Irish Members of Parliament be asked to induce Mr. Birrell to influence the Treasury to grant another £11,000.'

'That we recommend Managers to introduce, if they have not already done so, a Temperance Reader into their schools.'

A discussion took place upon the circular recently issued by the Board to the Inspectors, and subsequently it was resolved by a majority of votes:—

'That while we cordially approve and highly appreciate the many excellent recommendations given by the National Board in their recent circular to the Inspectors, we cannot but strongly disapprove of the comparatively unimportant place given to the examination of the pupils to what we fear will be the great detriment of education. Individual annual examination of them in the subjects on the Programme is one of the greatest stimulants we know of to the efficiency of the teaching, and the greatest guarantee the public can have that satisfactory work is being done in the schools.'

A cordial vote of thanks was passed by acclamation to Mgr. Murphy, the chairman for the expiring three years of office, for his able, dignified, and impartial conduct in the chair.

THE SECRECY OF EPISCOPAL ELECTIONS

S. CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS

DECLARATIO CIRCA DECRETUM DE SECRETO SERVANDO IN
DESIGNANDIS AD SEDES EPISCOPALES

Dubitantibus nonnullis utrum decretum Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis diei 2 Iulii 1910 *de secreto servando in designandis ad sedes episcopales*, ubi eadem vel similis forma designationis obtinet ac in foederatis Statibus Americae septentrionalis, extendatur dumtaxat ad dioeceses et provincias, quarum Antistites id postulaverint, an ad omnes ubi dicta forma in usu est; haec Sacra Congregatio declaravit ad omnes extendi.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis Consistorialis, die 28 mensis Aprilis 1911.

C. PEROSI, *Substitutus*.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF MONTREAL

AD R. P. D. PAULUM BRUCHESI, ARCHIEPISCOPUM MARIANOPO-
LITANUM, OB CANADENSIMUM CATHOLICORUM CONVENTUM
EUCCHARISTICUM MARIANOPOLI NUPER HABITUM

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Canadensium Catholicorum conventum ad cultum Sacrosanctae Eucharistiae provehendum haud ita pridem Marianopoli habitum, tua tuorumque providentia ita perfectum fuisse laetamur, ut tibi, Venerabilis Frater, atque illis voluntate omni gratulemur. Mirandum sane fidei pietatisque popularis spectaculum per eos dies licuit istic intueri: idemque eo christiano sensu, ea animorum concordia ac propensione editum, ut magnum religioni publicae theatrum moenia praebuisse visa sint urbis maxima popularium atque advenarum crebritate negotiorumque mole aestuantis. Memoria vix excident unquam quae tunc temporis publica ad Nos fama pertulit: peregrinorum dicimus frequentiam: supplicantium multitudinem instructo agmine prodeuntem: sacras aedes locaque urbis celebriora divinis laubibus personantia: Purpuratos Patres, Sacrorum Antistites bene multos, innumeros Sacerdotes, viros denique ac mulieres ad plura centena millia, ex omni fere terra accitos, insigni pompa ac solemni ritu, Dominicum Corpus per vias perque fora, venerabunda multitudine refertissima, transvehunt concelebrantes.

Laetabilia ista quidem ac plena solatii; sed laetabiliora etiam quum hae praeclarae externi cultus significationes fiant *in ostensione spiritus ac virtutis*; ita sane ut a solidis interioris chris-

tianae vitae incrementis et ab aeternae salutis fructibus minime sejungantur. Hanc quippe laudem a catholicis congressionibus deesse minime fas est : addimus primam esse oportere ac potissimam, ut *oris confessio fiat ad salutem*. At vero ne huiusmodi quidem ornamentum in Marianopolitano conventu defuisse accepimus. Innumeri quippe fuerunt qui Angelorum pane refecti ac Christo coagmentati eucharistica frui vita, eo tempore, valuerunt, divinae participes consortesque naturae. Et id etiam tuae tribuendum navitati quod non instanti solum tempori inservieris, sed ea etiam cura complexus fueris quae alendae fidelium pietati forent in posterum profutura. Huc enim, sapienti consilio pertinuerunt quae delecti quique tum e clericis tum e laicis viri consilia habuere frequentia, Episcoporum ductu atque auspicio : media scilicet excogitare ac stabili ratione providere quibus excitata in Eucharisticum Sacramentum studia haudquaquam fugacia labantur, sed mansura consistent. Optima haec sane atque apprime digna quae in catholicis coetibus ab Episcopis praecipua quadam cura excolantur.

Haec omnia quae iam pridem commentaria ad Nos ex longinqua detulerant America, quaeque litteris primum, et postea, coram referens, verbo tenus exornavit qui nomine et auctoritate Nostra conventui praefuit, Venerabilis Frater Noster Vincentius Vannutelli, Praenestorum Episcopus, libet modo ex litteris quas ad Nos dedisti iterum accipere, iterumque laetari. Spem bonam fovemus fore ut ex celebratis sollemnibus Canadensis Ecclesia haud exiguum capiat incrementum. Hoc sane votorum Nostrorum est maximum ; illudque divinae benignitati tuaeque navitati vehementer commendamus. Tibi demum, Venerabilis Frater, tuae Dioecesis Clero populoque, nec non iis omnibus qui Marianopolitano conventui interfuerunt, auspicem divinorum munerum Nostraeque testem benevolentiae apostolicam benedictionem peramanter impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die III mensis Novembris, anno MDCCCXC, Pontificatus Nostri octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

**LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
BISHOP OF NISMES**

AD R. P. D. FELICEM AUGUSTUM BÉGUINOT, EPISCOPUM NEMAUSENSEM, UTICENSEM ET ALESIENSEM, QUINQUAGINTA SACERDOTII ANNOS EXPLENTEM

Venerabilis Frater, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Quam nuperrimis litteris nuntiasti adventantem diem a suscepto

Sacerdotio tuo quinquagies anniversariam, profecto haud patitur pietas in te Nostra tacitam tibi effluere ac pene umbratilem. Non enim domestica fratris gaudia adeo sunt huius unice propria, ut nullatenus sint fratri communia. Si enim amicis omnia communia, quid fratribus? Habeas igitur et Nos tuae socios laetitiae: habeas et Nostra faustitatis vota, propensissima edita voluntate. Gaudii tandem cumulum afferat apostolica benedictio quam, benevolentiae Nostrae testem ac munerum coelestium conciliatricem, tibi, Venerabilis Frater, Clero populoque tecum una laetanti peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die IV mensis Novembris MCMX, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

**LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
ARCHBISHOP OF COLOGNE**

AD ANTONIUM CARD. FISCHER COLONIENSIVM ARCHIEPISCOPUM,
OB EUCHARISTICUM CONVIVIVM A FIDELIBUS COLONIENSIBUS
SOLEMNITER CELEBRATUM

Dilecte Fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Si summae diligentiae, qua tu pastorale munus administras, itemque singularis obsequii, quo catholici homines ex Archidioecesi Coloniensi studiis curisque tuis respondent, alia Nobis argumenta non suppetere, suppetunt autem et plurima et illustria, satis superque utrumque demonstrarent illa egregie facta, quae Nos nuper coram edocuisti. In his illud praesertim iucundum accidit, quod altero die Dominico mensis Octobris frequentes, aequae urbium incolae et vicani, Eucharisticum convivium tui celebrarunt in gratiam Nostri, rem catholicam tantopere iactatam Deo commendantes: quod quidem officium alio, nec minus commemorabili, cumularunt, cum ad sublevandas Ecclesiae angustias copiam stipis inusitata largitate contulerunt. Nec mediocri Nobis solatio fuit, quod addidisti, catholicos istos omnium ordinum de iis contumeliis, quas qui principem magistratum huius almae Urbis obtinet, in Nos Ecclesiamque iecerat, solemnibus ob eam rem indictis conventibus, gravissime conquestos esse. Haec itaque tuorum testimonia praeclarae erga Nos pietatis atque fidei dant Nobis causam gratulandi tibi, qui tam uberes de tuis laboribus fructus capis. Id autem cum facimus, simul tibi mandamus ut omnibus, qui de Nobis istic pie promeriti sunt, gratias diligenter agas, Nostro nomine; praetereaque significes

Nos obsecratione supplici a Deo contendere, ut eorum merita magnis in hac et in sempiterna vita praemiis remuneretur. Quorum auspicem eandemque peculiaris benevolentiae Nostrae testem, apostolicam benedictionem tibi, Dilecte Fili Noster, et Clero populoque tuo amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, die IX mensis Novembris MDCCCX, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

DOUBTS REGARDING EXPOSITION AND BENEDICTION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

WESTMONASTERIEN.

DUBIA CIRCA EXPOSITIONEM ET BENEDICTIONEM SANCTISSIMI SACRAMENTI

Hodiernus Magister Caeremoniarum in Ecclesia Metropolitana Westmonasterien., de consensu sui Rev^mi Domini Archiepiscopi, sequentia dubia Sacrae Rituum Congregationi enodanda humillime proposuit, nimirum :

I. Defectu ministrorum et cantorum licetne Missam Votivam Sanctissimi Sacramenti, in expositione vel repositione pro Oratione XL Horarum, celebrare sine cantu ; et totam functionem sine cantu peragere simili modo quo fit Feria V. in Coena Domini, secundum Memoriale Rituum ?

II. Licetne legere aut omittere Missam Votivam celebrandam secunda die in Oratione XL Horarum ?

III. Estne necessarium Indultum, ut in Oratione XL Horarum expositio ac adoratio suspendatur horis nocturnis ?

IV. Quum difficile sit habere thronum expositionis inamovibile, nisi Crux ponatur in eo ; quaeritur : Utrum liceat super tabernaculum erigere inamovibile thronum, seu parvum ciborium fixum pro expositione Sanctissimi Sacramenti ; an debeat erigi thronus tantummodo propter expositionem et amoveri post expositionem ?

V. Num liceat thronum expositionis construere in muro paucis metris ab altari seiuncto ?

VI. Utrum alio throno, seu baldachino parvo, opus sit ad expositionem Ss^mi Sacramenti, ubi magnum baldachinum, seu ciborium invenitur ?

VII. Licetne laicis tangere Ostensorium sine privilegio Apostolico, quod requiritur ad tangenda vasa sacra ?

VIII. Debetne Ostensorium cooperiri velo albo, quando stat in Altari ante et post expositionem Ss̃mi Sacramenti ?

IX. Cuiusnam coloris debet esse stola presbyteri exponentis, quando Benedictio Ss̃mi Sacramenti immediate sequitur Vesperas solemnes, nec celebrans cum pluvialistis recedit a choro ?

X. Utrum cuilibet celebranti, an soli Episcopo vel Praelato, liceat genuflexo manere super pulvinari in infimo gradu altaris ?

XI. An Ordinarius, in medio Sanctuario Benedictioni Ss̃mi Sacramenti assistens cum cappa, debeat adorare utroque genu, quando ad incensandum accedit ad altare, vel ab eo recedit ?

XII. An Decreta, quae prohibent quominus preces liturgicae cantentur in lingua vernacula, extendantur etiam ad Litanias, vel Pater, vel Salve Regina, quae recitantur vel leguntur coram Ss̃mo Sacramento exposito ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque accurate perpensis, ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I., II. et III. Ad effectum Indulgentiarum et privilegii Altarium necessarium esse Indultum, a Sacra Congregatione S. Officii expetendum, ut derogetur formae Clementinae Instructionis. Alias Episcopus utatur iure suo, sed circa Missas Votivas serventur Rubricae et Decreta, nisi extet vel obtineatur speciale Indultum.

Ad IV. Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundum.

Ad V. Affirmative, dummodo thronus expositionis haud nimis distet ab altari, cum quo debet quid unum efficere.

Ad VI. In casu servari potest consuetudo, quae viget.

Ad VII. Serventur Decreta.

Ad VIII. Affirmative.

Ad IX. Eiusdem coloris ac paramenta celebrantis.

Ad X. Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad XI. Affirmative in casu.

Ad XII. Dentur Decreta n°. 3530, Neapolitana, ad I. et II. et n°. 3157, Mechlinien. 5 Septembris 1867, ad VIII.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 27 Maii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Ep. Charystien., Secretarius*

L. ✠ S.

NEW DECISIONS OF BIBLICAL COMMISSION

COMMISSIO PONTIFICA DE RE BIBLICA

DE AUCTORE, DE TEMPORE COMPOSITIONIS ET DE HISTORICA
VERITATE EVANGELII SECUNDUM MATTHAEUM

Propositis sequentibus dubiis Pontificia Commissio 'de re Biblica' ita respondendum decrevit.

I. Utrum, attento universali et a primis saeculis constanti Ecclesiae consensu, quem luculenter ostendunt diserta Patrum testimonia, codicum Evangeliorum inscriptiones, sacrorum librorum versiones vel antiquissimae et catalogi a Sanctis Patribus, ab ecclesiasticis scriptoribus, a Summis Pontificibus et a Conciliis traditi, at tandem usus liturgicus Ecclesiae orientalis et occidentalis, affirmari certo possit et debeat Matthaeum, Christi Apostolum, revera Evangelii sub eius nomine vulgati esse auctorem?

Resp. : Affirmative.

II. Utrum traditionis suffragio satis fulciri censenda sit sententia quae tenet Matthaeum et ceteros Evangelistas in scribendo praecessisse, et primum Evangelium patrio sermone a Iudaeis palaestinensibus tunc usitato, quibus opus illud erat directum, conscripsisse?

Resp. : Affirmative ad utramque partem.

III. Utrum redactio huius originalis textus differri possit ultra tempus eversionis Hierusalem, ita ut vaticinia quae de eadem eversione ibi leguntur, scripta fuerint post eventum; aut, quod allegari solet Irenaei testimonium (*Advers. haeres.*, lib. III. cap. I. n. 2), incertae et controversae interpretationis, tanti ponderis sit existimandum, ut cogat reiicere eorum sententiam qui congruentius traditioni censeant eandem redactionem etiam ante Pauli in Urbem adventum fuisse confectam?

Resp. : Negative ad utramque partem.

IV. Utrum sustineri vel probabiliter possit illa modernorum quorundam opinio, iuxta quam Matthaeus non proprie et stricte Evangelium composuisset, quale nobis est traditum, sed tantummodo collectionem aliquam dictorum seu sermonum Christi, quibus tamquam fontibus usus esset alius auctor anonymus, quem Evangelii ipsius redactorem faciunt?

Resp. : Negative.

V. Utrum ex eo quod Patres et ecclesiastici scriptores omnes, imo Ecclesia ipsa iam a suis incunabulis, unice usi sunt, tam-

quam canonico, graeco textu Evangelii sub Matthaei nomine cogniti, ni iis quidem exceptis, qui Matthaëum Apostolum patrio scripsisse sermone expresse tradiderunt, certo probari passit ipsum Evangelium graecum identicum esse quoad substantiam cum Evangelio illo, patrio sermone ab eodem Apostolo exarato?

Resp. : Affirmative.

VI. Utrum ex eo quod auctor primi Evangelii scopum prosequitur praecipue dogmaticum et apologeticum, demonstrandi nempe Iudaeis Iesum esse Messiam a prophetis praenuntiatum et a davidica stirpe progenitum, et quod insuper in disponendis factis et dictis quae enarrat et refert, non semper ordinem chronologicum tenet, deduci inde liceat ea non esse ut vera recipienda ; aut etiam affirmari possit narrationes gestorum et sermonum Christi, quae in ipso Evangelio leguntur, alterationem quamdam et adaptationem sub influxu prophetiarum Veteris Testamenti et adultioris Ecclesiae status subiisse, ac proinde historicae veritati haud esse conformes ?

Resp. : Negative ad utramque partem.

VII. Utrum, speciatim solido fundamento destitutae censi iure debeant opiniones eorum, qui in dubium revocant authenticitatem historicam duorum priorum capitum, in quibus genealogia et infantia Christi narrantur, sicut et quarumdam in re dogmatica magni momenti sententiarum, uti sunt illae quae respiciunt primatum Petri (Matth. xvi. 17-19), formam baptizandi cum universali missione praedicandi Apostolis traditam (Matth. xxviii. 19-20), professionem fidei Apostolorum in divinitatem Christi (Matth. xiv. 33), et alia huiusmodi, quae apud Matthaëum peculiari modo enuntiata occurrunt ?

Resp. : Affirmative.

Die autem 19 Iunii 1911 in audientia utrique infrascripto Rmo Consultori ab Actis benigne concessa, Ssmus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X. praedicta responsa rata habuit ac publici iuris fieri mandavit.

Romae die 19 Iunii 1911.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, Pr. S. S.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

Consultores ab Actis.

CHURCH OF ST. DOMINIC MADE MINOR BASILICA

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE

ECCLESIA S. DOMINICI CONFESSORIS, CORDUBAE IN REPUBLICA
ARGENTINA, ERIGITUR IN BASILICAM MINOREM

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Praestantiora Catholici Orbis Sanctuaria, quae antiqua Christiani populi religione celebria, tum molis amplitudine tum liberalium artium ornameto, tum historicis memoriis christianum nomen in terris illustant, de more Romanorum Pontificum Decessorum Nostrorum perhonorificis titulis cohonestare solemus. Iamvero minime Nos latet Cordubae intra Reipublicae Argentinae fines sacram aedem sub titulo S. Dominici Confessoris atque Ordinis Praedicatorum Patris legiferi extare ineunte saeculo XVI. una cum continente eiusdem Ordinis coenobio exstructam, rursus aedificatam atque ingenti molitione auctam vertente saeculo XIX., denique anno reparatae salutis MDCCCXCII omnigenae artis operibus ditissime decoratam. Comperimus similiter eodem illo anno Leonis PP. XIII. re. me. Decessoris Nostri nomine et auctoritate aureo diaedemate redimitam fuisse vetustissimam ac thaumaturgam Virginis Deiparae Imaginem, quae, uti fertur, ad Peruvianas oras et portum Callao olim appulsa et propterea a Miraculo nuncupata, dein Cordubam translata eodem in templo collocata fuit, magnoque ibidem religionis studio colitur, et frequenti fidelium concursu, e cunctis vel dissitis Argentinae Reipublicae regionibus peregre illuc confluentium, summopere celebratur. Constat etiam Nobis eodem in templo super enunciati Ordinis Fratres haud exiguo numero sacris muniis diligentissime fungi; plurima in eo Sanctorum lypsana pretiosis inclusa thecis honorifice asservari; illius sacrarium copiosa et praedivite supellectile confertum esse: tandem ibidem plura haberi canonice instituta pia sodalitia, eamque sacram aedem quamplurimis privilegiis atque indulgentiis per Apostolicas Piscatoris annulo obsignatas litteras ad nostra usque tempora abunde fuisse ditatam. Haec animo reputantes, cum dilectus filius Raphaël Aragon, Prior Tucumanensis et Vicarius Praepositus Regularis Bonaërensi Provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum, una cum Priore memorati Cordubensis Coenobii, Nos supplicibus votis flagitaverit, ut idem templum a Sancto Dominico, quod uti Beatissimae Virginis Mariae a Miraculo Sanctuarium iure meritoque celebratur, inter Minores Basilicas accensere dignaremur, Nos amplissimo etiam Cordubensis Antistitis suffragio permoti precibus huiusmodi

obsecundandum libentissime existimamus. Quae cum ita sint, Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate praesentium vi perpetuumque in modum, templum Cordubense Deo in honorem S. Dominici Confessoris dicatum titulo ac dignitate Minoris Basilicae cohonestamus, omnibus et singulis honorificentis et privilegiis eidem attributis, quae Minoribus Almae Urbis Basilicis de iure competunt. Decernentes, praesentes Nostras Litteras firmas, validas atque efficaces semper existere et fore, suosque plenarios atque integros effectus sortiri atque obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et in posterum spectabit, plenissime suffragari, irritumque esse et inane si secus quidquam super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate, scienter sive ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die III Aprilis MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *a Secretis Status*.

SODALITY OF ST. BARBARA OF PLAIMPIED

LITTERAE APOSTOLICAE

SODALITAS S. BARBARAE V. ET M. IN ECCLESIA PAROCHIALI LOCI VULGO 'PLAIMPIED,' CONSTITUTA INTRA FINES DIOECESIS BITURICENSIS, ERIGITUR IN ARCHICONFRATERNITATEM CUM FACULTATE AGGREGANDI IN TOTA GALLIA

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Venerabilis Frater Archiepiscopus Bituricensis Nobis exponit die IV mensis Februarii anno MCMV in Ecclesia parochiali loci vulgo 'Plaimpied' suae dioecesis piam sodalitatem canonice erectam esse sub titulo S. Barbarae Virginis et Martyris, eo quidem consilio ut sodales, statis religionis exercitationibus fungentes, a Deo, mortis et vitae Domino, gratiam mortis vel repentinae vel non susceptis Ecclesiae sacramentis vitandae obtinere mereantur, beata illa Virgine et Martyre intercedente, cuius preces in hac re plurimum ipsa mater Ecclesia in sua liturgia agnoscit, quum Summi Pontifices, decessores Nostri, Clemens X., Clemens XI., Clemens XII. et Innocentius XII. datis ad hoc Litteris Apostolicis, devotionem huiusmodi pluries fidelibus commendarint. Brevi autem eandem societatem tantum incrementum cepisse testatur ut iam nusquam gentium lateat atque multa millia hominum utriusque sexus et cuiusque ordinis in sinu suo habeat congregata. Quibus enarratis, quum Archiepiscopus Bituricensis enixe a Nobis flagitaverit ut Societatem ipsam Archisodalitatis titulo et privilegiis

de Nostra benignitate augere dignemur. Nos decessorum Nostrorum, quos supra laudavimus, et tot christianorum hominum pietate permoti, quo magis magisque in dies singulare hoc et omni laude dignissimum studium prospiciendi morituris foveatur et crescat, eiusdem Venerabilis Fratris optata explere libentissime statuimus. Quare Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate, hisce Litteris, Sodalitatem sub titulo S. Barbarae, Virginis et Martyris, in Ecclesia Parochiali loci vulgo 'Plaimpied' dioecesis Bituricensis rite institutam, in Archiconfraternitatem perpetuum in modum erigimus, evehimus atque consuetis honoribus privilegiisque ditamus. Archisodalitatis insuper huius sic per Nos erectae Moderatoribus et officialibus praesentibus et futuris, similiter Auctoritate Nostra per praesentes perpetuo concedimus, ut, si, ipsa frondescente, aliae Societates eiusdem nominis et instituti canonice conditae apparuerint futuris temporibus, eas, quae intra tamen fines solius Galliae extent, servatis forma Constitutionis Clementis PP. VIII. fe. re. aliisque Apostolicis ordinationis desuper editis, sibi aggregare, et cum illis omnes et singulas indulgentias, peccatorum remissiones ac poenitentiarum relaxationes eidem Archisodalitati a Sancta Sede concessas, quae sint communicabiles, communicare licite possint ac valeant. Denique decernimus praesentes Nostras Litteras firmas, validas atque efficaces semper existere et fore, suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, illisque ad quos spectat et in posterum spectabit, in omnibus et per omnia plenissime suffragari, sique in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios vel delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, atque irritum esse et inane, si secus super his a quoquam, quavis auctoritate, scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis, etiam speciali et individua mentione et derogatione dignis, ceterisque omnibus in contrarium facientibus quibuscumque.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris die XI Aprilis MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, *a Secretis Status*.

L. ✠ S.

NEW PREFECTURE-APOSTOLIC OF UBANGHI

S. CONGREGATIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

DECRETUM

QUO PRAEFECTURA APOSTOLICA DE UBANGHI BELGICO ERIGITUR

Ut ad regiones, quae modo Congi Belgici constituunt Apostolicum Vicariatum, aditus pluribus pateret missionariis praesertim

apud illas gentes quae inter Ubanghi et Congo flumina in tenebris paganismi miseram ducunt vitam, expediens visum est, territorium quod ab Ubanghi nomen accipit et intra fines praedicti Vicariatus adhuc contentum fuit, ab eodem separare et in Praefecturam Apostolicam erigere. Quapropter, in plenariis comitiis die 3^a vertentis Aprilis habitis, E^mi Patres huius S. Consilii fidei Propagandae, Praefecturam Apostolicam de Ubanghi Belgico erigendam censuerunt sequentibus statutis limitibus, nempe, ad occidentem et septentrionem flumen Ubanghi inde a gradu 1°. 30' latitudinis borealis usque eo quo Bomu et Uele flumina confluunt; ad orientem vero, recta linea quae exinde ducitur ad ostium amnis Itimbiri in flumen Congo, atque producit usque ad lineam parallelam tangentem meridianos limites oppidi Abu Mombazi; tandem, ad meridiem, haec linea primum, deinde illa quae dividit aquas inter Congo et Ubanghi, posthac ea quae similiter aquas dividit inter Ubanghi et Ngiri, ac demum gradus 1°. 30' latitudinis borealis usque ad flumen Ubanghi. Porro novam de Ubanghi Belgico praefecturam curis Minorum Capulorum concedendam esse statuerunt.

Hanc vero E^morum Patrum sententiam ab infrascripto eiusdem S. Congregationis Secretario in audientia diei 4^{ae} vertentis Aprilis SS^{mo} Dⁿⁱ N. Pio div. prov. PP. X. relata, eadem Sanctitas Sua in omnibus ratam habuit confirmavitque ac praesens ea super re Decretum confici mandavit.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 7 Aprilis anno 1911.

Pro E^mo Card. Praefecto

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius*.

Pro R. P. D. Secretario

CAMILLUS LAURENTI, *Subsecretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

**LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO REV.
CHARLES GRANNAN**

EPISTOLA

AD R. D. CAROLUM GRANNAN, QUI MIRABILI STUDIO AD IUVANDUM
AUGENDUMQUE URBANUM AMERICAЕ LATINAE COLLEGIUM
OPERAM NAVAT, UT AMERICAЕ ECCLESIIIS BONI SACERDOTES
INSTITUANTUR

Dilecte Fili, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Scribendi inde Nobis orta occasio unde tibi exquisitissimae caritatis

propositum, ex studio scilicet quo Americam Latinam complectimur, eiusque Ecclesiam vitam quam Christus Dominus humano attulit generi et habere cupimus et abundantius in dies habere. At vero quoties Ecclesiae eiusdem conditiones reputamus, toties triste illud subit Evangelii '*messis quidem multa, operarii autem pauci.*' Obversatur quippe animo vastus terrarum tractus ad excipiendum christianae sapientiae semen nondum satis subactus, ibique ingens multitudo hominum Apostolicos viros expostulantium cum numero frequentiores tum catholicae rei provehendae aptiores. Ad has sollicitudinis causas alia modo accedit, eaque inde petita unde deberet uberrimae iucunditatis fructus provenire: dicimus ex Urbano Americae Latinae Collegio, cuius res familiaris in iis versatur angustiis ut necessitas urgeat minuendi alumnorum frequentiam, quam porro (experto loquimur) huius regionis dioecesium rationes augendam exposcerent. Hinc probe intelliges, Dilecte Fili, quam gratum habuerimus nuncium initi a te consilii domesticis Collegii eiusdem difficultatibus effusam advocandi largitatem catholicorum ex Foederatis Americae civitatibus. Plenum quidem caritatis consilium, quod miserentis Dei beneficio inditum referimus, quum neque ulla affulgeat auxilii spes ex Americae Latinae catholicis, quorum subsidia distrahuntur in domestica instituta et recens conditis vix sufficiunt dioecesibus: neque Nos, licet cupientes et exoptantes, vocem cordis sinat excipere praesens Apostolicae Sedis tenuitas. Navitas egregia tua et prona ad gratificandum Americae Septentrionalis catholicorum indoles satis laetam in Nobis concitant expectationem. Profecto si Americae Latinae Ecclesia maiorem modo exigit vim sacerdotum cum virtute tum doctrina praestantium, eam sperare licet praesertim ex alma hac Urbe, catholicae Ecclesiae centro ac magistra veritatis, et ex sacris hisce palestris et castris in quibus adolescens Clerus, prope sepulcra Apostolorum et Nostris pene sub oculis, comparatur nova quaedam veluti militia, ad bonum fidei certamen et ad parem virtutum omnium laudem. Quare '*rogantes enixe dominum messis, ut mittat operarios in messem suam*' tibi quidem, Dilecte Fili, gratulamur ob susceptam causam ex qua maxime pendent apud finitimos populos christianae rei vigor et incrementa: iis vero quos nactus fueris consiliorum tuorum adiutores, auctores sumus optime locatae beneficentiae, quum eadem cedat in iuvandum augendumque Collegium quod experientia comprobavit, comprobatur absolutissime ecclesiasticae disciplinae domicilium.—Auspex divinorum munerum Nostraeque testis

benevolentiae Apostolica sit Benedictio quam tibi, Dilecte Fili, amantissime in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum die v Aprilis MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

TRANSLATION OF CERTAIN FEASTS

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

DECRETUM

DE REPOSITIONE ET TRANSLATIONE FESTORUM IN ECCLESIIS PARTICULARIBUS

Quo facilius in Ecclesiis particularibus Officiorum repositiones et translationes peragi valeant, Sacra Rituum Congregatio, enixis precibus tum a Revisis locorum Ordinariis tum a Superioribus Ordinum seu Congregationum Religiosarum sibi porrectis obsecundans, audito etiam Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, statuit ac decrevit, ut, ad tramitem resolutionis num. 3919 *Ordinis Minorum Capuccinorum S. Francisci*, diei 27 Iunii 1886, ad XVI, tam Kalendarium perpetuum quam Kalendarium annuale cuiusque Ecclesiae particularis respective redigatur super Kalendario Dioecesis, vel Ordinis aut Congregationis; ac proinde, sicuti Officia, quae in propria Ecclesia vel Oratorio quotannis impedita sunt, fixe assignari debent diei primae liberae in Kalendario perpetuo, ita Officia accidentaliter transferenda in posterum celebranda erunt die, quae prima libera reperitur in Kalendario annuali, nulla habita ratione Officiorum, quae iam translata fuerunt, licet minoris nobilitatis: servatis de cetero Rubricis et Decretis. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscumque

Die 3 Maii 1911.

FR. SEBASTIANUS CARD. MARTINELLI, S.R.C. Praefectus.

PETRUS LA FONTAINE, Ep. Charystien., Secretarius.

L. ✠ S.

NEW FORM OF BULLS

MOTU-PROPRIO

DE NOVIS QUARUNDAM BULLARUM FORMULIS IN CANCELLARIA APOSTOLICA UTENDIS

In Romanae Curiae ordinatione, per Constitutionem *Sapientis Consilio* decreta, Cancellariae Nostrae Apostolicae prospicientes, munus commissimus coetui trium purpuratorum Patrum, id est

Cardinalibus Cancellario, Datario et a Secretis Congregationis Consistorialis, quamprimum reformandi 'formulas *Bullarum* collationis beneficiorum sive consistorialium, sive aliorum; itemque *Bullarum* constitutionis dioecesum et capitulorum; denique *Regularum*, quas *Cancellariae* vocant' (*Ordo servandus*, part II., cap. 9, art. I.).

Memorati PP. Cardinales, quibus id negotii demandatum est, re mature perpensa adhibitisque in consilium aliquot adlectis viris, officii partem expleverunt et novas condiderunt formulas, quibus Cancellaria Apostolica uti debeat in conficiendis *Bullis*, hoc est apostolicis sub plumbo Litteris de beneficiis consistorialibus aliisque actis adnexis, easque formulas Nobis, ut par erat, probandas confirmandasque subiecerunt.

Quum vero easdem *Bullarum* formulas, prout in volumine typis edito continentur, diligenter inspexerimus Nostraeque voluntati plane respondere agnoverimus, Nos ex plenitudine Apostolicae potestatis eas omnino approbamus et confirmamus, atque hoc Nostro Motu-Proprio approbatas et confirmatas edicimus ac declaramus, mandantes, ut, antiquis *Bullarum* formulis hae novae sufficiantur, eademque tantummodo, a die 1 mensis Ianuarii proximi anni MDCCCXI ac deinceps, ab omnibus ad quos spectat religiose recipiantur et inviolate servantur, non obstantibus quibusvis, etiam specialissima mentione aut derogatione dignis.

Datum Romae apud Sanctum Petrum, die Sacra Beatae Mariae Virgini ab origine labis experti, anno MDCCCX, Pontificatus Nostri octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

CHRISTIAN MYSTERIES. Or Discourses for all the Great Feasts of the Year, except those of the Blessed Virgin. By the Right Rev. Jeremias Bonomelli, Bishop of Cremona. Translated by the Right Rev. Thomas Sebastian Byrne, D.D., Bishop of Nashville. Four vols. New York, Cincinnati, and Chicago : Benziger Brothers.

THE name of Mgr. Bonomelli is now well known throughout the whole Church, and is synonymous with originality and freshness in the presentation of all Christian truths. Indeed these four volumes reveal an ardent and enterprising nature. They bring before us a man struggling with great energy to make the sound of the Gospel heard throughout the world, in accents to which the world is likely to respond. In all Mgr. Bonomelli's writings there is something fresh, pulsating with life and vibrating with actuality. These sermons are no exception. They cover a large ground. We do not quite know why His Lordship excepts the feasts of the Blessed Virgin. Possibly they may have been treated in a volume by themselves : but if so it is strange that we are not told so in the preface. We should be sorry to think that the Bishop so far yielded to the prejudices of outsiders as to neglect the Mother of God or exclude her from his panegyrics. Indeed we believe there must be some explanation of the exclusion which does not appear on the face of the volumes.

Apart from this drawback the work seems to us extremely valuable, and the Bishop of Nashville deserves our thanks for having given it to us in admirable English. The work covers the feasts of the whole year, and will be found most helpful by the clergy ; for beside the useful historical information relating to each feast, what we admire most is the flash of thought, the illuminating reflection, the stimulating freshness which make old and often neglected jewels to sparkle anew and shed their light far and deep amongst the multitude.

J. F. H.

CATHOLIC IDEALS IN SOCIAL LIFE. By Father Cuthbert, O.S.F.C. London: Washbourne. 1911.

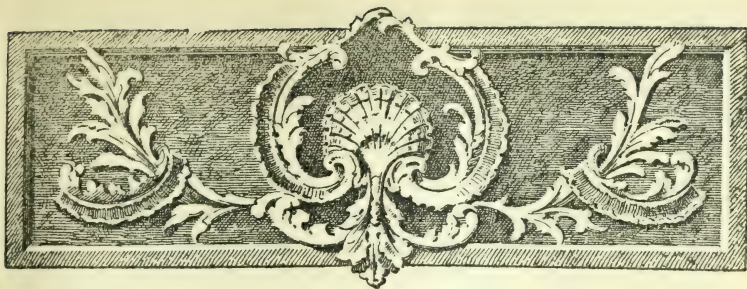
THIS is the second edition of a very useful work. It is commended in high terms in a letter from His Grace the Archbishop of Westminster. It deals in a very interesting way with the duties of different states in life, the responsibility of wealth, of marriage, of a divine vocation, of the Christian state, the value of work, of personal service, of liberty. A very useful chapter deals with the education of woman. The style is clear and impressive, and the work is very suitable for libraries and the home.

J. F. H.

THE CLONGOWNIAN. Vol. VI. No. 1. June, 1911.
THE BELVEDERIAN. 1911.

WE have before us the two great Jesuit Annuals, and find it difficult to allot the palm between them. Last year Mr. Francis Browne, S.J., made a record with the *Belvederian*. If he is responsible for this year's issue he has beaten the record. The *Clongownian* is likewise more varied in all its departments, and more interesting than any of its predecessors, which is saying a good deal. In both periodicals a good deal of attention is paid to the doings and achievements of past pupils, whilst the light is let in freely also on the doings of the young people at present in the schools. The illustrations are numerous, most varied, and artistic. Altogether we can hardly conceive anything more calculated to attach both past and present students of the two Colleges to their respective *Alma Maters*, to stimulate the devotion of the Past and the studies of the Present, than the possession of these two beautiful Annuals. Our sincere congratulations to all responsible. We are writing during our own holiday, and cannot say more. We should like to dilate on the merits of each contributor, but as we have nothing but praise for all of them we know that a word will be as good as a speech.

J. F. H.



BRIGIDA THAUMATURGA

IN the Mazarin Library in Paris is to be found a copy of a work entitled *Brigida Thaumaturga*, printed and published in Paris A.D. 1620. This work is now so rare that a short account of it may not be uninteresting to the clients of St. Brigid, Patroness of Ireland, in the twentieth century. Its author is the Most Rev. David Rothe, Bishop of Ossory. That distinguished man, eminent as a bishop, as a patriot, and a scholar, was born in Kilkenny in 1568. Having received his early education in his native city, he proceeded to the Continent, where he made his studies in philosophy and theology at Douai, and subsequently at Salamanca. Having obtained the degree of Doctor of Theology at the famous University of Salamanca, David Rothe visited Rome, whence he returned to Ireland in 1610, with rank of Apostolic Protonotary, and with a commission from the Holy See to labour for the restoration of fraternal union amongst the clergy of Ireland. The success with which he fulfilled his mission was the prelude of still higher honours. In 1614 Dr. Rothe was appointed Bishop of Ossory, and received episcopal consecration in Paris. Returning to Ireland he applied himself with zeal to his episcopal functions ; and on behalf of Primate Lombard, then resident in Rome, he held diocesan synods in the diocese of Armagh in 1614, and again in 1618.

But the numerous duties of his episcopal office were not enough to satisfy the zeal of Dr. Rothe. His moments of

leisure he devoted to literary work, and in 1617 he published the first part of a valuable work entitled *Analecta Sacra*, in which he placed on record, with the authority of a contemporary witness, the constancy of Irishmen who suffered persecution for the faith in the reigns of Elizabeth and James I. of England. The concluding part of that valuable work was published in 1619. The entire work was reprinted with an introductory notice in 1884, by an eminent successor of the author, Dr. Moran, Bishop of Ossory, subsequently Cardinal-Archbishop of Sydney, whose memory will long survive as a great Irish scholar, and a great Irish churchman.

While Dr. Rothe was thus engaged the persecution of Irish Catholics became more violent. The Lord-Deputy, Sir Oliver St. John, issued an edict ordering the banishment of priests and bishops. With the object of discovering such persons, the houses of the Catholic gentry were frequently searched. Dr. Rothe judged it prudent to withdraw before the storm for a time, and he took up his residence in Paris. Here, on February 1, 1620, he delivered a remarkable address in the Irish College in Paris on St. Brigid, the sainted Patroness of Ireland—an address which was printed the same year with a dedication to John L'Escalopier, Baron de Saint-Just, President of the Parliament of Paris, and benefactor of the Irish College in that city. The work is written throughout in Latin. The title-page is as follows: '*Brigida Thaumaturga*, etc.¹ Brigid the wonder-worker; or a dissertation partly laudatory, in praise of the Saint, partly archæological drawn from sacred and from ecclesiastical history, and partly also hortatory, addressed to the students of the (Irish) Colleges. In it the miracle of the wood growing green again at the touch of the Virgin Brigid

¹ '*Brigida Thaumaturga sive Dissertatio partim encomiastica in laudem ipsius sanctae, partim archaica, ex sacra et antiqua historia ecclesiastica, partim etiam parenetica ad alumnos Collegiorum, in qua elucidatur prodigium ligni aridi reviriscantis ex attractu B. Brigidæ Virginis, et symbolico sensu accommodatur ad antiquam quod intercesserat commercium inter Galliam et Hiberniam in rebus sacris, literariis, et civilibus, habita in Collegio Hibernorum Parisiense, Kalendis Februarii, die festo ejusdem sanctae. Parisiis apud Sebastianum Cramoisi sub ciconiis, via Jacobaeæ. M.D.C.XX.*' (The work contains 180 pages.)

is explained ; and symbolically applied to the ancient intercourse between France and Ireland, in things sacred, literary and civil. Delivered in the Irish College in Paris on February 1, Feast of the Saint. Published by Sebastian Cramois, under the Sign of the Storks. Rue Saint-Jacques, 1620.'

The title-page is followed by a letter of dedication to John L'Escalopier, in which the author refers to the liberality of that generous man towards the Irish exiles, and assures him that as he has been their patron, so St. Brigid will be his ('tu patronus illorum, tibi illa patrona erit'). The letter of dedication is signed 'D.R.E.O.V.H.' the initials of 'David Rothe, Episcopus Ossoriensis, Vice-Primas Hiberniae.' That the work is due to his pen is expressly mentioned by Lynch in his MS. Lives of the Bishops of Ireland.¹

From the dedication we pass on to the work itself. In the first part the learned author speaks in praise of St. Brigid. He begins by narrating the miracle of the wood of the altar growing green at the touch of the Virgin, on the occasion of her religious profession, and he points out instances of similar miracles in the case of St. Francis of Assisi and other saints. He then dwells on the rank which St. Brigid holds amongst the saints of Ireland. As St. Patrick is the head of the hierarchy, and St. Columba of the monks, so St. Brigid is the head of the virgins of Ireland. Her life was a model of Christian virtue, especially of faith and charity. Her sanctity was manifested by numerous miracles performed in favour of the blind, the lame, lepers, and persons possessed by the devil. Her sanctity, like a fruitful vine, spread its branches through the whole of Ireland.

In the second part of the work the author draws a parallel between the virtues of St. Brigid, overflowing, as it were, upon all who came within the sphere of her influence, and the sanctity of the Church in Ireland increasing, and then overflowing upon foreign nations, and especially upon France

¹ *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, MS., pp. 501-2, of which the original is in the Mazarin Library, Paris.

in the threefold relation of religion, learning, and civil intercourse.

Starting with the bonds which connected St. Patrick by blood with St. Martin of Tours, and by education with St. Germain of Auxerre, he dwells on the religious intercourse between France and Ireland; and he enumerates the most remarkable of the Irish saints who lived and laboured in France, especially from the sixth to the twelfth century. In the reign of Clotaire, Columban exercised a widespread influence and founded a monastery at Luxeuil, and his footprints may be traced along the banks of the Seine, the Marne, the Loire, and the Rhone. The work for religion in France, commenced by Columban, was continued under Dagobert by the sainted brothers St. Fursey, St. Livinus, and St. Ultan, whose memory still flourished in the monastery of Perrone. An Irish saint, St. Wirro, was the confessor and adviser of Pepin d'Heristal. Vincent, a layman, whom the author claims as an Irishman, was related by marriage to Dagobert. Two Irish priests, Sadochim (or Cardocum) and Adrian, evangelized Picardy. St. Malo, if not an Irishman, was the pupil of an Irishman, Albinus. As time rolled on communication between Ireland and France continued. St. Fiacre shed the lustre of his virtues upon the country around Meaux, where his shrine was long a centre of pilgrimage, and where he was honoured in particular as the patron of gardeners.¹

Nor were holy women wanting in the list of Irish saints in France. St. Syra, sister of St. Fiacre, and St. Ommama, both Irishwomen, shed the odour of their virtues around them in French cloisters. Nor did Frenchmen neglect to honour Irish saints. St. Patrick at Rouen, St. Malachy at Clairvaux, and St. Laurence at Eu, were the objects of special veneration and shrines were dedicated in their honour.

Passing from religion to literature, the author points out what France owes to Ireland. Under Charlemagne two

¹ A syndicate of gardeners has, at the present moment, St. Fiacre as its patron, and its head-quarters in the rue de Montaigne St. Genevieve, Paris.

Irishmen, Clement and Albinus, established on the banks of the Seine a school which became the cradle of the great University of Paris. Under Charles the Bald, another Irishman, Scotus Erigena, brought to France a knowledge of Greek literature and philosophy, which marked him out as the foremost Greek scholar of the period.

He then laments that while Ireland was once a fountain pouring forth streams of learning upon Europe, her schools are now closed through persecution, and her sons compelled to seek education in foreign lands.

Passing to the intercourse of civil life, the author points out that even in the days of Tacitus there was frequent communication between Ireland and the Continent, and the harbours of Ireland were widely known to traders. In course of time trade was followed by alliances. Vincent, an Irishman, otherwise called Waldegaire, married Walde-trude, a relative of King Dagobert. From their union sprang four saints: St. Landry, subsequently Bishop of Meaux; St. Dentlinus, who died in his seventh year; St. Aldetrude; and St. Madelberta. St. Landry invited Irishmen to come to France to aid him in the harvest of souls. The journeys and the influence of Columban and Gall and Virgil were not without their influence upon the communication between France and Ireland.

The author also sees another though a less direct proof of the intercourse between the two countries in the numerous family names of French origin which are to be met with in Ireland. The names de la Roche, de la Cource, Nogent, Barneville, Netterville, de Lacy, de la Blancheville, de la Goose, de St. Leger, S. Salem, Burnell, Boucher, Verdun, Moucler, Rochfort, de Burgo, Petit, Belleau, are all, at least remotely, of French origin.

In the third part of the work the author addresses himself to the Irish ecclesiastical students on the Continent, and exhorts them to imitate the virtues of St. Brigid and of the other saints of Ireland. Ireland lies prostrate under persecution; but as the wood of the altar became green at the touch of St. Brigid, the prosperity of Ireland may bloom again. That happy restoration, however, must be

the work of the young Levites of Ireland. The author hopes that the day will come when the students of the period, all lovers of their brethren, will be engaged in missionary work in Ireland. It will then be said : ' This one and that one and that other are pupils of the College in Paris ; those others of Douai, and Antwerp, and Tournai ; those others of Salamanca, and Compostella, and Lisbon, not omitting those of Bordeaux, Toulouse, and Rouen. They are all lovers of the brethren, all angels of peace, all ambassadors for Christ.' A great door is open to them. As the spirit of life entered into the dry bones at the words of the prophet, so by their preaching, religion will be made to flourish again in Ireland. They are not few in number, but they are few when compared with the multitude of their adversaries. If they are to succeed in their work they must be united in charity, and lead a life worthy of their vocation.

The dissertation in praise of *Brigida Thaumaturga* is followed by a Latin poem in alternate hexameter and pentameter verses, in which the author relates how on a voyage from France to Ireland he was saved from shipwreck through prayer to St. Brigid. Beneath the poem of Dr. Rothe are printed two verses by J. Ley, in whom we recognize the founder and first rector of the Irish College in Paris, praying St. Brigid, as she had saved Dr. Rothe from shipwreck, to protect him from other dangers also. This interesting ode in honour of St. Brigid runs thus :—

CARMEN THALASSICUM INVOCATORIUM B. BRIGIDAE VIRGINIS ET
PATRONAE HIBERNIAE.¹

Brigida, Hibernipetas quae ducis in aequore classes,
Te sibi ductricem nostra carina petit.
Eurus Hyperboreis alternans flatibus auram
Instat in occiduum carbasa tensa latus.

¹ A sailor's song invoking St. Brigid, Patroness of Ireland :—

' Brigid, who guidest upon the deep the fleets that sail for Ireland, our bark prays thee to be her guide.

' The south-eastern alternating with the northern blasts stretches our expanded sails towards the western side. But ere the shores of Aquitaine, disappearing below the main, were lost to view ; our vessel lashed by the waves gapes wide, and a leak admits the entering waters. The water-filled hold fatigues the arms of the sailors relieving each other by turns.

Ante, sed ex oculis quam gleba Acquitana nostris
 Egressa est pelago subjicienda suo,
 Inguine succusso latebrosa carina fatiscit,
 Atque subintrantes rima capessit aquas.
 Brachia remigibus sentina repanda fatigat
 Inque suas veniunt acta redacta vices.
 Clepsydra deciduas quoties discrevit arenas
 Fundat inexhaustum fistula puppis onus.
 Nec tutum est regredi ad littus, nec pergere tutum,
 Unica res miseris tuta, vovere Deo.
 Vivimus, alme pater, ne despice vota precantium,
 Sed, duce te, optatum dirige navis iter.
 Brigida, Hibernigenûm supplex pro gente precatur,
 Virginis haec pietas quod petit accipiet.

In periculo naufragii constitutus pangebatur eidem virgini patronae suae, indignus ipsius cliens,

D. R.

Brigida, quem rapidis mire tutavit ab undis
 Hunc, ut ab hoste, precor, protegat ipsa tetro.

J. LEY.

The work *Brigida Thaumaturga* is followed by an appendix entitled 'De Scriptorum Scotorum nomenclatura a Thoma Dempstero edita praecedaneum.' The appendix is a reply to a work of the Scotch writer, Thomas Dempster, who claimed for Scotland most of the Irish saints and writers. Dr. Rothe states that he wrote his reply chiefly to vindicate for Ireland the honour of being the country of St. Brigid, whom Dempster attempted 'to take away from the plains of Lagenia, and carrying her over Pictish hills and rocks, to set her down in the woods of Caledonia.' Then taking up Dempster's list in alphabetical order for

As often as the sand glass counts the hours, the ship's pump pours out the exhaustless burden. To go back was unsafe, unsafe to advance. The sole safety for the wretched was to offer prayers to God. We pray, merciful Father, despise not the prayers of Thy suppliants, but under Thy guidance direct the ship's course to the desired port. Brigid suppliantly prays for those of Irish birth. The pious prayer of the Virgin shall obtain what she asks.

'In danger of shipwreck these verses were composed in honour of the same Virgin, his Patroness, by her unworthy client, D. R.'

'Whom Brigid wondrously saved from the stormy waves. Him may she protect from dire enemies, I pray.

'J. LEY.'

the letters A, B, and C, he proves from authoritative sources that the names claimed by Dempster are, with few exceptions, either Irish or Welsh. Dr. Rothe's labours in defence of the right of Ireland to her native saints, did not end with this brief appendix to the *Brigida Thaumaturga*. The following years, 1621, he published a still more complete reply to Dempster in a work published under the title *Hibernia Resurgens*, under the pseudonym of 'Donatus Rourk.'

But the devotion of Dr. Rothe to the sainted Patroness of Ireland manifested itself in a still more practical form. In 1620, the same year in which he published his *Brigida Thaumaturga*, he instituted a Confraternity in Ireland in honour of St. Brigid. The object of that sodality was to pray through the intercession of St. Brigid for peace and union in Ireland. For that purpose the members met on the first Sunday of each month. The Holy See approved of the Sodality, and it quickly spread over the whole of Ireland to the great spiritual profit of the faithful.¹

We are not here concerned with the other events of the life of the great Bishop of Ossory, with his share in the deliberations of the Confederation of Kilkenny, and his death, in 1650, at the age of eighty-two. He was a man of great attainments and of great zeal to promote the honour of the saints of Ireland. He collaborated with Dr. Messingham in editing the *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, and that author makes express mention that the whole dissertation on the conversion of Ireland, together with remarks on some chapters of Jocelyn, as well as several paragraphs of the account of St. Patrick's Purgatory in the *Florilegium* are from the pen of Dr. Rothe.²

He also laboured long in preparing an elaborate work on the saints of Ireland under the title *Hierographia Hiberniae*, which unhappily perished during the siege of Kilkenny by

¹ See Lynch MS., *De Praesulibus Hiberniae*, pp. 501-2; and Messingham's *Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, p. 87.

² 'Revmi. Dom. D. David Rothe, Ossoriensis Episcopi et totius Hiberniae Vice-Primatis, Praeloquim de conversione Hibernorum cum ejusdem doctissimis et accuratissimis elucidationibus in aliquot Jocelini capitula.'—*Florilegium Insulae Sanctorum*, pp. 101-140.

Cromwell. He also wrote a shorter treatise on Irish places of pilgrimage, *Opusculum de Peregrinationibus Hiberniae*.

His treatise *Brigida Thaumaturga*, for many reasons, merits to be remembered. It is a monument to the Irish College in Paris, and the first printed book which issued from it. It is a monument to the widespread devotion of the Irish at home and abroad towards St. Brigid in the seventeenth century. It is a monument to the author, whom Messingham, in his preface to the account of St. Patrick's Purgatory, describes as

a man of wide information, an eloquent speaker, a subtle philosopher, a profound theologian, and a celebrated historian, a zealous reprovcr of vice, a champion of the liberty of the Church, the defender of the rights of the nation ; devoted to the relief of the sufferings of Ireland, and a diligent promoter of union and peace amongst ecclesiastics.¹

The *Brigida Thaumaturga* is also a monument to the ecclesiastical culture of the period. It shows a familiarity with the Scriptures, with the classics, with history and hagiology ; and a mastery of the Latin language in prose and verse. The Irish ecclesiastics of the period wrote Latin with correctness, ease, and grace. The *Carmen Thalassicum* is but one instance. In the Introductory pages of Messingham's *Florilegium* there are Latin odes in commendation of the work from the pens of Eugene Sweeny, Peter Cadill, Hugh Reilly, Edmund O'Dwyer, Thomas Messingham, J. Colgan, William Coghlin, Patrick Cahill, Roger Moloy, Laurence Sedgrave, James Delan, and Thomas Guyer, all Irish priests.

Nearly three centuries have passed since St. Brigid's Feast, 1620. Since that date religious, literary, and civil intercourse between France and Ireland attained an expansion which Dr. Rothe could hardly have foreseen. Irish

¹ 'Viro in omni scientiarum genere versatissimo, Rhetori facundo, Philosopho subtili, Theologo profundo, Historico celebri, acerrimo vitiorum reprehensori, Ecclesiae libertatis defensori, patriorum privilegiorum propugnatori, Hibernicarum calamitatum zelatori devotissimo, pacis denique et unitatis inter ecclesiasticos propagatori diligentissimo.'—*Florilegium*, p. 87.

students received their ecclesiastical formation in France. Irish students frequented the halls, and Irish professors occupied chairs in the University of Paris. Irish soldiers stood side by side with Frenchmen on many a hard fought field. Irish vessels traded with France on a scale undreamt of in the days of the author of the *Brigida Thaumaturga*. The resurrection of Ireland, which Dr. Rothe looked forward to, has taken place ; but even now the students of the colleges in Paris, Salamanca, and Rome are working side by side with the home-trained clergy, 'all lovers of the brethren, all angels of peace.'

Let us hope that, like those who have gone before them, they will always be full of devotion to 'Brigida Thaumaturga, the Patroness of Ireland.'

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

THE TRADITIONS OF THE CARMELITES FROM THE CRITICAL POINT OF VIEW

ANTICIPATING that I should have early occasion to revert to the subject, I held over some interesting evidence from my paper on the Scapular Promise until required to trespass again on the Editor's hospitality. In the meantime certain erroneous assertions, prejudicial to the monastic traditions of the Carmelites, have been published in various periodicals at home and abroad ; and I am now instructed to refute these—but very briefly—before dealing with the question of the authenticity of the important document discovered by Father John Chéron at Bordeaux in the year 1642. As for recent criticism of the medieval sources of information concerning Our Lady's Vision to St. Simon Stock, I propose to submit a special study of the origin of the Scapular Confraternity with least possible delay ; but, in my next paper, when treating in detail of the Chéron incident, I shall take care to draw attention to any points suggestive of further consideration of what I actually did write in the March issue of the I. E. RECORD.¹

Moreover, if it is not taking too great a liberty with the reader's patience, I have been asked to state that 'intellectual honesty in historical matters' is, now as always, encouraged by the Superiors-General of the Order ; that the formal protest made by myself, on their behalf, contained nothing hurtful to fraternal charity ; and that it would be quite impossible for anyone but the Superiors themselves to pronounce on a matter which strangers have been pleased to obtrude in their discussions recently. I dare say readers generally have concluded the introduction of such topics to argue that the exigencies of the cause championed by modern opponents of the Carmelites call for a revival of

¹ Page 266 sqq.

those uncritical methods adopted by the disputants in an embittered controversy of the seventeenth century: an unpleasantness which one can only deprecate, while ignoring, as irrelevancies, animadversions that border on sheer puerility. Having written nothing which I may either retract or modify, it is gratifying to think that those in a position to judge could not complain of how I expressed myself when entering the protest already made: that the members 'of one of the greatest religious Orders of the Church' are not free to suffer their traditions and privileges to be assailed or contemned with impunity.¹

It has been often asked, of what evidential value, from the historical standpoint, is that statue erected in St. Peter's to the Prophet Elias as Founder of the Carmelites? Well, we merely regard it as a memorial of our own belief in the reality of those selfsame traditions which foster the spirit inculcated by our monastic Rule. Hence the reassurance derived from so earnest an exhortation of Pope Pius the Tenth, encouraging us to safeguard this 'sacred treasury' against the avowed contempt of the world in these latter days: the clear echo of similarly fortifying words of not a few of our present Holy Father's predecessors addressed to us in former restless times.² As far back as the year 1604, Pope Clement the Eighth wrote: 'Habuerunt olim Religionis hujus professores, sicut a Romanis Pontificibus praedecessoribus nostris proditum est, sui Instituti auctores sanctos Prophetas Eliam et Eliseum, omnibus nationibus, et gentibus notos.' Mentioning by name a number of those Popes who had thus exhorted the Carmelites to uphold their ancient traditions, Father Ildefonsus de Flores, of the Society of Jesus, appears unable to realize how such testimony could have been overlooked by some of his own contemporaries, since 'vel unum scripsisse Pontificem sufficisset, nedum tot, tamque doctissimos, ut nemo prorsus de veritate ambigeret.' But if the critics of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 29 sqq. See the *Month*, vol. lviii. p. 305.

² '... il sacro tesoro delle tradizioni. . . .' See the *Analecta Ecclesiastica*, vol. xvi. p. 436.

seventeenth century would favour the authority of learned witnesses, then de Flores appealed to that 'densissimam gravissimorum testium nubem . . . tot viri summates omni eruditione cultissimi,' whose judgment the opinion of one famous scholar ('praeter unum Baronium') tended to stultify.¹

However, in the present instance, waiving every other consideration, and freely granting that our opponents may be influenced by best motives of disinterested zeal, I want the reader to subject certain injurious assertions concerning the Carmelites to a very simple test: which, divested of all technicalities, merely implies the tracing of each such statement to its original source; in order that we may see at a glance whether it proceeds from gratuitous assumption, or is based on demonstrable fact. It is really the precaution taken by the renowned Jesuit Salian—'the Annalist of the Old Testament'—lest anyone should accuse him of bias or prejudice when testifying to the truth: 'ne quis nostrum hoc benevolentiae potius erga religiosissimum Carmelitarum Ordinem, quam veritatis testimonium putet.'² Consequently, it was my duty to maintain that, so far as information about the origin of the Carmelites is concerned, a certain work of reference must be regarded as utterly unreliable when in the same paragraph I found these two assumptions relating to, admittedly, a matter of prime importance:—

A letter, 'On the Progress of his Order,' ascribed to St. Cyril of Constantinople, but written by a Latin (probably French) author about the year 1230, and the book *On the Institution of the First Monks*, connect the Order with the prophets of the Old Law. This latter work, mentioned for the first time in 1342, was published in 1370, and became known in England half a century later.³

But upon whose authority have these assertions been

¹ De Flores, 'In cap. xxiv. Eccli.,' nn. 67, 68 (P. iii. sect. 36). See *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Comp. de Jésus*, Aug. et Al. de Backer (Liège, 1853; 1st Series, p. 311).

² *Annales Eccl. V. Testamenti*, Anno Mundi 3123, num. 7 (930 B.C.). See *Bibliothèque*, 1st series, p. 306.

³ *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 354.

made? And if the book, *On the Institution of the First Monks*, was mentioned for the first time in 1342, how are we to account for its being described with such accuracy in that selfsame 'letter' here assigned to the year 1230?¹ Furthermore, since from this it appears that the treatise must have existed *before* the year 1230—and while St. Cyril of Constantinople was still living!—upon what critical grounds are we to determine an approximate earlier date: which would, nevertheless, preclude the possibility of our tracing it ultimately to the period of John of Jerusalem? This was a difficulty which neither Baronius nor Bellarmine was prepared to solve; so the reader need not be surprised, later on, to find the former relying with absolute confidence on the testimony furnished by the narrative of St. Cyril of Constantinople, while the latter appears to have availed himself of the authority of the Patriarch John when, by instruction of Pope Paul the Fifth, he had occasion to allude to the monastic traditions of the Carmelites.² Truly great men like these would, however, be the very first to admit the limitation of their knowledge of a question which they could not well have studied with a thoroughness to justify our accepting their mere expression of opinion as equivalent to actual conviction: such as that which closer investigation of the evidence brought to the minds of their celebrated contemporaries, Suarez and Cornelius à Lapide.³

Still, modern critics would insist upon the Carmelites proving the authenticity of the ancient document, erroneously assumed to be the basis of our traditions; whereas it is but the chief 'monument' to which de Flores refers, confirming the same from the strictly historical point of view⁴—defining them as essentially exclusive of anything in the nature of popular pious legends similar to those

¹ S. Cyrilli Constant. *Liber de Processu, et variis Regulis Carmel. Religionis*, cap. i. The Saint's death is assigned to the year 1235 (*Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, Lirinae, 1907); so that, according to the *Catholic Encyclopædia* (vol. iv. p. 595), the alleged forgery took place during his life.

² The *Month*, vol. lviii. p. 321.

³ Both will be quoted presently.

⁴ De Flores, *loc. cit.*, *supra*.

invariably found associated with every other religious Order in the Church. I could not explain my meaning more clearly than I have already done in my former paper ; so I trust it will not savour of egotism if I refer to the January issue of the I. E. RECORD for a dispassionate study of the motives which alone compel the Carmelites to vindicate their claims as something entirely too sacred for the 'fruitless wrangling' to which sweeping gratuitous assertion is inevitably bound to lead.¹ Yet it may prove instructive if I demonstrate how the following irrelevancy affords a striking confirmation of what I then stated as to the Carmelites not being always responsible for the 'stories put forward' in relation to their Order. In this connexion there is just one little point which I would rather pass over ; although I do not think that I am attaching undue importance to the suppression (unintentional, I am sure) of the qualifying phrase which occasioned our protest :—

Now, the article (in the *Encyclopædia Britannica*) does not pretend to define the nature of the Carmelite tradition. It only says that these stories were seriously put forward and believed in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and that this is substantially true, it seems, . . . in the face of the works of such approved writers as Father Daniel a Virgine Maria, and Father Anthony a Spiritu Sancto, and many others to be impossible to question.

In a footnote it is added : 'It must be clear to any fair-minded person that by the phrase "put forward" the writer does not mean to suggest that all the stories were then necessarily invented for the first time, but only that the Carmelite writers of that age gave them currency and argued in favour of their truth.'² When commenting upon the injurious assertion—which, the Carmelites are convinced, was never intended to cause pain or annoyance—I did not take exception to 'stories seriously put forward,' but to

¹ The *Month*, vol. lviii. p. 305.

As I have found the *Principes de la critique historique* very useful, I refer the reader to the *Catholic Encyclopædia* (vol. iv. p. 503) for a popular article on the subject by the late Father De Smedt, S.J.

² I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, p. 502 sqq., note 1, p. 503.

'stories concerning the origin of this Order'—a phrase essentially suggestive of our fundamental monastic tradition.¹ To continue :—

It is true, no doubt, that Father Daniel a Virgine Maria and the other leading representatives of the Carmelites did not quite put the matter in this crude way. They did not actually say that Our Lady and the Apostles joined the Carmelite Order, but yet they went very near it. They said that Our Lady and some of the Apostles lived as religious, practising poverty, chastity, and obedience ; that Our Lady presided over a community of virgins wearing a brown habit with a white cloak, that she frequently visited the monks of Carmel, and that the rule which she and her virgins followed was the rule of the Essenes, this being also the rule of the monks of Mount Carmel founded by Elias, who at a later date elected to be known as Carmelites.²

For the exact justification of each of these statements, the reader is referred to the *Vinea Carmeli* of Father Daniel a Virgine Maria ; and it would repay him to consult this work, if only to ascertain upon whose authority the very colour of Our Lady's habit is discussed.³ However, we are now testing the accuracy of such assertions from the critical point of view, so the reader would be equally well advised to study the *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Compagnie de Jésus*, after tracing what has been said to its original source. For there he will find mention of a learned and pious member of the Society who died at Antwerp in the year 1670 ; that Father Henry Engelgrave, upon whose authority Father Daniel a Virgine Maria relies for the in-

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 29 *et passim* : especially p. 41.

² *Ibid.*, p. 42, where I speak of the origin of certain legends based on the pious surmise of the famous Richard FitzRalph.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 503. Needless to remind the reader that the above passage is absolutely irrelevant to the point at issue ; for it is here a question of the Carmelite traditions as understood by Suarez, for example, owing to his familiarity with the book *On the Institution of the First Monks*.

⁴ *Vinea Carmeli*, p. 712. Father Daniel quotes from Baronius, who appears to follow Nicephorus—accused of having preserved many of the earlier medieval legends in his Ecclesiastical History. (See Darling's *Cyclopædia Bibliographica*, London, 1854, vol. ii. p. 2191. As this Editor claims that he only gives 'the best and most useful books in various branches of literature,' it is interesting to note that he includes the treatise by John of Jerusalem, *De Institutione Primorum Monachorum*. *Ibid.*, p. 1664.)

formation conveyed about the community of virgins over which Our Lady presided ; and, in turn, Father Engelgrave quotes from the famed 'Dionysius Carthusianus' and others, adding a logical surmise of his own :—

Quo manifeste patet Monachorum Principem, divinum Eliam extitisse, et virginitatis florem in mundum induxisse. . . . In hoc argenteo curru pudicitiae et castimoniae supereminet Virgo Maria virginum Carmelitarum Mater . . . Mirum illud, et forte multis inauditum, quod gravissimus auctor Dionysius Carthusianus, Bergomensis alique asserunt ipsam Virginem Mariam monasterium centum et quinquaginta monialium instituisse, ejusque curam habuisse ; cum vero nullum tunc institutum monasticum viguerit, praeter illud quod Elias profitebatur, non vana conjectura est, etiam ipsam Virginem huic sese dedidisse, ac praefuisse.¹

Nor was Father Engelgrave the only representative Jesuit of the seventeenth century 'who seriously put forward and believed' in pious stories of this kind, 'and argued in favour of their truth' quite independently of the testimony of contemporary Carmelite writers to whose Order they ascribed such fame. Father Paul Zehentner,² Father Stephen Binet,³ and Father Peter Courcier had already given 'currency' to the same story long before either Daniel a Virgine or Anthony of the Holy Ghost ; but in doing so they carefully distinguished between the 'stories put forward' and that 'vital tradition of the Order,' necessarily including hereditary succession from the Prophet Elias in a three-fold fundamental claim.⁴ In fact, neither could they conceive how anyone would venture to trifle with what Father Engelgrave assures us was confirmed 'e Petri Cathedra oraculo infallibili.' He did not think it necessary to explain in what sense these

¹ *Coelum Empyreum* . . . part ii. (ad 20 Julii). See *Bibliothèque des Ecrivains de la Comp. de Jésus*, par Augustin et Alois de Backer, première série (Liège, 1853), p. 283 sq.

² *Promontorius Malae Spei*, lib. iii. 13 ; *Bibliothèque*, 3rd series, p. 774.

³ *Vitae Fundatorum praecipuorum Ordinum Religiosorum*, in which Father Binet gives first place to the Prophet Elias as Founder of the Carmelites. See the *Bibliothèque*, 1st series, p. 95. sq.

⁴ Father Courcier's *Negotium Saeculorum Maria* (A.M. 3079) was published in 1662 ; *Bibliothèque*, 1st series, p. 227. See I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 35. Cf. *Coelum Empyreum*, l.c.

forcible words were to be understood ; but, of course, no one could be so rash as to attach to them anything more significant than the meaning already conveyed by the testimony of the famous Jesuit commentator on Holy Scripture, Cornelius à Lapide :—

Indeque orta est antiqua et sancta Carmelitarum Religio, et familia. Unde septem Summi Pontifices, Sixtus IV., Joannes XXII., Julius II., Pius V., Gregorius XIII., Sixtus V., et Clemens VIII. in Bullis huic Ordini concessis, de professoribus hujus sacri Instituti ita loquuntur : ‘ Tanquam Religionis speculum, et exemplar charitate fulgentes, sanctorumque Prophetarum Eliae et Elisei, et aliorum Patrum qui montem S. Carmeli juxta Eliae fontem habitarunt successionem haereditariam tenentes.’¹

But to keep to the point that justified so interesting a digression : why, in the first instance, did I not ‘ seriously set to work to prove the authenticity of this primary document ’—the work *On the Institution of the First Monks*—rejected ‘ not only by Baronius, but Cardinal Bellarmine, Dom Ceillier, Labbe, Fabricius, Natalis Alexander, Fessler, Papenbroeck, Alzog, Bardenhewer (and) even Theophilus Raynaud ? ’² The reason is obvious, surely ; and, if it is a question of authority, I had too high an esteem for the opinion of such experts in ‘ patristic matters ’ as Suarez, à Lapide, Gaspar Sanchez, Tirinus, Salian, Gregory de Valentia, Sirmond, Quirin de Salazar, Alcazar, and of the controversialist Father James Gualthier—without attempting to verify that statement of de Flores concerning those countless learned men, convinced of the genuineness of the treatise *On the Institution of the First Monks*, as dating from the year 412.³ They had not failed to grasp the true significance of the Carmelite tradition, and realized the importance of the testimony of John of Jerusalem from the historical standpoint : yet not one of them suggested that

¹ Cornelius à Lapide ‘ in caput vii. Canticorum ’ ; and for quotation, ‘ v. 42, cap. 18, lib. iii. Regum.’

² I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, pp. 502, 499.

³ I mention these names because I shall have occasion to quote from the writings of the learned men in question, each of whom had specialized in the very subjects to qualify him to pronounce on the merits of the cause at issue.

it was for the Order to demonstrate the authenticity of the book, on the gratuitous assumption of opponents asserting the possibility of this ancient document being false. I can see no difference between such a contention and 'that curious result of modern sceptical tendencies' branding every piece of positive evidence in favour of the claims of the Carmelites 'a forgery until it is shown from independent sources to be unquestionably genuine.' We are warned against so intolerable a pretension, seeing that it is based on abuse of the negative argument 'all the more mischievous because in many cases'—of this kind, especially—'it can only be refuted by an hypothesis, and such a refutation sounds like a confession of weakness.'¹ Facts cannot deceive; and it is with the fact of the existence of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* our critics themselves have to deal, advancing what they consider proof of its spuriousness so as to afford us an opportunity of subjecting their objections to the test of that 'scientific examination' to which they would have us appeal. Hitherto they have submitted nothing that survives what should prove rather an invigorating process: otherwise they would never have recourse to something very closely resembling subterfuge in the vain effort to convict the Carmelites, and, incidentally, all those well-known members of the Society of Jesus, of irrational credulity.²

Let us, for a moment, thus test some of those extraordinary assertions to which I have referred, and which, in other circumstances, the Carmelites might safely ignore. To the general reader it may seem of the least consequence that we are now in a position to consult a number of MS. copies of the treatise by John of Jerusalem which date from as early as the year 1370. But I have shown elsewhere that the medieval editor of the book deemed it necessary to take special precaution to guard against the possibility of certain quotations, introduced by way of illustration, being mis-

¹ See the *Month*, vol. lxi. p. 339, and vol. lviii. p. 305.

² For the reputation of all who have formally upheld the monastic traditions of the Carmelites is, likewise, at stake.

taken for the original text.¹ Nevertheless, we have seen how de la Bigne became responsible for so grave a blunder ; and we know that Ribboti himself was accused, in the seventeenth century, of having actually forged the treatise in the beginning ; nor is it at all unlikely that Carmelites would be again recklessly charged with manipulating this document, if we may judge from the freedom with which their opponents are wont to allege similar crimes. Therefore it is of the very utmost importance, from the critical point of view, that we should have these ancient codices to appeal to were the emergency to arise ; and this not only in the case of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* by the Patriarch John. For, notwithstanding the admirable version of Grossi's *Viridarium* published by Father Daniel a Virgine Maria, until quite recently it was not in our power to convince hostile critics that this document brings us appreciably near to the actual date of the Scapular Promise instead of having been written about two centuries after the death of St. Simon Stock, as some writers would try to persuade their readers.² Although such unworthy disparagement of those medieval MSS. cannot affect their evidential value ; it is just as well that we should remember how urgently they are needed at the present moment, when in various works of reference we find a preposterous assumption of the author's knowledge of writers of the twelfth century advanced as an argument against the authenticity of the book which we owe to John of Jerusalem.³

Needless to add that the names of those writers are not suggested, nor the incriminating passages specified ; unless we are to interpret in this light a difficulty based on the fact of an 'entire chapter in this short treatise [being] consecrated to a prophetic vision of Elias in which he foresaw the birth of Mary, and was supernaturally enlightened as

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 45.

² Ibid., March issue, pp. 275, 283 ; and compare those two notes with what appears in the June issue at p. 610.

³ *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 354. Cf. I. E. RECORD, July, 1904, p. 68.

to the Immaculate Conception.' An extract is given from the chapter quoted, followed by the comment: 'If this passage were genuinely the work of a writer in the fifth century it would be invaluable to professors of dogma as a proof of the antiquity of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception. Has any of them dreamed of appealing to it?' This is questioned, but there must be some mistake; for the names of quite a number of renowned professors of dogma occur to my mind in the same connexion, and I feel called upon to mention a few.¹ Indeed, I should have thought that the authority of the Sacred Congregation of Rites would have prevented any misgiving in this matter, especially as the Office for the Solemn Commemoration of Our Blessed Lady of Mount Carmel was entrusted, we are assured, to Cardinal Bellarmine, who must have been well aware of the traditionary chief devotion of the Carmelites and of their zeal in upholding their Immaculate Patroness's transcendent privilege 'quasi rem propriam versantes'; relying on the book of John of Jerusalem 'velut pretiosa gaza pro universa Ecclesia, continens pulcherrimum argumentum, et testimonium pro Immaculata Conceptione Sacrae Virginis Deiparae.'² This is to judge the matter as it appealed to scholars even in the time of Richard Fitz-Ralph, who preached on the Dogma before the Cardinals at Avignon in the year 1342, alluding to the treatise *On the Institution of the First Monks*:—

An non merito dicimus illi 'Ave,' quae sic erat illustrata virtutibus in origine? Utique hanc illustrationem in suo ortu hic sanctus, ac peculiaris, et antiquus Ordo suus Carmelitarum praetendit in habitu: qui hoc festum ipsius singulariter solemnizat candorem habitus sui, ut existimo prudenter, et devote referens ad hoc factum. . . . Qui [Carmelitae] insuper in principio nascentis Ecclesiae in partibus illis (Palestine) praedicando Evangelium sollicitissime laborarunt et consequenti tempore [ut dicunt fide dignae historiae] a Joanne Hierosolymitano Patriarcha regulam

¹ I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, p. 500 sq.

² I do not wish to refer to Carmelite authorities on the present occasion; but see the *Month*, vol. lviii. p. 321. The passage will be found in the Roman Breviary, lectio iv.—die 16 Julii.

vivendi communiter susceperunt. . . . Unde rationabiliter hic Ordo propter hanc praeogativam duplicem ab omnibus in magna reverentia est habendus.¹

It may be recalled that an effort was made to belittle the importance attaching to this testimony during that lamentable controversy of the seventeenth century, the assumption being that FitzRalph had yielded to the wiles of the Carmelites owing to the influence exercised over him by his friend Thomas Walden!² Were it not for the anachronism involved, we might waive this point in favour of our opponents, seeing what a number of other equally illustrious men, and of a much later period, utilized the same treatise 'as a proof of the antiquity of the doctrine of the Immaculate Conception': amongst them Blessed Peter Canisius, who certainly relies on the authority of John of Jerusalem when treating of Our Lady's prerogatives.³ But as it is rather a question of the formal defence of the Dogma, I may mention de Ojeda's learned work; especially because of his profound knowledge of the inspired writings, and—if permissible to say so—on account of his indefatigable zeal against the detractors of the Society of Jesus, of which he was so distinguished a member.⁴ Here once more we have a thoroughly competent scholar defining, like Cornelius à Lapide, the monastic traditions of the Carmelites as something essentially independent of the primary document that confirms the reality of those claims from the historical standpoint, in the sense upon which the religious of this Order are bound to insist.⁵

Still, even Father Peter de Ojeda's defence of the Immaculate Conception is not to be compared with that of Ferdinand Quirin de Salazar, who frequently declined the highest ecclesiastical dignities in order to persevere as a

¹ T.C.D. MS. B. 4. I, col. 5.

² See the I. E. RECORD, March, 1911, p. 283.—The treatise is also quoted in the *Nomenclator Marianus*, under the letter 'N.' Even Baconthorpe ('The Resolute Doctor'), who died in 1346, assures us that the custom of the Papal Court assisting at the celebration of the Festival in the Church of the Carmelites was of long standing in his own time ('In iv. Sent. Dist.' ii. q. iv. art. 1).

³ *De B. Virgine*, lib. ii. cap. 3 (par. 'Non repetam').

⁴ *Bibliothèque*, 2nd series (Liège, 1854), p. 445.

⁵ *Informacion Ecclesiastica en defensa de la Limpia Concepcion de la Madre de Dios*, cap. i.

humble member of the religious Society to which he belonged. He, too, had devoted himself to Biblical studies for many years ; and, in the course of his long career, was constrained to accept an official position which could only have been held by one specially qualified to pronounce authoritatively on the authenticity of such a work as the book *On the Institution of the First Monks*. Having acknowledged his indebtedness to this 'nobile, et antiquum pro Immaculata Conceptione testimonium,' de Salazar expresses his formal opinion as to the genuineness of the treatise, fearing lest his readers should be led to think that he differed, on this point, from Baronius and Bellarmine without grave cause. And, with the fairness characteristic of a true critic, he first assigns the sole reason which had led those two great men to favour the opposite view : this reason, as I have explained,¹ finds its own refutation in the actual text of the book, although we are not reminded of the fact by Quirin de Salazar :—

Floruit etiam hoc saeculo (IV.) Joannes Hierosolymitanus, et ipse etiam Marianae immunitatis adstipulator in libro '*De Institutione Monachorum*' (cap. 32) ubi Eliae nubeculam ad puritatem Virgineae Conceptionis significandam transfert, idque antiquissima saeculorum persuasione confirmat. . . . Illud tamen scias velim Illustriss. Cardinales Baronium, et Bellarminum serio affirmasse librum illum de Institutione Monachorum non esse Joannis Jerosolymitani germanum opus, ea ratione ductos, quia meminit Carmelitarum, eorumque habitum graphice describit, quos aiunt Joanne Jerosolymitano longe posteriores fuisse. Sed absit, ut ego gloriam istam Carmelitanis Patribus invidiam, ne dictum Joannem inter suos protoparentes numerem. . . . Vidi certe, atque evolvi, non pauca antiquitatis monumenta, ut in hac controversia aliquid certi definirem, nihil tamen reperi, quod non suaderet praemissum Joannem Carmelitanum fuisse, et dictum *De Institutione Monachorum* librum ab ipso conscriptum ; atque adeo hanc sententiam libentius amplector, ac gravissimo, antiquissimoque Ordini, quae sua sunt libere restituo. . . .²

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 45.

² *Pro Immaculata Deiparae Virginis Conceptione Defensio*, Saeculo iv. arg. 12, cap. 42 (Coloniae Agrippinae, A.D. 1621). See *Bibliothèque des Écrivains de la Comp. de Jésus*, Première Série (Liège, 1853), p. 677. De Salazar died in 1646.

Readers of the I. E. RECORD have been recently assured, with a reservation we need not pause to consider, that 'the accredited scholarship of the last three centuries declares with one unanimous voice' the impossibility of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* having 'in any shape or form originated in the time of John of Jerusalem.'¹ They have been told that 'the document was considered too worthless to be included even in Migne's *Patrology*, and while most non-Catholic authorities regard it as unworthy of notice, the few that make any reference to it speak with contempt of the attempts made to vindicate its genuineness.'² One would have been prepared for utterances of this kind from ignorant non-Catholic critics of the book who had read it 'cursim, aut carpiendi libidine.' But are we to accept these assertions as an open denunciation of de Salazar and all those other renowned Jesuit exponents of Holy Scripture whom I have quoted; and who were influenced in their support of the ancient claims of the Carmelites by admiration of the, apparently, now much despised treatise of the Patriarch John? Henceforth are they to be held up to the derision of the world for having seconded the nefarious design of the members of another religious Order in exploiting that alleged gross forgery? Or, having studied the book 'attente,' did they really find therein 'cum claritate doctrinae, ac sacrarum Scripturarum promptissima explanatione, spiritualia documenta, moralia instituta, regularia praecepta, mystica, et allegorica plurima quae animum ad pietatem, et Dei amorem efficaciter promoveant'? I think so; and I consider their testimony all the more significant because it virtually synchronizes with the restoration of the Primitive Rule to Carmel through the Eliazeal of Teresa of Jesus and John of the Cross. However, it is not for me to enter a formal protest against the slur cast upon the memory of Suarez, who testifies to having relied on the assistance of the book of John of Jerusalem in the interpretation of difficult passages of the

¹ I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, p. 502.

² Ibid., p. 501 sqq.

Inspired Text.¹ For a similar reason the same stigma would attach to the names of Tirinus,² Anthony Fernandez,³ and Louis de Alcazar⁴; while Anthony Possevino,⁵ Lobbetius,⁶ Sirmond,⁷ Jerome Platus,⁸ and Gregory de Valentia⁹ must share the opprobrium, since they, likewise, were convinced that the treatise *On the Institution of the First Monks* was the genuine work of the Patriarch John.

It is not for the sake of producing an impression—which would be foolish pedantry—that I have drawn attention to these authorities, but because we are officially informed that they rank among the most learned Jesuits of the last three hundred years; still there remain ever so many more of their brethren in religion during the same period whose love of truth led them to uphold the monastic traditions of the Carmelites. Father Joseph Andres availed himself of an opportunity to congratulate the Order publicly on the solemn vindication of its claims; and it is now quite certain that this learned theologian was the author of a work published some years previously under the title *Decor Carmeli, sive incliti Ordinis Carmelitani Praerogativae in synopsis redactae, ac multiplici Patrum, Doctorumque auctoritate firmatae*.¹⁰ But in order that the reader may possess a final proof of the importance attached to monastic tradition in the Church, as expounded by John of Jerusalem, it is only

¹ *De Religione*, T. iv. trac. ix. lib. ii. cap. 10. See *Bibliothèque*, 2nd Series, p. 595.

² *In Caput 17, III. Regum*. *Bibliothèque*, 1st Series, p. 769.

³ *In Visiones Veteris Testamenti*, Visione ix. *Bibliothèque*, 1st Series, p. 306.

⁴ *In eas V. Testamenti partes quas respicit Apocalypsis, Libri Quinque*, cap. ix. Apoc. v. 3. *Bibliothèque*, 2nd Series, p. 9.

⁵ *In Apparatu Sacro*, verbo Joannes Jerosolymitanus. *Bibliothèque*, 3rd Series (Liège, 1856), p. 623.

⁶ *Gloria Patriarcharum* (S. Teresia). *Bibliothèque*, 1st Series, p. 462.

⁷ *In Notis ad Carmina Sidonii*. *Bibliothèque*, 2nd Series, p. 558 sqq.

⁸ *De bono Status Religiosi*, lib. ii. cap. 22. *Bibliothèque*, 1st Series, p. 576.

⁹ 'xxii. Disp. x.' q. iv. punct. 1, 1. *Bibliothèque*, 3rd Series, p. 722 sqq. De Valentia was one of the most famous of the Jesuit theologians who flourished at the beginning of the seventeenth century. He maintained that the authorship of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* should be ascribed to John of Jerusalem.

¹⁰ Saragossae, 1668 (8vo, pp. 503). Of course this work is quite distinct from the *Decor Carmeli Religiosi*, published (fol. 1665) by Father Philip of the Blessed Trinity.

right to submit the testimony of Gaspar Sanchez which reads in such striking contrast with those assertions mentioned above :—

Hinc ortum habuerunt antiquum et nobilem qui nostro aevo Carmelitae dicuntur, viri Religionis gloria et vitae sanctitate conspicui. Quod ut credam, facit non solum illius Ordinis, sed et omnium pene gentium constans et perpetua traditio. Et quidem si ab hac mea cogitatione nihil staret praeter traditionem omni memoria superiorem, satis putaretur habere praesidii; quia communis conspiransque consensus, nullo interrupta tempore, eam habet auctoritatem, quam nulla nisi magna fides convellere, aut infirmare posset. . . . Sed praeter traditionem, quae, ut diximus, constans existimatur, atque perpetua, sunt alia multa, quae ad hanc cogitationem plurimum afferunt momenti, Doctorum nimirum, non tantum ex illa religiosa familia, quorum ingens numerus, *sed externorum, quos longum esset numerare*, gravis auctoritas: et tam veteres quam recentes historiae, et sacri Ordinis antiqua monumenta. Accedit ad haec a Pontificum judicio gravissimum pondus, qui sacrum hunc Ordinem ab Eliae disciplina, atque Instituto exordium habuisse testantur.¹

In the circumstances, I think I may plead the same excuse as Sanchez for omitting the names of other celebrated 'independent witnesses' who believed in the genuineness of that chief 'ancient monument': conclusively establishing the historical truth of what is contained in the 'sacred treasury' of our traditions, which, manifestly, they deemed it an honourable duty to defend. Jealous of their fame, I was lately puzzled to determine upon what lines I might vindicate their just title to the esteem of posterity, had I taken too seriously to heart the reproach made in a periodical published under the auspices of a continental university, that we should be better employed in proclaiming to the world the renown of those many 'personages eminents de l'époque de splendeur de l'Ordre' instead of venturing to impeach those modern critics who so arrogantly denounce us, Carmelites, because of our insistence upon the reality of our ancient privileges and claims.²

¹ In *III. Regum*, cap. xvii. n. 12. See *Bibliothèque*, 1st Series, p. 685.

² *Revue d'Hist. Ecclésiastique* (Louvain).

If those medieval doctors were, without exception, of the same firm opinion as Thomas Walden and Blessed Baptist Mantuanus,¹ who held that the treatise *On the Institution of the First Monks* should be regarded as 'magni pretii et honoris apud nos'; what could we possibly advance in their favour that would appeal to those imbued with the views, concerning this book, expressed in the May issue of the I. E. RECORD? I am not aware of anything we might urge in extenuation of so deplorable a want of right judgment; neither should we forget—despite all positive evidence to the contrary—that like Sanchez, à Lapide, Suarez, de Salazar, Tirinus, de Flores and Salian they were, presumably, so ignorant of the Greek language and unfamiliar with ancient codices not one among them reveals sufficient competency to detect what must be most patent to our opponents: that the book which we attribute to John of Jerusalem affords intrinsic evidence of its author having been a 'Latin'!² If modern criticism be responsible for such indication of the attitude of our adversaries towards the monastic traditions of the Carmelites, on this particular point I have nothing more to say.

Not that I would have the reader infer uncompromising rejection of our claims to be a reflection on the learning of those various distinguished historians who contented themselves with advancing conclusions about the origin of the Order found in works of reference often highly commended by ecclesiastical authority. They did so assuming the existence of evidence not within their own reach, never giving a thought to the possibility of those injurious assertions being based on theories that cannot stand the test of 'scientific examination': which, indeed, implies, as I have said, but the conscientious tracing of all such statements to their original source for the purpose specified.³ As the Carmelites have suffered grievously in the past owing to thoughtless

¹ Whom Trithemius describes as 'Graecae [linguae] clarus interpret.' The same description would apply to Father James Sirmond, S.J., in the following century.

² *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 354.

³ I explained at the very outset by what means we are to keep the essential issue clearly before our minds, eschewing all irrelevancies.

omission of so simple a process, I wish it to be clearly understood that not a single writer was mentioned in the May number of the I. E. RECORD whose arguments against the historical truth of our traditions will bear the light of the investigation here proposed, and which should appeal to the general reader as a reassuring dictate of common sense. From Fleury to Alzog, an untenable conjecture has been advanced as a demonstrable fact ; and even in the case of Cardinal Baronius, the test applies with like astonishing results. We have seen how Quirin de Salazar felt himself compelled to decide against the opinion of the great Annalist on the question of the authorship of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* ; and in later ages the only argument that could be urged against the genuineness of the narrative of St. Cyril of Constantinople was its advocacy of the truth of the treatise which Baronius and those relying upon his authority are not disposed to accept.¹

Turning to the *Annales Ecclesiastici*, under the year 1181 we find the following very definite pronouncement ; and it would be absurd to suggest that the illustrious author could have entertained the slightest doubt as to the accuracy of what he writes :—

Horum (Carmelitarum) autem promotor, propagator, et custos fuit ille, qui fungebatur in Oriente legatione Apostolicae Sedis Haimericus Patriarcha Antiochenus, qui considerans, complures ex Occidente, qui venerant vitam eremiticam acturi in Terra Sancta hinc inde dispersos, expositos barbarorum incursibus : collegit eos in unum, duxitque in Montem Carmelum, Eliae habitatione egregie olim nobilitatum. Fuere ista principia, ex quibus, ut ex parva scaturigine flumen, immensus est auctus coetus religiosorum virorum.²

From this it is quite clear that Cardinal Baronius was convinced of the Patriarch Aymeric having been in some way

¹ 'Quicumque negant librum de Institutione Monachorum esse Joannis XLIV. Archiepiscopi Hierosolymitani, sed asserunt esse Auctoris alicujus, nec antiqui, nec Graeci dicendi sunt etiam negare praedictam Epistolam esse S. Cyrilli.' Consequently, I have no alternative but to submit a critical analysis of what Baronius actually states.

² *Annales Ecclesiastici*, T. xii. p. 776 (Coloniae Agrippinae, A.D. 1609).

associated with the Hermits of Carmel in or about the middle of the twelfth century—at all events during the pontificate of Pope Alexander the Third. But the Carmelites are justified in interpreting the inference drawn as prejudicial to their monastic traditions ; and, accordingly, require to be informed upon what critical grounds it could be demonstrated if understood as implying that their Order only dates from the time of Aymeric of Antioch ; or, failing this, to be told how the name of that Prelate came to be associated with their brethren of the twelfth century at all ? This is not an unreasonable request, and, no matter what the authority of the renowned Annalist, those still upholding the theory of Baronius in the matter are bound to comply. We shall then examine their assertions at the original source, discriminating between fact and conjecture. The results of this investigation may well prove disquieting to the opponents of the Carmelites ; because whatever is really of fact in the foregoing pronouncement must be traced finally to the narrative left us by St. Cyril of Constantinople ; while for the untenable inference—presuming that it is to be interpreted, as our adversaries wish, in an injurious sense—the learned Baronius himself becomes entirely responsible. This is what St. Cyril records :—

Intelligens autem Aymericus quosdam eorum, qui ab Occidente supervenerant, spretis seniorum monitis, non recte ambulare ad veritatem vitae eremiticae, in praedicto Joannis libro descriptae : et perpendens hoc ideo maxime contingere, quia Graecas literas ignorantes, nesciebant codicem illum legere, facit librum de Graeco in Latinum transferri.¹

It may be taken for certain that Baronius was not in a position to consult a copy of the narrative in question ; for the famous Annalist would never have suppressed so explicit a reference to the book of John of Jerusalem, knowing the writer of that narrative to have been a contemporary of the Patriarch Aymeric ; nor has he, in this instance, assigned the immediate source of his information to enable us to define the evidential value of the work from

¹ *De Processu sui Ordinis*, cap. iv.

which he quotes. Explain the matter how they may, those adopting the opinion of Cardinal Baronius must, if consistent, be prepared to accept the authenticity of the treatise attributed to St. Cyril of Constantinople; and, by implication, the genuineness of the book *On the Institution of the First Monks*, which, as here recorded by the Saint, had been recently translated from the original Greek.¹

But Alzog, for example, prefers to rely on the authority of the critics who, at the end of the seventeenth century, laboured strenuously to depreciate the work of John of Jerusalem; for the popular historian believes that one of them 'has got at the truth of this affair.' In which case we should not have the slightest difficulty in testing the accuracy of Alzog's own statement by comparing it, in detail, with the original sources of information containing the various facts which he thus describes:—

The founder of the Carmelites was one Berthold, a monk and a priest of Calabria, who, with a few companions, erected, in 1156, a few huts on the heights of Mount Carmel, not far from the cave which the Prophet Elias had blessed by his presence. The huts were soon demolished to give place to a monastery.²

I have already drawn attention to 'one of the curious results of modern sceptical tendencies' to brand every document favouring the Carmelite claims 'a forgery until it is shown from independent sources to be unquestionably genuine'; so that Alzog also would be obliged to verify his statements on the evidence of some admittedly reliable witness.³ Appealing to the authority of the critic who 'has got at the truth of this affair,' he might refer us to the testimony of Phocas, a visitor to Mount Carmel, A.D. 1181:—

Some years ago a white-haired monk, who was also a priest, came from Calabria, and through a revelation from the Prophet

¹ Accepting the Annalist's own computation: the Pontificate of Pope Alexander the Third; for the Carmelite authorities state that St. Cyril flourished from about A.D. 1171.

² See the I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, p. 498. The date '1156' is conjectural.

³ The above comment is an adaptation, for I considered it peculiarly applicable to the present case.

Elias, established himself in this place. He enclosed a small portion of the ruins of the monastery, and built a tower and a little church, assembling in it about ten brothers, who, with him, inhabit at present this holy place.¹

Once more we are confronted with the difficulty of connecting a certain event of the twelfth century with the Carmelites: how came that 'white-haired monk' to be identified with St. Berthold, the first Latin Prior-General of their Order? Moreover, there are other indisputable facts associated with the granting of the 'primitive rule' 'under Berthold's successor, Brocard'; and we want to know where earliest mention of these has been made.² Can the connexion be established, or the desired information furnished without invoking the testimony of St. Cyril of Constantinople, as set forth in the narrative attributed to him by the Carmelites? If so, why have those hostile to our claims during the last three centuries persisted (not wittingly, of course) in contradicting themselves by upholding conclusions essentially based on the very document which they are supposed to have rejected as a forgery? To have relied exclusively on the authority of the Greek monk Phocas would argue an ignorance of the subject too ludicrous for words, and might easily prejudice their reputation for learning in other respects; whereas, to acknowledge their indebtedness to the Saint's narrative would leave them no longer free to doubt what we find recorded there concerning the accepted traditions of the Order, and the treatise ascribed to the Patriarch John. This alone should enable the reader to realize the futility of mere assertion and invective when the vital issue is one of fact that cannot be gainsaid. And here I must leave it to others to decide whether I myself betrayed an overweening confidence

¹ *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 120, which quotes the *Acta Sanctorum* for March, where the Carmelite tradition of 'hereditary succession' is rejected; but not for January (6th), where it is expressly upheld.

² *Catholic Encyclopædia*, vol. iii. p. 355, where we find the narrative of St. Cyril of Constantinople rejected as a forgery; and, at the same time, commended (by implication) as a reliable authority in regard to the origin of the 'Primitive Carmelite Rule.' See I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 46 sqq. concerning the testimony of Phocas.

in the impregnability of our cause, as illumined by the application of first principles, in stating that never yet has evidence been adduced to show how the two ancient documents confirming the historical truth of the monastic traditions of the Carmelites can be seriously impugned from the critical point of view.¹

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

¹ I. E. RECORD, January, 1911, p. 30.

No attempt whatever has been made by modern opponents of the Carmelites to examine either the book *On the Institution of the First Monks* or the narrative of St. Cyril of Constantinople according to the principles of scientific criticism. Hence the present article is submitted in refutation of various erroneous assertions; and as being supplementary to my paper in the January issue of the I. E. RECORD.

BEATITUDE AS MAN'S LAST END¹

I.

BEFORE the mind has been disturbed by mention of non-Euclidean geometry and of non-Newtonian mechanics, and of non-atomic chemistry, there is a delightful clearness about a clever boy's dealing with the simple problems that are put before him for solution. He scorns the ancients when he hears an instance of their failure to secure his definiteness of conception. For example, he would smile complacently in criticism of the view given by Cleomedes, in a treatise on Celestial Movement, to the effect that there cannot be a void outside the world, because in that case the particles of matter would fly off for want of containing force around the mass.

Here in the words 'containing force' we have a term which has played a great part in speculations, and which is well illustrated in the writings of the stoics. They took up the traditional idea of four elements: fire, air, earth and water—and whereas others had made water the primal, universal element, they gave the chief importance as organizing principle to fire and air, which by combination became hot air or fiery spirit. Let us call it spirit admitting of tension and relaxation, pervading all objects material and mental, and giving to them their *tone*. Then we have good and bad tone, whether of body or soul; muscle may be flabby, and so may thought and volition. Spirit is the containing power, holding things together well or ill, according to its tone.

Keeping to the metaphor, such as we are obliged to have recourse to in speaking of things divine, the writer of the Book of Wisdom¹ calls the Spirit of God 'that which holds all things together' (τὸ συνέχον).

¹ The first proposition of Scholastic Ethics has been amplified by adding to its abstract form a number of thoughts gathered from several sources. It is proposed to make the like amplification for other propositions which hold chief places in the treatise.

² vii. 22.

Now that in Christian times we have revealed to us the Holy Ghost, we in theological language 'appropriate' to Him this office of all-container. He, for instance, keeps together the Catholic Church in its unity, a condition not possible to any other Church of wide extension. He also holds together the individual Christian as a good member of the Church, lest he should be as Reuben 'poured out like water,'¹ 'unstable as water,' without power 'to increase,' 'to abide,' and in this respect a contrast to Joseph, 'the growing one,' 'the fruitful bough,' and a contrast also to the permanency of the sceptre in Juda.² There are many other illustrations, scriptural and ecclesiastical, of τὸ συνέχον,³ the power holding things together in their proper unity.⁴ Greek versatility, if it was a credit on one side, was viewed by Plato also on its bad side, inasmuch as it meant a bad versatility, something opposite to the divinity which always kept its own 'form' and could suffer 'deformation.' Man generally is altogether collapsible, and not merely from outer persecution has to say with the Psalmist, 'I am poured out like water.'⁵

Coming now to the end or purpose of life which each man ought as a moral being to put before himself, we find it pretty well agreed that it must be some worthy goal, giving unity to his several activities during the whole of his responsible career. Life at random can be allowed no approval by a reasonable judge. When Max Nordau wrote his book on *Degeneration* some readers stood aghast at the possibilities of self-disruption or falling lamentably to pieces. Many other books have added to the scare by discoursing on what is called, with much latitude of meaning, 'multiplex personality.' As a matter of fact, the non-

¹ The distinctive symbolism of sacrifice was represented by the poured out libation; so St. Paul speaks of his willingness to be wasted away in sacrifice (σπένδομαι) for his flock (Phil. ii. 17, and 2 Tim. iv. 6). It is another metaphor that belongs to 'I desire to be dissolved' (Phil. i. 23), where ἀναλύσαι means to break up an encampment and start on a journey.

² Gen. xlix.

³ Wisdom vii. 2.

⁴ A philosophy which rejects τὸ συνέχον by its rejection of substance and efficient causality must soon fall to pieces, even if at the outset it seems to stand together.

⁵ Psalm xxi. 15.

scientific observer has always had before his eyes the variability of degree in which different men can be said to possess, for dramatic or other artistic purposes, 'a personality.' Dickens is often criticised for making his characters just the abstract embodiment of one or two tendencies : and the criticism is valid so far as actual lives are often reducible to no exact headings. Many are rovers in mind or in body, or in both, and we can never be said exactly to find them at home—*chez soi*. The motto 'Know thyself' would for them result in no definite recognition, except of their own indefiniteness.

Yonder the long horizon lies, and there by night and day
The old ships draw to home again, and young ships sail away.
But come I may and go I must, and if men ask me why,
You may put the blame on the stars and sea and the white road
and the sky.

I know not where the white road runs, nor where the blue hills
are ;
But man can have the sun for his friend, and for his guide a star.
And there's no stay to the voyaging when once the voice is heard,
And the vision calls and the road calls, and, oh ! the call of the
bird.

These verses describe the aimless globe-trotter, but figuratively they may be applied to many a stay-at-home as far as terrestrial abode is concerned, who yet has no fixed home for moral endeavour.¹ For him not even the pragmatists would offer justification, since they suppose a coherence between those aims which experience justifies without logically explaining : and their Coryphæus, Dr. Schiller, finds fault with Mr. A. E. Taylor for saying 'the real problem of conduct is, why we should hanker after so manifest an absurdity as a rule of conduct.' Against the proposal of a golden rule to have no rule, Dr. Schiller adds : 'I cannot but believe that effective ethical effort needs a definite basis of assumptions concerning the basis of life as a

¹ The haphazard or happy-go-lucky life is described by Aristotle as *κατὰ πάθος ζῆν καὶ διώκειν ἕκαστα*, or 'errare atque viam palantes quaerere vitae.'

whole.¹ *Assumptions* here would be better replaced by *first principles*. Otherwise the protest against a wind-driven course through life is excellent; indeed, Dickens regarded the drifter as in some way more dangerous than the villain of set purpose: 'It were much better that a legion of men were undisguisedly bad than indifferent and purposeless. It is the drifting ice-bergs setting with every current that wreck ships. When the devil goes about like a roaring lion, few but savages and lunatics are attracted.'

II.

The scholastic writers on ethics, in regard to their own scope, attach importance to making the end of man in natural² beatitude the first subject of discussion for their treatise. Here they are, as in many other points, copying Aristotle. From him also they accept what at first sight, and without qualification, seems an extravagant proposition, that 'nature does nothing in vain.' The statement rests partly on an induction, and partly on a sort of common agreement involved in such presuppositions to argument as that scepticism, ethical as well as logical, is inadmissible as a basis—that man is apt by nature to know the truth; that the Universe with which science has to deal is orderly, coherent, and constant; that the power at the back of the universe must be wise and good, and incapable of putting men to utter and final confusion; and that human life is worth living.³ More individually considered every natural object is supposed by Aristotle to have its determining form (*εἶδος*) which being active makes for just its own appropriate end (*τέλος*), either with an intelligence of its own, or at least with a designer's intelligence—on the part

¹ *Humanism*, p. 4. Gardeners know the vexation of the broom made out of bound-together twigs when these come undone: they know it well enough to understand the imagery contained in the phrase '*solutae scopae*' to suggest confused mind (Cicero, *Att.* vii. 13b, 6.)

² Natural, because they here omit the supernatural without denying it.

³ Some state it is only as a working hypothesis that the universe is logical, not illogical; good and not bad; hopeful and not hopeless; and they offer no justification except the need of taking up a position not manifestly indefensible. They would be right if they would take the affirmative side of rational exigence.

of the Primal, Demiurgic, Creative Being. But in this relation Aristotle is lamentably deficient: for at least he gives occasion to interpreters to conclude that he admits in God neither the productivity nor even the knowledge of finite objects. Nevertheless, it is characteristic of Aristototele's teleology when he says that men have that deft instrument, the hand, because they are intelligent agents, rather than say with modern evolutionists that men owe much of their intelligence to the fact that, in their case, the process of physiological selection has led to the development in them of hands.

Some, especially those monistically inclined, condemn Aristotle for assuming so easily, though not without an observation of nature both wide and keen, that things are divisible into definite kinds or species. Each of these he calls a *φύσις*, a nature with a determinate principle of growth into a completed type. For purposes of Ethics we may at present limit the application of this doctrine to man. Man at any rate does not live in anything like a polypodom; he has the individual form of a soul, with its two leading faculties, intelligence of the true and will for the good, which carry with them the conscious character which we call feeling or emotion. The three work inseparably together: there can be no intelligence without some sort of willing, and no willing blind to all intelligence, and no thought and volition characterised by no sort of feeling. So much being in plain evidence to all observers, it is thence that Aristotelians argue out the end appropriate to every man as such. They refuse the invitation of the pure empiricists to wait for a final conclusion on the point in question till the last man has contributed his experience to the sum of facts from which the complete induction is to be gathered. This is pushing empiricism or positivism too far. They reject also the assertion that man at present has risen little, or at least comparatively little, in view of the course ahead, above the non-moral level of his animal ancestry, and that his future elevation may leave utterly out of sight all that is now considered sublime in ethical conduct. We claim a right to a sufficient stability and finality in our view of

man's position upon this probationary earth. His moral perceptions do certainly grow, but not to the extent of baffling at present the substantial settlement of what his aim in life is and by what means it is to be reached. It is true that of the several virtues some are not at the same time compatible ; but this furnishes no proof that virtue as a whole allows of no description by us, and that the ' ultimate harmony ' is to consist of elements utterly transformed beyond our present conjecture, no ideas of ours being applicable to the consummation.

III.

The approaches have now been made to the line of argument sketched by St. Thomas, whose words may next claim our serious attention. ' A knowledge of God in a general and confused way lies in our very nature, inasmuch as God is man's beatitude. Man naturally desires, and therein naturally knows, his beatitude.'¹ With this we may join, in special reference to the knowledge on which the desire rests, what is said in *De Veritat.*, q. xxii. a. ii. ad 1 : ' All creatures that can exercise the faculty of knowing know God implicitly in every object that comes under their ken. For since nothing belongs to the appetitive order except by its likeness to the divine goodness, so nothing belongs to the order of things knowable except by its likeness to the divine truth.' Of the ' flower in the crannied wall,' Tennyson says that whoever knew it all in all would know God ; similarly, St. Thomas says that he who will analyse all that is contained in the knowledge of any finite object will reach at last to the infinite. The process moves in part on the plan of what Kant calls transcendental argument, which takes any fact of experienced intelligence and deduces what is implied in its existence, or what are the necessarily presupposed conditions of its production in the mind. For our own present purpose it is not enough to reach in the abstract² the idea of the true

¹ *Summa*, i. q. ii. a. 1, ad 1.

² Huxley neglects his love of the concrete when he commends ' a growing oneness with the great spirit of abstract truth.'

and the good as universally taken ; for that is only a universalised concept, not the concrete truth and goodness substantially existent in the very God. It is a common fallacy to interchange the universal in the sense of abstract concept, with the universal source actually of all that shares in the reality designated by the concept¹ : 'Intellectus esse absolute et secundum omne tempus percipit ; unde omne habens intellectum desiderat esse semper.'² The former is only a step on the way to proof of the latter.

When we have conceived good universally we have yet to enquire whether there exists a Being infinitely good and creative of all finite perfections. To arrive at this result it is best to take, not 'the flower in the crannied wall,' but our own rational nature known to us in direct consciousness, revealing thus to our own analysis its attributes which point to their origin in One who has these attributes in absolute perfection. So while a saint may get into an ecstasy over a blade of grass, this is not the most promising object to choose for the purpose. Thus finding within ourselves the faculty to conceive and desire in an imperfect way the perfect truth, which is without limit of degree or of duration, and the perfect good equally unlimited, we see in this fact that our inmost constitution, that our soul, is fitted for the attainment of an object answering to those powers of human mind that are nowhere discernible in the animal creation. So the 'brute that perishes' is below man in destiny. This is one application of the method 'know thyself,' 'look within,' within the mind that reflects its own origin from God. There God is revealed in the analysis of conscience as supreme law-giver in a recognized rule of duty which cannot be impersonal in its origin or proceed only from society, or from human superiors, or from the autonomous

¹ By St. Thomas the universal good or true is taken either logically or really and ontologically, and when in the latter sense he affirms not pantheistic identity but creative source as in this passage : 'Objectum voluntatis quae est appetitus humanus, est universale bonum sicut objectum intellectus est universale verum ; et quo patet quod nihil potest quietare voluntatem hominis nisi bonum universale' (i. 2, q. ii. 2. a. 2).

² q. 75, a. 6.

conscience of the individual. At the same time God, the Law-giver, is also revealed for the faithful observer of law as the perfectly beatifying object which alone can content the large capacity of a soul endlessly yearning, so long as it meets with nothing but finitely desirable objects which disclose their own limits. 'The last end is the cause of all the others, and to be this end belongs to God who is the primal Being.'¹ From another aspect the limitlessness of human desire is expressed as regards the character of duration, on which point it is again St. Thomas who speaks: 'Every being possessed of intellect naturally desires to exist for ever, because it apprehends Being absolutely and for all time.'²

To recognize as valid the arguments thus briefly indicated no doubt it is necessary to bring a previously stored-up fund of thinking and desiring—a background of what is called 'apperception,' acting as an attractive, central mass to which fresh additions will be assimilated as congruous. From minds not so prepared—and there are many—what we have to ask at the beginning is that they will recognize here something worthy of consideration; that they will say to themselves: It is not extravagant to seek in the highest character of my own conscious soul-life, my thinking, my yearning, and my submitting to moral law, indications as to my noblest characteristics, some explanation of my origin and destiny. Then as months or years go by in the favourable entertainment of this style of meditation, which noblest minds have found correct, repugnance may be expected to diminish and attraction to grow, till at last the acceptance of God as man's end may be reached. The goal is not supposed to be clearly seen from the first, nor ever to be mathematically demonstrated, nor to be given in the infused idea asserted by Descartes, whose words therefore are more open to suspicion than they would be from another

¹ *Contra Gent.*, lib. iii. cap. 14, cf. 38.

² Cf. 1a. q. lxxv. a. 6: 'Unumquodque suo modo esse desiderat; desiderium autem in rebus cognoscentibus sequitur cognitionem. Sensus non cognoscit esse nisi sub hic et nunc: sed intellectus apprehendit esse absolute et secundum omne tempus. Naturale autem desiderium non potest esse inane.'

man, who might say with him, 'vouloir le bien divin, et par la tout le bien, c'est la loi de la créature raisonnable.'

If the above mode of argument is here left without further justification it is that the ethical treatise, as it is placed in the scholastic system, hands over to another treatise, that of Natural Theology, the establishment of the Theistic position from which itself starts as from a datum, noting but incidentally the arguments for the position derivable from conscience and from the desire of beatitude. Of this desire Aristotle says that it is not a matter of choice for us (*προαίρεσις*) to have it or not; what we may choose are only the means to it, and these we may choose amiss.¹

It is not easy to hit the mean between the assertion that proof is and the proof is not forthcoming for the beatitude of man in God. There are proofs, yet complex ones, which rest for the force of their appeal on the attitude or the receptivity of the whole person, and so are and are not proofs. It is hard to say this without exceeding in speech, and yet it may weaken the cause not to say it. Again, there is the paradox that the final goal is an ideal and still it is strictly realizable: it is the latter point which is missed in such a typical sentence as this from the able pen of Mr. G. L. Dickenson:—

All profitable discussion of ideals is matter not for science but for literature—for the inspiration of the poet, the denunciation of the prophet, the doubts, the denials, the questions of the plain man. It must be conducted with reference to facts, not Utopian, not sceptical. It must take account of things as they are, and yet be always looking away from them to things as they may be. Above all, it must not pretend to be achieving demonstration. For it works on elements largely determinate with much of conjecture; it deals with matters where controversy goes back to the roots of individual preference; in such a field personality must count for much or most.

¹ 'Whoso wills the ends aimed at wills also the means indispensable for attaining it. This position is analytic. But to determine the means may be difficult and require synthetic propositions.'—(Kant's *Metaphysic of Ethics*, translated by Semple, p. 30, edit. 3rd.)

The misfortune has been to transfer this canon of merely artistic criticism to the final destiny of man as if it were an indefinite or an imaginative product of idealizing.

While we reject from our analysis innate ideas we must admit the native soul, a spiritual intelligent, rationally affective and volitional substance, made in the likeness of God, having with Him an affinity, and necessarily tending to Him by its proper activities as its experience grows, especially in a correct society, to which it is plastic as by inherent right and duty it ought to be. Such being the whole case, it becomes obviously unfair to represent the argument from desire for God as though it were the cry of the child for the moon, or some very partial wish not representing anything like the whole, personal man. Man as completely such is driven to the conviction that all finite and earthly satisfaction to his desire for the true, the good, and the beautiful is much less than his capacity demands, and so he believes that he is made for more.

IV.

The theory just propounded may win its claim to some consideration from minds unaccustomed to its 'mentality,' if by the side of it are placed certain rival claimants to acceptance.

(a) Thomas Green was one who denied that we could know in itself the ultimate goal of life, while we could discern, he allows, the line of conduct that made in its direction. He was a monist regarding the universe as an organic whole, in which finite centres of consciousness, or human brains, became the places in which the eternal infinite Consciousness was partially reproduced at definite times. Hence, for men the moral good is the revelation of moral capability—and we cannot know what a capability is till we know the ultimate realization. 'We cannot describe any state in which a man having become all that he is capable of becoming would find rest to his soul; for our only experience of activity is one which implies incompleteness. Of a life complete in development we can think only in negatives.

Yet the conviction that there must be such a state of being may be of supreme influence to our conduct.¹

That low man seeks a little thing to do,
Sees it and does it :
This high man, with a great thing to pursue,
Dies ere he knows it.

Instead of knowledge, Green would substitute symbol, thus :—

If the Infinite spirit communicates itself to the soul of man so as to yield the idea of a possible perfect life, and the consequent sense of personal responsibility on the part of the individual for making the best of himself as a social being, from which all recognition of particular duties arises, then it is a legitimate expression by means of metaphor—the only possible means except action by which the consciousness of spiritual reality can express itself—to say that our essential duties are commands of God. If, again, the self-communication of infinite spirit to the soul of man is such that man is conscious of his relation to a conscious Being who is in eternal perfection all that man has in him to become, then it is a legitimate expression, by means of metaphor, that God sees whether His commands are fulfilled in us or not, and an appropriate emotion to feel shame is His presence for violation of duty.

(b) Professor Dewey is another who denies all intellectually definable ideal of the human end. As a pragmatist he considers our tentatively derived law of morality to be an abstraction from concrete conduct, such as we know to have proved beneficial in the past. What man has to realize is not law but himself, working for his own self-development 'according to the guidance of facts,' not 'according to a presupposed, ready-made ideal.' In such an utterance there is a large measure of truth, but the speaker goes beyond that measure. He pushes relativity too far, and excludes that finality which we find in the beatific possession of God hereafter by knowledge and love, in unimpeded and unfailing exercise of highest faculties. Repeating an idea which Herder had ventilated, that though

¹ *Prologomena to Ethics*, p. 172.

there is an ascent age after age yet each age is in its own time perfect, Professor Dewey holds that among successive generations of men true to the light of their respective times, 'one class of persons, as a class, is not more virtuous than another.' Responsibilities, not virtues, increase with the development of the race; wider views are acquired concerning the hearings of human impulses, and thus greater circumspection becomes obligatory; but this does not increase the moral world. 'We are no nearer to a goal of perfection but action has more intellectual and æsthetic meaning.'¹

A like view of progress, so to speak, without progressiveness, is much insisted on by Professor Alexander, whose thought is illustrated in the passage: 'The moral ideal is the equilibrium of the individual in society: the morality depends on nothing more than an adjustment to the social order, a compromise among the parts of our nature, and between us and our fellows.' Such a scheme gives us conduct at each age of the world adjusted to what is found practically the most suitable standard discoverable—each adjustment as such is equally successful—and therefore Herder specially warns us against despising the lower cultures of the past. Finality is rejected for relativity. 'The best life,' says D. G. Ritchie, 'will be differently conceived according to the measure in which it is realized. The ideal determines the actual, but is also determined by it. The good man in every age is the standard of that age.'² Or to return to Professor Alexander, the statement stands: 'All morality is a process of change in the course of which societies pass from lower to higher forms. Hence the absurdity of judging a past society by a standard of the present. Every moral ideal is a sphere which is perfect in its kind.'³

It has to be borne in mind that these illustrations are not being chosen to exemplify different methods of Ethics in general, but in particular as bearing on the question of

¹ *Study of Ethics*, p. 39.

² *Principles of State Interference*, p. 103.

³ *Moral Order and Progress*, p. 356, 3rd edition.

man's last end—whether it is a final beatitude in the assignable object, God the infinitely true and good attainable by man always in a finite mode, yet a mode adequate to human nature and requirement.

(c) Another school of philosophy, in its attitude to the end of man, needs a little explanatory introduction. It is the tendency to-day to suppose the human knowledge of Christ much limited: one suggestion has been made that His created intellect as it were reads, and reads very poorly under limitation of the very imperfect ideas current in His age, the vision of the Messianic mission as it is displayed in the divine mind. Another example of a like kind is a supernaturally illuminated mystic who tries to put his vision in ordinary terms of speech, with a declaration that they are very sadly unsuited to their task. Now, according to the school which glories in its advanced modernity every man is a natural mystic, who has to speak in language about an order which is larger than his speech, both as regards its conception, and outward expressions verbally. Thus, the intuitions of the heart and will and action—*l'action pensée*—are cut up into dead fragments by all attempts to translate them into the imagery of ideas. Hence whatever of morality, religion, and finality there may be for the heart, for the head there is none strictly true to the real. Bergson is one whose philosophy is more or less outlined above, and we may take him to serve our present purpose.

Bergson, then, with his avowed depreciation of the clearly conceiving intellect which, dividing that it may command clear ideas, kills in the division, professes that he cannot intellectually in terms of conceptions reach anything like an ultimate for man. Reality for him is mysterious Life, and all events take place through the *élan de vie* which is spiritual and conscious in its true developments. Where it fails it suffers 'a fall,' and awkwardly appears as matter which is consciousness turned self-conflicting and self-neutralizing, but which may be recovered from its lapse—and that fact is a reason for not wishing physical science a long prosperous career, since its objects ought to cease to be, for they are mistakes in life. It would be well if such

objects were improved away off the face of the earth along with the earth itself. Nevertheless in spite of this death, the active principle throughout is 'élan de vie ; il y a jaillissement de vie ; Dieu n'a rien fait ; il y a vie, action, liberté ; la morale est morale d'expansion de vie.' The out-rush or out-gush is so essentially free that it allows of no guidance by intellect, its character is to be incalculable to foresight, it is a new creation which is essentially an unpredictable novelty. Bergson knows much science and mingles it up with his bizarre speculations which defy all science. The developments of life according to him are as meteors having their unpredictability from the freedom of the *élan de vie* itself,¹ which is based on no permanent substance, 'en vain on cherche sous le changement la chose qui change.' Being is Becoming, not static substance.

Professor William James gained the approval of Bergson for his exposition of that author's general scheme, but it is no wonder that another interpreter could find passages seeming to show that James was wrong. For our purpose the end of man is left quite indeterminate by Bergson, who makes a merit of uncertainty in progress as a sign of free life disporting itself, as an instinct and an affection of the will rather than as an intelligence. 'Le propre de l'être conscient, est de se changer sans cesse. Notre devenir est imprévisible : il est changer à se nurir. L'univers est un tout qui dure. La vie est une création qui se poursuit sans fin. La réalité est une croissance perpétuelle. La réalité est l'élan de vie ; s'il se interrompe, c'est dans la matière qu'il demeure.' Sentences like those may be gleaned in abundance as signs of the general hopelessness of any calculable future for man.

(d) With English utilitarians we may end these illustrative contrasts to the scholastic finality asserted for man. John S. Mill had no certain outlook beyond this world, which he believed to be actually in a very wretched condition, yet allowing by wiser arrangements of the improve-

¹ Père Gratry had spoken of an *élan de l'ame*—'l'élan de l'ame vers l'infini à partir du fini, l'acte fondamentale de la foi raisonnable.' Bergson adds, 'l'intellect est caractérisé par une incompréhension de la vie.'

ment of the human lot into a desirable state of existence. Spencer brought to bear on the problem what Mill was without, the theory of evolution, and it was his peculiarity, not wholly unshared by others, to assume a perfect adjustment in the future of the world's process with an 'absolute morality' for men which should allow occasion for no conflict. Huxley scorned such optimistic dreams, closing his Romanes lecture with this stern declaration :—

The story of evolution encourages no millennial anticipations. If for millions of years our globe has taken an upward road, yet sometime the summit will be reached, and the downward route will be commenced. I see no limit to the extent to which intelligence and will may modify existence for a period larger than that now covered by history, and much may be done to change the nature of man himself. We are grown men and must play the man.

'Strong in will

To strike, to seek, to find, and not to yield,'

cherishing the good that falls in our way, and bearing the evil in and around us, with stout hearts set on diminishing it. So far we may strive in one faith towards our hope :

'It may be that the gulfs will wash us down,

It may be we shall touch the Happy Isles.

But something ere the end,

Some work of noble note may yet be done.'

Beyond mundane utilitarianism H. Sidgwick takes a step by way of hypothesis. He supposes that if there be a reward in future life for self-sacrifice done here, then he can rationalize the demands of altruism which otherwise seem to him to be in conflict with strict reasoning on his ground that happiness is the test and goal of morality.

V.

Returning now to what we assert to be man's last end, we expose ourselves less to depreciation if we call it beatitude or bliss rather than happiness or pleasure which may seem too Epicurean. As a fact, however, a saint like Blessed Thomas More could safely speak of being 'merry in heaven';

and Juliana of Norwich could safely write, ' God saith to me full merrily : I am the ground of thy beseeching ' ; and Walter Hilton, in his *Scale of Perfection*, could speak of all the Church's prayers and hymns and ministrations ' being turned into spiritual mirth.' Upon his own ground Aristotle distinguishes three aspects, ἡδονήν, εὐδαιμονίαν, τὸ μακαρεῶς ζῆν.¹ Beatitude, then, is our chosen term. And it starts from no mere subjective pleasantness of feeling which Bentham might estimate by quantity alone ; it means the happy possession of God by knowledge and love in which are included self-development, self-perfection, artistic self-expression, complete health of soul, full obedience to law, harmonious adjustment of all parts, consummate well-being. Beatitude so understood is surely comprehensive enough.

(a) Nor should anyone affect to despise it as of small worth, or as unworthily selfish ; we must maintain that it is so good that its eternal duration is supremely desirable. There is in man what is called ' an innate appetite ' for it, which experience develops into an ' elicited appetite.' Spinoza has a glimpse of the truth when he insists that Being tends to persevere in being ; similarly Seneca, speaking even of the ill-directed ' aviditas vitae,' says that it becomes so strong as to be something *intolerabile, infinitum, vagum* :¹ and another writer, Fouillée, declares, ' j'ai le sentiment d'une tension interne, continuée, d'un vouloir-vivre indéfectible.' Only an abnormal condition could have made Harriet Martineau so utterly indifferent as she declares :—

I don't believe, I can't believe what once I did, and there's an end of it. It is a thing which settled itself, for there's no going back to discarded beliefs. I can't understand why anyone should desire me to expect anything else than the yielding up of my place. If we may venture to speak, limited as we are, of anything whatever being important, we may say that the important thing is that the universe should be full of life under

¹ *Polit.* v. 3, 4.

Aristotle notices the bad habit to make an end out of the amusement. συμβέβηκεται ἀνθρώποις ποιεῖσθαι τὰς παιδίας τέλους (v. 5).

² *Ep.* 76, 10.

the eternal laws. If the universe is full of life I cannot see how it can signify whether our human faculty of consciousness of identity is preserved.¹

It signifies to us, and if life is of no personal value to any individual man, but each has just his transient possession of it, that certainly is a lamentable evil. Life, if valuable, must be valuable to somebody, and if it is of permanent worth it ought to be permanently in some person.

Blatchford gets outside the question when he considers merely his past life to be succeeded by another life of a renewed lease on earth. 'I have been myself for sixty years, and am getting tired of him. When I was a young self I was interesting; now I know the story and the hero, he interests me no more. If my personality is to persist I do not want to be immortal.'

Professed want of concern about future life is different from that resignation to the inevitable—or to 'the things beyond our power,' *τὰ οὐκ ἐφ' ἡμῖν*—which was so urgently put forward by Marcus Aurelius and Epictetus, and which a stern mind like that of George Eliot managed more or less to acquire. In a sad way she preached the lesson of abnegation such as she had probably read of for instance in Goethe, who calls it an element of religion.² The mind of H. Sidgwick was certainly more philosophical when he wrote: 'I feel by the limitations of my nature incapable of really comprehending the state of mind in one who does not desire the continuance of personal being.'

(b) Other objectors are moved by a false idea of rest in heaven. If they are of a reforming tendency, or have no esteem for anything that is not a conquest over hardship, then heaven, with no Augean stable to cleanse and no South Pole to be reached, seems too tame for their taste. Others fancy heaven as a work-prohibiting Sunday, with its

¹ In Walpole's letters, one written near his end describes him as a rare church-goer, for at church both music and preaching seemed to him very poor; and he adds, 'As I am to go soon to church for ever I do not think it my duty to try on my death beforehand.'

² 'Dass der Mensch ins Unvermeidlichen sich füge, darauf dringen alle Religionen: jede sucht auf ihre Weise mit diese Aufgabe fertig zu werden.'

wearisome Church services such as they have felt them. They shudder at a place

Where congregations ne'er break up
And Sabbaths never fail.

Others say plainly that they shudder at the company—the pious and the goody-goody—with no ‘jolly rakes.’ All these dreads are fears of the erring imagination, and of a mind lacking experience in the delights of contemplation or Aristotle’s *θεωρία*, in which the soul finds its beatitude by exercising its highest faculties about their highest objects. It does not require an heroic act of faith to believe that God will know how so to communicate Himself to His elect as thoroughly to satisfy their every desire without any unpleasantness. Against the pessimistic alternative which lies before the denier of a man’s destination to reach the infinite for which his life on earth sets him yearning, we argue that the hope of his rational nature is not to be frustrated, and thence it is small way to travel up to the conclusion that the infinite in giving Himself to man’s essential yearning after Him will do it in such a manner as entirely to adapt the gift to the circumstances of the receiver. The ideal is attainable and in an ideal way ; yet so that the ideal is also the real.

(c) Again, there is the uncertainty objected which besets an instinct, when it is argued thus : ‘ We possess or rather are possessed by an obstinate instinctive sense of our approach to God ’ where the instinct is rational.

The outcome of our experience in pursuit of knowledge and goodness leads us to express the affinity as a likeness of our nature to God. The objects of our quest are so vast, and in the last resort so spiritual and unearthly, and again our span of life so ludicrously inadequate to their attainment, that we think of a self-conscious perfect life in God, in which they perfectly exist and through union with which we ourselves may continue to exist after this life is over, no longer catching fiftul gleams of the truth but viewing it completely as the vision of God.¹

¹ *Truth and Experience*, by Arthur Chandler, Bishop of Bloemfontein, p. 26.

In dwelling on this natural instinct of man to seek his everlasting rest in the unfailing Goodness of God, we have to be careful always to keep in mind that though its first movements need subsequent analysis by reflection to bring out its full import, yet from the first it is a rational impulse conforming to the law, 'ignote nulla cupido.' We have not simply blind attraction to start with, and then the addition of intelligence ; we have not a mere animal impulse such as might be supposed by some who follow Plato in comparing the religious instinct to the procreative, and to look on the two as the strongest and allied strivings of nature unaware at first of their objects which can be discovered only by degrees as life advances.

Another misleading example of animal instinct would be that by which the young of the mammal is drawn to seek milk from the breast of its mother. The larger movement of the soul towards God cannot justly be treated according to these misleading analogies ; it must be considered on its own supreme level about which the assurance is not less because the process of verification through the senses cannot bear formal witness.

(d) A prejudice last to be mentioned may exist in the minds of some, especially if, wittingly or unwittingly, they have come under the influence of Kant, who depreciates all 'inclination' in man as never pointing to any absolute good, and as signifying wants which had better be got rid of. 'The objects of inclination have never more than a conditional worth, and to be free from such wants must be the wish of every reasonable being.'¹ It is scarcely needful to do more than call attention to the fallacy here contained in defence of an eccentric theory, which was devised for the exaltation of the pure good will apart from a determination to anything in particular and from every fact of experience, in order that personality may be left with all that is valuable attributed to itself alone, as being an end in itself and its own autonomous law-giver. 'Die vernünftige Natur existirt als Zweck an sich selbst.' Against this dictum of Kant

¹ *Grundlegung zur Metaphysik der Sitten*, 2 Anschu.

we must protest in the name of true ethical finality, which is proved empirically, by due attention and analysis bestowed upon our experience of life, moral and religious, where this is interpreted by the reason whose knowledge is not limited, as Kant fancied, to mere phenomena, but reaches up to the nature of man and God, not ended by perfect comprehension, and yet by a sufficient intelligence which is noble in its powers.

J. RICKABY, S.J.

PROSPECTS OF THE CATHOLIC CHURCH IN CHINA

NOW that the whole world has its eyes fixed on the Far East, it will be interesting to the readers of the I. E. RECORD to get the Catholic side of the question, and that from the pen of a missionary fresh from the scene of action.

A great change has come over China during the last ten years. This immense empire, so conservative in the past, is now in the state not merely of evolution but of rapid evolution. The Boxer outbreak was an attempt to free the Empire from the domination of foreign powers by violence. The attempt failed, and all China, high and low, emperor and peasant, has resolved to compete with the white race by imitating the methods of the white race. A deputation was sent out from Peking throughout the world to examine the form of government employed by the different nations, and fix on one the most suitable for China. This was declared to be *constitutional* government, and the late Empress published throughout the Empire that in ten years it would come into effect and that in the meantime the governors and prefects were to educate the people how to carry out elections. The people were delighted, and set about electing mayors and members of parliament. These latter went to Peking and demanded that the ten years of delay be cancelled, and a voice be given them in the government *immediately*. Peking held firm at first, but threatened by a general uprising reduced the period two years, so that the people have still to wait a couple of years before having a representative government legally established.

The recent outbreak in Canton would indicate that the Chinese, at least those in the south, wish the government to be reformed without delay; and, what Peking knows without a doubt, that reforms mean change of dynasty. To quote from an article written by an Irish missionary in

China, Rev. M. Kennelly, in the Catholic review called *America* :—

The murder of the Manchu Tartar General Fuki, at Canton, on April 9, by Wen Ching-tsai, a resident of Singapore and member of the reform party, was the first step in a series of violent acts aimed at the present reigning dynasty of China. The revolutionary chiefs adopted a cunning device, and thus disarmed suspicion. They lopped off their pigtails, dressed up in foreign clothes, and, riding in official sedan chairs, boldly entered the Viceroy's palace. The guards, insufficient in number, were at first taken by surprise, but little by little regained courage, and a terrible fight ensued. It is noteworthy that the foreign-modelled troops encamped outside the city were not called into active service. Their fidelity was open to suspicion, and they might possibly side with the rebels.

The article goes on to say how both sides lost heavily, how the rebel chiefs escaped and started revolts elsewhere, but finally, on the arrival of eight regiments from Kuangsi, peace was restored and the rebellion crushed out.

That China is on the eve of a great political change seems certain, but whether the future government is to be constitutional with the present Emperor at its head, or that a change of dynasty be brought about, or that the republican form be introduced, is hard to foretell. Personally, I believe that the present government is strong enough to stamp out all local uprisings like the one related above, and in so doing can prevent a general uprising; that the present system will continue until the people have a constitutional government legally established; but soon growing tired of the abuses which will exist in this latter will want the whole power of government in their hands and create a republic. The United States is the model constantly held up to the rising generation in China. The two nations, moreover, besides being next-door neighbours, are becoming daily more friendly, and hundreds of the brightest of China's youths, the ruling body of the future, are being educated in the Universities of the United States and imbued with the American spirit.

The social progress of China is no less marked than the

political. Modern schools, in which the curriculum is exactly the same as ours and in which our text-books, often literally translated, are used, are being introduced everywhere. It is forbidden by law to teach in the old system, namely, beginning with the classics and having the boys learn volumes by heart before giving them an insight into the meaning. In all the big cities there are high schools in which besides Chinese and the other branches, English and Japanese are taught. A number of universities have also been established throughout the Empire. Not only is the course up-to-date, but even the buildings are of modern American type. Catholics and Protestants tried to keep pace with the desire for Western knowledge and erected high, well-staffed colleges, but failed to a great extent, owing to the stubborn refusal of the government to grant degrees in any but its own institutions.

Study and travel have opened the eyes of the patriots in China to the baneful effect of opium on not only the individual but also the nation at large, with the result that for the last few years war has been waged on the drug. An International Conference was held at Shanghai with the view to aid China to suppress the evil. England promised that she would discontinue her importation of opium into China (for which right she formerly fought a battle) provided that China herself would suppress its cultivation. The Chinese government set to work in earnest; severe penalties were threatened against all who would plant the poppy, or sell opium, with the result that the country has nearly been ridden of the weed, and the drug is sold only by officials and in limited quantities to those who have long been addicted to the vice; whilst young men are forbidden to begin smoking. It is hoped that in less than ten years the vice will have practically died out.

In these days when suffragettes are clamouring for what they call their rights, it is interesting to know the condition of the Chinese women who form one-fourth of the female population of the globe. To begin with, the baby girl, though sure of being preserved till birth is not so sure of being wanted after birth; especially when a boy, not a

girl, was eagerly expected. If she has the good fortune of being tolerated, she is often given to another family as a daughter-in-law, but more often of remaining in her own family till her marriage, which is arranged without her knowledge by her father. She does not, however, object, as she knows that her father will make the best match in his power. At the age of six her feet are bound with strong bandages, and kept bound through life so tightly that they cannot grow any larger than they were at that period. Small feet are considered beautiful, and a young man objects persistently to marrying a girl with natural-sized feet. When a child screams under the torment her mother has only to tell her that otherwise she cannot be married to quieten her. Protestant women from England and America went through the country lecturing on the evils of foot-binding, but the Chinese sagely remarked that their own custom of tight-lacing was more injurious to the health; 'people in glass houses ought not to throw stones.' In our Catholic orphanages we do not allow the cruel practice, and this has to a great extent weaned our Catholic young men from the extravagant desire of having wives with little feet.

Pagan girls never go to school. 'Why,' asks the father, 'should I pay to educate another man's wife?' It is only Catholic girls that have the blessing of an education. A pagan cannot understand the benefit of having a wife who can read and write. He is afraid she would communicate with those she has no right to. If there is anything published of importance to her he will tell her. As for natural-sized feet, how could he master her in a quarrel, and would she not visit people too freely, getting herself and him into trouble? It cannot be denied that this total subjection of woman to man in a pagan nation like China, where moral restraints, religious instruction and the Sacraments are wanting, is not only necessary, but produces a salutary effect, preserving the great mass of the people from moral corruption. Nor should we imagine that the women in China feel unhappy and anxious to throw off the yoke of man; on the contrary, they are convinced that it is in accordance with nature and reason that man should

command and woman obey. The superiority of a father, a husband, an elder brother when parents are dead, is never called in question ; all a Chinese woman thinks of is doing her housework and minding the children. Her darkest days and greatest trials come, not from the men, but from her mother-in-law.

Notwithstanding what I have said above, there seems to be a tendency to change the status of women in China. Now and then one sees a pagan girl sent to school, often to a boys' school, as there are no pagan schools for girls and no women fit to teach school. Here is an opening for Christian endeavour on the part of our Catholic women ; let them do all in their power to procure religious instruction for the 200,000,000 of their sex who are born, live and die 'in darkness and the shadow of death.' And this brings me to the most interesting part of this article : the religious progress of China.

From time immemorial the Chinese were idolaters. They lost the idea of God soon after the Flood. At first they religiously kept the memory of Noah, his sons, and their own ancestors, but this soon degenerated into ancestor-worship, to which they have tenaciously held to the present day. Idol-worship was a later introduction, and Buddhism did not make its appearance till after Christ. It was in Ningpo that I saw, for the first time, a person committing the sin of idolatry. It was an old woman prostrating herself with great reverence before an ugly idol. I shall never forget the feeling that came over me—I was nauseated. But now such scenes make little impression on me, for they are an everyday occurrence. China might well be described as a great sea or ocean of idolatry. High and low, from the emperor to the peasant, men, women, and children, all are sunk in the deepest idolatry. The land is swarming with pagan temples, monasteries, and nunneries ; overrun with pagan priests, nuns, sorcerers, and fortune-tellers. Idolatry and superstition are rife in all conditions and circumstances. A pagan cannot speak five minutes without giving utterance to an invocation to the gods or other superstitious expression. If a house has to be built, a fortune-teller

must be called in to fix the day on which work is to be commenced, what direction the house is to face, etc. The day to perform the marriage ceremony has also to be fixed by the soothsayer. The spot in which to bury the dead has similarly to be chosen by this presumptuous charlatan. He pretends to know everything by means of a compass surrounded by mysterious characters. Sometimes the plot he chooses for the grave is in another man's farm. The latter asks an enormous price for a piece of ground which in reality is worth only a pittance. The buyer is obliged to purchase it, even if he should thus bring himself to the verge of ruin, for he firmly believes that in that spot alone will the parent or relative to be buried enjoy 'pleasant breezes' and be comfortable in his tomb. If, rejecting the 'wind and rain' master's verdict, he has the interment in another place, misfortune will be heaped on his family. The four hundred millions of China are swayed by lying geomancers! Four hundred million rational beings slaves of the magnetic needle! When will missionaries come in sufficient numbers and with sufficient zeal to redeem them from folly during life and hell after death?

It would take too long to give even a vague idea of the vast, all-penetrating superstition that holds the poor Chinese nation bound, as though in bonds of steel, slaves of the devil. In winter the Emperor orders prayers and sacrifices to be offered by the princes to the dragon for snow; in the summer he entreats heaven for rain. Festivals, sacrifices, and theatrical representations in honour of the gods occur at short intervals, and form, one would say, the very life of the Chinese. The latter are emphatically a religiously-minded people. They believe in the immortality of the soul, and have a great fear of ghosts. Thousands of stores in Ningpo make good profit on the sale of incense, candles, superstitious papers, and articles used in the worship of ancestors and idols. The devil sits with ease on the colossal throne he has made for himself in China, and receives the adoration of millions.

The Church is making headway, to be sure—100,000 converts a year; but unless there is an increase in the

number of the missionaries, yes, a great increase, this lamentable state of affairs—the legions of infanticides, the fearful wastage of the Precious Blood, the triumph of the dragon, the appalling loss of souls—will continue for (100,000 into 400,000,000) four thousand years ! It makes the heart sick to think of the thousands of Anglo-Saxon apostles of heresy with not a dozen priests of that tongue to labour for the millions for whom, nevertheless, our Master died. The time has come when young Irishmen ought to volunteer for the Chinese mission. America and Australia are pretty well supplied with priests. The United States has 17,000. There is a college in Limerick called Mungret College, where boys can be educated for the Chinese mission. There are some free burses, but there ought to be more. What a meritorious work to found a burse with the express clause that it be bestowed only on a boy who wishes to be a missionary in China. Parish priests would do well to tell their rich parishioners of this glorious work, and invite them to leave bequests in their wills to such colleges as educate missionaries for China. A number of pious boys are volunteering to go to China, but being poor they find it impossible to pay for their education. A priest in America recently left by will enough to found a burse for the Far East in an American seminary. In what better way can the priests of Ireland dispose of their property after death than in founding burses for China ?

That China is the next mission field for the Irish appears certain. Besides Fathers Kennelly, Murphy, O'Halloran, Doherty and others already in the field, three others are finishing theology in Holland, and a number of others are making their course here in Ireland. There is no reason why, during the next ten years, a hundred Irish missionaries should not land in China. They may be secular or religious, for both are in China. Young Irish Vincentians, Dominicans, Franciscans, and Jesuits would be very acceptable in their respective vicariates, and young secular priests (I myself am a secular) are needed throughout the whole of China, to be models for the native clergy, who are nearly all secular. Seminarians who desire to go to China may finish their

education in philosophy and theology in All Hallows or Propaganda, Rome, where there are ten free burses for China, or in Collegio Brignole Sale, Genoa, where I made my course of theology.

Why should we sleep whilst the emissaries of Satan are sowing the seed of perdition in this vast vineyard of the Lord? There are 3,000 Protestant missionaries, men and women, in China, and they employ 11,000 Chinese helpers to spread heresy. May an army of Irish priests and nuns go out to confound them! When Protestants can go by the thousand should we, the children of God and soldiers of Christ, be afraid? There are, moreover, Irishmen, Catholic laymen, who are living for the past twenty years in the heart of China, with their wives and children, in order to make a living. They put us to shame.

China is not the wild place it used to be. A foreigner may now go anywhere without a passport and unmolested. Priests and nuns are respected, even by the pagans, and if an outbreak takes place (which is becoming rarer and rarer) they are the first to be protected by the local authorities. During the last twenty years the members of the Catholic Church have doubled in number, there being now 1,200,000 Catholic Chinese. Whilst most of the money received by the Protestant minister is spent on his wife and family, every penny the Catholic missionary receives goes towards the propagation of the Faith, the erection of churches, support of schools, the saving of outcast children, and the education of Chinese young men for the priesthood. Then again, the Catholic priests, as well as the nuns, spend their whole life at their work, and die in the land of their choice. In Ningpo a proof of their devotedness is found in the twelve graves of priests, and fifty of Sisters of Charity. In this parish there are, besides myself, two priests. We have 3,000 Catholics to minister to and several million pagans to convert (besides the city of Ningpo there are 750 towns and villages). Few conversions of the rich, or those in power, take place; but the number of workmen and their families converted is steadily on the increase. The Catholics are good, honest people in their daily lives and faithful to

the rules of the Church. Their children are so well safeguarded that although they live in the midst of paganism, they know little or nothing about idolatry and wickedness. Hundreds of families date back their Catholicity two and three centuries. All the Catholics are well instructed, love their religion, and fulfil its obligations in spite of obstacles and sacrifices. In our province we have a community of fifty-five Chinese nuns, who come from the best Catholic families, and having been confessor of the mother-house for eight years, I can attest to their solid virtues and saintly lives. Their work, like that of the Sisters of Charity, consists in the management of orphanages, schools, and institutes for women. Though founded only twenty years ago they have already five branch foundations. At Ningpo three or four infant girls, whose parents are too poor to keep them, are given to the Sisters every day. They are supported by the Society of the Holy Childhood. There are at present nearly 500 on the Sisters' hands, all saved from a premature death, and being brought up Christians by these Angels of Charity. In the cemetery there are 7,000 of them buried, having died after baptism. In another hospice, in the same city, there are some 400 men and boys afflicted with the various ills of humanity.

The vast majority of the pagans in China are simple, honest people, having but one wife, and working from morning till night for the support of their families. One mandarin suffices to govern hundreds of thousands of subjects. In the district of Fenghua, which has over a million inhabitants, there were only two executions in fifty years, and the solitary prison contains only a handful of prisoners. This is due, in part, to the severe punishment inflicted on delinquents. If there was more flogging and less pampering of criminals in our prisons of Europe and America, there would also be less crimes among us. Some people, judging from the ports, think the Chinese a very immoral race, but they are not. The disgraceful scenes which take place on some of our streets are never witnessed in China, not even in Shanghai. The Chinese have the utmost respect for the proprieties of social intercourse, in which great reserve is maintained

between men and women. The latter are remarkably modest in all their actions ; rarely speak to the men in public, and are satisfied with the society of people of their own sex at family gatherings. Obscene pictures are forbidden by law. Their first commandment is 'Honour thy father and thy mother,' and they even carry this out to excess by adoring their parents after death. Widowhood is held in esteem, and monuments are erected to widows faithful to the memory of their first husbands. In a word, the Chinese, though pagan, possess many of the natural virtues, and this, joined with their belief in the supernatural, gives great hopes of their future conversion, and I will say *proximate* conversion, provided there is a big increase in the ranks of the missionaries. The few there already scarcely suffice for the Catholics, let alone to cope with the gigantic work of converting the pagans, who, if they were to form into an army and march by at the rate of one hundred a minute, day and night, would take eight years for all to pass ; whilst the coffins of those who die daily, if placed one after another, would reach thirty-seven miles !

In Ningpo there is a seminary containing twenty-seven students, all Chinese, studying for the priesthood. They turn out very good priests, just as good in every way as the foreign missionaries (with the exception that they cannot speak English, and therefore are unable to obtain alms for the mission). It only takes £72 to found a permanent burse, the interest on that amount being sufficient to keep a seminarian, and when he is ordained another pious and promising lad is taken in his place, and so on for ever. There are many good boys in our parish in Ningpo and elsewhere who desire to become priests, but their parents, who only earn a few pence a day, cannot afford to pay for their sons' education, and neither can we, poor missionaries ; but for every permanent burse we receive another boy is taken in the seminary. At present there are 600 Chinese Catholics priests. The sum required for a burse is small, and within the reach of those of even moderate means, who desire to have a hand in this the most meritorious of all works of charity—the education of young men for the priesthood.

I desire to see started in Ireland a seminary solely for the training of Irish boys for the Chinese mission. This is the only practical way of getting a continual stream of missionaries for that immense field, 'where the harvest is ripe but the labourers few'; but until that much-needed seminary is in existence our best plan is to contribute burses to Mungret (for preliminary studies), to other seminaries (for theology), and to the seminaries in China.

J. M. FRASER.

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(A penny stamp.)

SIR WILLIAM BUTLER: A SKETCH

ONE rises from a perusal of the autobiography of Sir William Butler with a sense of admiration of the author as a man, a soldier, a patriot, and a Christian. It is a remarkable book. Autobiographies as a rule are discursive; they often deal much with minute self-analysis. In this volume we get a clear-cut picture, a drawing in outline. The lines are strong and masculine, and the reader is left to fill in the delicate strokes and do the shading. There is much to be said for such a style of work. In this case any other was impossible to such a manly and commanding character as Sir William, whose vigorous mind is mirrored in this the story of his life. And it is one of absorbing interest. From first to last it moves. It pulsates with the throb of a strenuous career and with the energy inherited from his Norman sires. It is a picture of a man who *did* things and described them when done. He is at the same time the hero and historian—a rare combination of genius, and the result is a rare book.

As a writer, Sir William Butler is in the front rank. He was born with the gift. Nothing else but inbred literary genius could have triumphed over the drawbacks of his early education, which was by no means on a liberal scale and of which a University course formed no part. His English moves along like a column of infantry on the march—solid, strong, and picturesque. Here and there he dashes at some abuse or official muddling with a wealth of word and phrase and epithet that reminds one of a charge of cavalry. His scenic descriptions show the true child of nature. Nurtured in the midst of beautiful scenery, with verdant meadow, dark wood, and winding river surrounding the home of his childhood, it is no wonder that the inherited artistic spark was fanned by ripening years into a flame. As a young man he revelled in the loneliness and beauty of

the wilderness. He loved to sleep on the bosom of mother-earth whether in stretching prairie or deep forest. He looked out unabashed on the trackless waste and the snow-clad mountain, and felt at home in both. He shared the cabin of the isolated trapper, and he was welcome in the wigwam of the Red Indian of the plains. He gloried in the mad stampede of the herd of buffalo, and was elated by the risk and hidden dangers of the chase. Strenuous in every pursuit we behold in him the true son of nature, growing into active manhood, and, like Fenimore Cooper, taking chief part in the stirring events he so vividly portrays. There is, indeed, in his books dealing with American life a strong likeness to the works of the famous novelist. Had Cooper not lived in the Wild West his stories would have been wanting in the go and imagery and wealth of description so characteristic of them. So Butler's genius would have been as the sickly hot-house plant to the gorgeous tropical tree, had he not lived and moved in the scenes limned with such graphic realism by his pen. Who can forget the wonderful picture of the buffalo hunt in this volume? Who can read without being stirred the description of the scene in Paris after the Commune, when the bloodstained and haggard prisoners were led forth from the hell that man had made in the city to the morning sunshine, and the dripping dews, and the birds' songs that told of Heaven outside the walls? Or, again, what heart will not surge with emotion over the page that tells of the funeral cortège of the dead Prince Imperial winding down the side of the South African mountain towards the sea, thence to be borne to the broken-hearted Empress in England and wept over by Imperial France? One of the finest pieces of descriptive writing in this, or perhaps in any other book, is the account of the midnight march before the battle of Tel-el-Kebir. The weird scene stands out before us with all the vividness, the force, the action of the reality. What Lady Butler does by her brush, this and more does her husband by his pen. We seem to see in the dim light the moving host in the desert, the twinkling stars, the shadowy figures, the muffled crush of myriad feet on the sand, the

whispers of the men, the silent movement of horses and guns, till, with the first streak of dawn, the shadows pass, and once again, as it were, the avenging hosts of Pharaoh stand in battle array in the wilderness.

Again, in the battle of Kirbekan we behold not only the strategy of an able general, but the action-painting of an able writer. The broad Nile, the rocky hills, the stony and uneven and jagged foreground fill up the scene. All is silent and motionless, but in an instant the sharp rattle of the rifles deal death and destruction to stolid white man and howling Ethiopian. It is a snapshot of the suddenness, the lightning stroke of modern war, the electric transformation of a peaceful scene of nature into a writhing field of death.

In descriptions of scenery he possesses a rare power. In a few touches he transfers a landscape to paper, and from that to the imagination of the reader with the vividness of a coloured photograph. Here is a picture of South Africa :—

In old days I had never tired of South Africa outside its town and cities. It was the same with me still. I saw again with pleasure the hot blazing wastes of the Karroo, the great plains of the upper plateaux, the far apart river valleys with their yellow streams, the green mimosa fringes, the huge table-topped hills, with glimpses beyond those hills of blue mountain ranges, and over all that wondrous sky with its atmosphere of arm-stretching and lung-expanding freedom, the glory of space everywhere visible.

Or turn to his chapter on Palestine. All our lives we have been reading of that historic land sanctified by the footsteps of the Redeemer of the world, but one gets in a few pages in this book a picture that will stamp itself with reverent outline on the mind, and will fill the soul with tender and holy emotions. It is a miniature with vivid colour and condensed expression. A bold sweep of the pen embraces the whole scene, then he marks off each prominent feature with such apt and picturesque words that

the living map of the prospect is stamped indelibly on the imagination. Here is a paragraph :—

And so through these valleys and rocks you come at last upon Jerusalem. All grandeur gone from it and nearly all verdure ; but the age of the place written everywhere over it—in the stones, in the caves, in the face of the earth, washed as it might be with cycles of the tears of men and women, and furrowed by the footsteps of human beings for aeons of years. Ashes upon ashes, graves upon graves, ruins over ruins, all in so small a compass that a circle described from the centre with a radius of a thousand yards will enclose everything—Tomb, Temple, Tower, Gate, Pool and Wall. There on the east is the Mount of Olives, there on the west the Tower of Hippicus, on the south the Valley of Hinnom, between Olivet and the city the Brook Kedron.

And again :—

We traversed the usual route to Bethlehem, to the Dead Sea, and then northwards from Jerusalem to Nattous, Samaria, and Galilee. . . . These four or five weeks' travel now lie in memory shot with sunshine. A golden haze is over hill and valley ; over lonely rocky tracks that traversed lonelier rockier hills ; over noonday halting places under solitary Karoub trees, where little lizards open-mouthed on bare brown rocks drank in the sunshine, over desolate wildernesses in Judæa, where the track led round the ledge of steep white cliffs where some of the earliest monks built themselves homes. Here in the fissured hills that look down upon the Dead Sea they lived, protests against the riches and corruptions of the Roman Empire ; and here still the foxes and jackals are the monks' friends ; and the white paddy-birds from the Dead Sea and the blue rock-pigeons from the surrounding precipices still come in flights when the monks sound an evening horn to gather them to supper. This old Christian religion of the East has a charm about it that modern Christianity cannot rival. The question, 'What want ye out into the wilderness to see?' they answered thus, 'So that we might not see the city.' That was all. It was a revolt against Rome and all that Rome meant.

One is filled with a feeling of regret that this facile and reverent pen did not dwell at greater length on these soul-absorbing scenes that mark the centre spot of God's history of the world. But whether giving pen-pictures of foreign

lands, or dealing with the stirring march of modern events, with true dramatic power he seizes the trend of things, and fixes the contrasts of men and nature by an unerring stroke of art. Pathos, feeling, humour flow by turns from his pen, and while his goal is always before him, he leads his reader there by language terse, to the point, decisive. Few men can read him without being convinced, and there is the sensation, as one follows, that one is treading in the footsteps of a guide that knows his way and means to get there.

I have spoken of Butler as a *man*.—The word sums up many striking qualities. Strength, straight dealing, honesty of purpose, lofty motive are contained in it, and these no reader of this book will deny to him. But he had in addition that sympathy with the weak, the defeated, the oppressed, that mark the noble mind. He was a true democrat. He was a lover of humanity and a hater of tyranny. The eviction scene witnessed as a boy cut him to the heart, and he gives expression in burning words to his indignation at landlord cruelty. Sprung from the great old Norman stock, whose history for centuries had been the history of a large part of southern Ireland, he inherited their bravery in the field and their tenderness at home. For the Butlers were good landlords; and while spendthrift gentry harried their tenantry for money for the gambling table and worse, the rule of this ancient family was kindly and considerate. Had their example been followed throughout Ireland the land question would never have become acute.

Riding over the battle-field of Tel-el-Kebir, when all was over, he pays the following tribute to the vanquished enemy :—

Complete surprise though it was to the Egyptian soldiers behind their entrenchments, they nevertheless fought with the greatest determination against overwhelming odds. Not a moment was given them to awake, form up, prepare or move into position. The assault fell upon them as a thunderbolt might fall upon a man asleep. The leaders in whom they could trust were, like themselves, fellaheen; few among them knew anything of war, its arts, manœuvres, or necessities; they were

betrayed on every side, yet they fought stoutly wherever ten or twenty or fifty of them could get together in the works, in the angles of the lines, and in the open desert between the lines. The heaps of dead lying with and across their rifles facing the upcoming sun bore eloquent testimony to that final resolve of these poor fellows. Peace be to them, lying under these big mounds on the lone desert—ten thousand, it is said. No word should soldier utter against them; let that be left to the money-changers. They died the good death. Dust to dust. They did not desert the desert, and Egypt will not forget them.

In these generous words we see not merely the instinctive reverence of the soldier for a brave though fallen foe, but the big heart-beat of a lover of the race of men irrespective of type or colour. The trampled fellaheen was to him a brother, a man, the rightful owner of his country; the degenerate inheritor, if you will, of a great civilization, but still having a prior claim on the mysterious land of Pyramid and Sphinx, of deified Nile, of storied monument and ruined temple. How else can we explain his sympathy with them—with the red men of the Western Hemisphere, or the hardy Boers of Southern Africa. For the latter he jeopardized his military prospects, he incurred public odium, he sat silent under calumny, he risked and lost the certainty of wealth and influence, and faced the combined power of gold and statecraft absolutely alone. This people appealed to him with their inherited love of the soil, their hatred of city life, their contempt for the money-changer, and the diamond-grabbing Semite, their primitive ruggedness of character, their honesty of purpose, their industry, and their stubborn bravery in danger; all these with their strong sense of national pride in their patriarchal kingdoms founded in hardship and much sacrifice of blood, won for them the sympathy and the advocacy of the foreign general who had been sent to crush them.

The latter part of his book is devoted to the narrative of the events that preceded the last Boer war. It is painful reading. The inner history of the time, as far as honour allowed, is revealed. Butler was one of the chief, if not the chief figure in the drama, and round him the principal

events revolved. He therefore ought to have known the truth, and he has told it. It is bitter. Covetous eyes fix themselves on the gold reefs of the Transvaal, unprincipled financiers and Machiavellian statesmen plot together, a corrupt press take up and carry on an agitation, a small but brave people is goaded into defiance, war and conquest follow. This, in brief, is the story of that troubled time as told by Sir William Butler. Let us take extracts :—

The total trend of things, that is the difficult matter to grasp in life. Where is this thing going ? If you once know that, you will know much. If you don't know it or can't correctly guess at it you are more or less in a balloon or in a rudderless ship drifting whither the wind listeth. All political questions in South Africa, and nearly all the information sent from Cape Town to England, are now being worked by what I have already termed a colossal syndicate for the spread of systematic misrepresentation. . . . The bane of South Africa in the last twenty-four years has been the false information sent home. There has never been a time in that long period when that disease reached greater depth than now.

And again : ' What we want are honest men. If you could induce a few of that class to emigrate here we might have hope in the future, but I fear that neither Houndsditch nor the Stock Exchange will help us much in that line.' In an interview with Sir Alfred Milner, then High Commissioner in South Africa, he used the following words : ' The real danger lies in the occult influences at work, backed by enormous means, and quite without conscience, to produce war in South Africa for selfish ends.' Further on : ' They must see the awful volume of lies which the syndicate gangs have so long passed off as truth upon the British public.' Towards the end of his command in the Cape he writes : ' I can now no longer doubt that more powerful forces than I had imagined were joined with the old agencies in the effort to force a racial war upon South Africa.' He did not conceal his opinions from his chiefs—the War Office, nor from responsible Ministers of State—with the result that he was practically forced to resign his high command, and was sent to Aldershot.

Reading his account of that eventful time—and his narrative has not been contradicted—he impresses us altogether as an honest man, a lover of peace, a sympathizer with the weak, a cool and cautious and far-seeing general, a hater of underhand dealing and of falsehood, a contemner of commercial greed, a strong-minded and strict moralist, a candid, fearless, and loyal friend. In the sordid history of that period, when subterranean influences, set in motion by those who from their high position should have adopted other principles of conduct, had brought about an unjust war, when grasping financiers watched the gold of the Transvaal with greedy eyes, one noble figure stands out, manly, straightforward, incorruptible. It is Sir William Butler. Looking back at it now, the German Jew has got the gold; Butler has got the glory. England has won a province, but the story of its winning has added a dark and bloodstained page to history. Butler has demonstrated once again the history-proved truism that chicanery fits the statesman, rectitude the soldier; and though the pen is mightier than the sword, the former often incites to the weaving of the Gordian knot only that the sword may cut it. 'The good that men do lives after them,' and the transparent honesty of Butler's life and action has led the Boers to realize that even among the Rooineks there are men of probity that one may trust. And so we trace his influence, leading up to the South African Confederation of to-day.

And this Confederation with its background of a two-years' war, and its promise for the future, suggests a line of thought which to the reader of this book cannot be irrelevant. The success of England in her wars and in amassing wealth is somewhat of a mystery. Her methods are slow, marked by blunders and often by incapacity of her officials and public men. Nevertheless, she 'muddles through.' Glancing at the world's history it would seem as if destiny, or shall we not rather say some higher power, had arranged or foreordained that certain nations should rise and flourish in spite of obstacles and mistakes, and that this will be successive. The civilizations of Babylon, Egypt,

and Greece were succeeded by the dominance of Rome. This, broken up, gave birth to the nations now merged in Italy as the great powers, the commercial and banking nations of the world. Then came Portugal into world-wide prominence in wealth and colonial possessions, while, with its fall, rose Spain, the discoverer of America, and the leading State in the world for a time. Since then we have seen France advance under Napoleon to meridian splendour, enriched by the treasures and plunder of Europe, and *facile princeps*, in commerce, riches, and power of arms. Waterloo brought England to the front, and it has since dominated by its wealth and naval power the great nations. But its sun would seem to be sinking towards the West, and its light is flushing the face of the young and hustling United States. Before many generations, perhaps, the Western Hemisphere will have captured the crown of the universe, while the Teuton of the Baltic will press closely on its heels. And when, mayhap, America has held the sceptre for generations, the power, and pomp, and gold will follow the sun again, and re-appear in the East where the yellow races are shaking off their slumber of twenty centuries, and with opening eyes are taking note of the methods and ways of the opulent nations of the West. These things, however, are hidden in the mists of the future, and it is not given to man to pierce them. Sufficient is it to say that in building up and consolidating one of these empires the subject of our sketch took a notable, prominent, and distinguished part.

As a soldier, Sir William Butler must be judged by the experts of his own profession. We are faced, however, with the fact that he was backed in his early days in the army by none of those powerful influences that work for promotion. It is apparent from this book that in those days of purchase the best men did not always rise, and that there was room for the pressure of wealth and allied interests in regulating the advancement of young officers. It is evident that his vocation was the profession of arms, that he was full of enthusiasm in his new career, and that his rise was due to sheer merit recognized and rewarded by his friend, Wolseley. As a young man he set out alone to see

the battle-fields of Belgium ; he went alone to Paris in 1870 to gain experience of actual warfare ; later, he made a journey to Austria, and even in his tour of Palestine the eye of the soldier guides the pen of the writer as he describes the march and the positions held there by the victorious army of Napoleon. Had his advice and his methods been adopted in Egypt, Gordon's life would not have been sacrificed, just as his strategic instinct would have prevented the appalling casualties of the South African War if his despatches from that country had been heeded. His advance up the Nile, as detailed in his *Campaign of the Cataracts*, was memorable, showing the resource of the able general and the grit in battling with difficulties which marks the man of genius. His march as a young officer at the head of black troops in Western Africa was a notable achievement, carried out in spite of unexampled obstacles, through pestilential swamp and steaming forest ; while his reputation in later life led the famous Boer general to remark : ' It was lucky for us, General, you were not in command against us.' Fame in the profession of arms depends much on the presence of opportunities as well as the seizing of them. Great chances did not offer, but such as they were they enabled him to leave behind him a name distinguished for bravery and skill on many fields of battle. The confidence reposed in him at all times by Wolseley and the letter written to Lady Butler at his death are confirmation of this, and a testimony from high authority to his worth as a soldier.

Sir William Butler gave the bulk of his life's work to England, but his heart was in his native land. Reading the first chapter of his autobiography one can see between the lines how strongly as a boy he loved Ireland and its people. The picture of his native spot, with its ' long glimpses of green grass seen between lime and beech trees,' its ' glistening river with shimmering shallows and bending shallows,' and its ' long blue mountain range ' burnt itself into his youthful imagination never to leave it. The horrors of the famine and the heartless eviction of his poor neighbours awakened his sympathy and roused his anger. He does not spare the Government of the day for its criminal neglect in such an

awful crisis, and he is, perhaps, too considerate when he says: 'A constitutional government face to face with a sudden crisis is as helpless as a stranded whale in an ebb-tide.' We take leave to doubt it. If the famine had happened in Lancashire or Yorkshire, with their teeming tens of thousands of operatives, we think it would not have been left to the historian to say, as our author does, that 'the halting and creaking machinery of State could not cope with this sudden onslaught.' The food was in Ireland, the people were hungry, and yet it was allowed to be exported. And the *Times*, a few years later, writes as a commentary on the emigration of the starving millions, who fled the country: 'The Celt is gone with a vengeance.' But the Celt is *not* gone, though his numbers are diminished, and so our author, in the evening of life, having resigned the army, returned to the land of his birth, to his native plains of Tipperary, to give what energy remained to the welfare of the people whom in childhood's days he loved. Such an active mind could not remain quiescent, and he threw himself into the intellectual portion of the new movement of nation building which has been in progress and so much in evidence of late years. He lectured up and down the country, he consented to act on educational boards, he took up with enthusiasm his part in the pleasant labour of launching the National University on its career, and nowhere was he more at home than on a Gaelic League platform at a country Feis. We remember well his first appearance on such an occasion. A green-clad gentle hill, a church at its foot, the last notes of the stirring music of a band, a spacious platform with coloured awning, the listening throng stretching around and up the slope, and the General, then a new and distinguished figure in Irish life, manuscript in hand, addressing the multitude. He stood well over six feet in height, erect and broad shouldered, with well-poised head and commanding mien, every inch a soldier. The strong florid features were lighted up by prominent eyes whose glance was fearless, yet an Irish kindliness shone from his smile and won the hearts of his audience. Tall and powerfully built, a splendid specimen of manhood, his broad and massive

brow showed the vigorous intellect within. His carriage betokened power, and his face glowed as he spoke with the earnestness of his convictions. His theme was in part the physical regeneration of the Irish people. After nearly fifty years' absence from his native land he noticed a marked decline in their physique. He described the men of his boyhood's days and their feats of endurance, and much as he admired the athletic prowess of these modern times he missed the tall forms and the arms of steel so common in the days of old. Emigration of the young and strong had done its work, but even more hurtful had been the change in the food of the people. He begged a return to the plain and homely, but muscle-giving fare once so popular, and denounced the abuse of tea and alcoholic drinks. Then breaking off into other subjects he continued his address, and paid a high compliment to the beauty and fertility of his native land in comparison with much-vaunted foreign nations, and wound up an eloquent and original address amid ringing cheers. That evening his health was proposed at a dinner comprising many clerics and laymen, and his unassuming reply was a revelation of the modesty of the man whose career had been so noble.

One of the features of his book is his admiration for Parnell. His pen-picture of the great leader is striking, and to those who are familiar only with Parnell's icy reserve will reveal interesting points of character. How much of Butler's admiration went out to the man and how much to his aims cannot be precisely determined. There was much sympathy between them. There was, moreover, the bond of nationality. They were friends, but it is fairly evident that while he gave him instinctive respect as a successful Parliamentary captain, he gave him enthusiastic admiration as the righter of the wrongs of Ireland. Napoleon he idealizes as the greatest of generals ; Gordon he venerates as the single-minded soldier ; but Parnell he warms to as the patriot destined to cut the cords that bound his native land. Alas ! he lived to see his fall, and the shattering of the hopes, then, indeed, so bright, and now again, thank Heaven, at last so near fruition.

His views on the land question were in favour of a distribution, where possible, into small holdings. About twenty acres he considered sufficient to enable a farmer to live in comfort with industry, and he believed a measure of this kind would give a large population and prosperity. This opinion, in view of his varied foreign experience, is worth recording.

During these years it is understood that he received many requests from constituencies to offer himself as a candidate for Parliamentary honours. The Irish Party would have been glad also to have, as an independent member, the powerful aid of his personality and eloquent voice in that assembly, but to such requests, in later years at least, he replied that the stress of Parliamentary life was too much for his advancing age. He preferred to labour in other spheres for the same grand object, and a pathetic feature of his untimely death was his wish most earnestly expressed that he might be spared for ten more years to work for his native land.

To his co-religionists Sir William Butler's career is one of unique interest. When lecturing some years ago in Trinity College he commenced with some personal reminiscences. He stated that when he was a young man he was denied, as a Catholic, facilities for university education. The bald statement came on the assembled professors and students, as well as a large part of the audience, as an unpleasant reminder of the intolerance of Trinity. They attempted to intimidate him by ejaculations of dissent. The General drew himself up, and with a steady scornful gaze on his interrupters, he repeated in slow and emphatic tones the same charge, which, of course, they could not deny, and the cowed and frightened group subsided into abashed silence. That was his religious attitude during life. Fearless in all his opinions, broad-minded towards others, he would brook no interference with his religion. Neither did he minimise it. It was against his nature. But, nevertheless, he suffered for it. In his autobiography he states that the Marquis of Ripon asked for him as Secretary when being sent as Viceroy to India. Gladstone refused, saying

he was risking enough by sending one Catholic there, and Butler had to exchange a salary of three thousand pounds a year for a minor appointment of five hundred. We have before our mind a story of two young Catholic doctors many years ago entering the army. They came from the same locality, but differed in character. One was easy-going and somewhat effeminate. He felt the taunts flung at his religion, fell away, married a divorcée, and lapsed, or pretended to lapse, into Mohammedanism, carrying the Koran about in his pocket. The other was strong in mind and body, an athlete, and promptly knocked down any man that insulted his faith. Needless to say one was despised, the other respected. Of the latter mould was Butler. He inherited the grit of his maternal ancestor, Theobald O'Doherty, who fought as a captain on half the battle-fields of Europe in his day, and was afterwards dismissed the army for having challenged his superior officer, who insulted his religion, to a duel. This Theobald did not rise in the army in spite of all his bravery. Presumably he was too fiery a Catholic. At all events it is gratifying to find that General Butler makes no allusion to any intolerance in his day, and we conclude that in his case he experienced a fair field and no favour. But the popular belief still exists that Catholics are handicapped in military life. If this belief rests on any solid foundation, so much the worse for the army and the nation whom it protects. Intolerance has a way of coming home to roost, and nations, like men, cannot fight with one arm tied behind their backs.

In the first pages of his book, Sir William alludes to his father's difficulties in the famine with its twin horrors of hunger and disease :—

In what manner my father was able to weather the storm which had so suddenly broken, in which so many stronger craft had gone down, I do not know, but he was a brave man. He had not fought these foes before, and he was at this time not far off his sixtieth year. *This is where religion comes in.*

This pregnant sentence gives the key to our author's character. He had many disappointments and trials in life, not the least being ill-requited services to another country,

and if he came through all, brave-hearted and smiling, as he did, he could truthfully say, as in his father's case, 'this is where religion comes in.' In his home life he was a Catholic of the old school, solid, reverent, submissive to the laws of his Church, regular in their observance, and holding the golden mean in practices of devotion. He seemed to belong to that grand old type of men whose stubborn courage won Catholic Emancipation, while, moderate in all things, he held his religious course with strong conviction and unbreakable faith. During the years of his retirement he received an invitation from the city of Leeds to stand for one of the divisions as a candidate for Parliament. He deliberated over the matter, and finding that his ideas on Catholic education were adverse to those of the Liberals who invited him, he promptly decided not to accept. With the blood of the Catholic Butlers flowing in his veins, there was no temporizing in matters of religious principle, and so when some time later unexpected illness appeared, he faced death with the same unflinching courage that had carried him erect and fearless on many a hard-fought field. Brave and placid, fortified by all the helps of religion, he peacefully breathed his last. 'He taught me how to live,' said the weeping Lady Butler, 'now he has taught me how to die.'

Democratic, human and generous, sensitive to the sufferings of others, broad-minded enough to see all things and all men from their point of view, a deep thinker, gifted with a clear-sighted vision into the future, he held strong opinions, broad based on a sound philosophy of men and things. A great man, a brave soldier, a true patriot, a devoted Catholic, his name will live in Irish history and shed lustre on his native land. In years gone by he had written on the death of a great Irish leader :—

Keep alive his sacred fire, O mother Eri,
Keep it burning on thy mountains—in thy vales,
Keep it burning—tho' the night be long and dreary,
And the faggots be the heart-strings of the Gaels.

Through want of opportunity at home his native land had been robbed of his services. Had other conditions prevailed he would have served her equally well in the field,

in the senate, or on the judge's bench, for his powerful intellect was fit for all, but in far-off lands his heart beat in unison with the aspirations of her people to be free.

He had craved in earlier days to be buried in Ireland. In all his wanderings over the world, in his dwellings in foreign climes, in his mixings and intercourse with strange peoples, the primal affection re-asserted itself and he wrote the yearnings of his exiled heart in the touching poem recently brought to light and entitled 'A Request':—

Give me but six foot three (one inch to spare),
Of Irish ground and dig it anywhere,
And for my poor soul say an Irish prayer
Above the spot.

Let it be hill where cloud and mountain meet,
Or vale where grows the tufted meadow-sweet,
Or borean trod by peasants' shoeless feet,
It matters not.

I loved them all—the vale, the hill,
The moaning sea, the flagger-lilied rill,
The yellow furze, the lake shore lone and still,
The wild bird's song.

But more than hill or valley, bird or moor,
More than the green fields of my river Suir,
I loved those hapless ones, the Irish poor,
All my life long.

The 'request' was granted. Surrounded by the Irish people whom he loved, and who gathered in huge procession to do him honour, he was laid to rest in the calm of an Irish June with his ancestors in the ancient churchyard of Kildrigh. There, beside the flowing river, and separated only by a picturesque glen from the 'blue mountain range' of his childhood, the Galtees, he sleeps the last sleep of an Irish soldier. Close at hand the ivy-clad ruin speaks of the faith he held dear, above his grave the white marble of the Celtic cross typifies his stainless career; while the giant trees—elm, ash, and poplar—that droop their branches above him, mourn for one of Ireland's truest, bravest, and most distinguished sons.

T. DUNNE.

THE WISDOM OF FRANCIS THOMPSON

I hang 'mid men my needless head,
 And my fruit is dreams, as theirs is bread :
 The goodly men and the sun-hazed sleeper
 Time shall reap ; but after the reaper
 The world shall glean of me, me the sleeper.

—*The Poppy.*

FOR the third time has November 13 come and gone since Francis Thompson, 'safe from the reaper man and his reaper Time,' was laid to rest in the cemetery at Kensal Green—that acre of all God's acres, perhaps, the most thronged with saint and sinner. Within those three brief years he has earned the most splendid laurel earth can give ; his fame has stepped from glory to glory, distant countries across the seas have hailed his genius in generous words of appreciation, and the almost full chorus of poets, his contemporaries, often differing from him in aim and aspirations, has pronounced final eulogy upon him with scarce a dissentient voice. He flashed upon the literary world as 'Crashaw born again, but born greater,' as a peer of the Elizabethan giants. 'He passed to the grave with Meredith's roses at his breast, and, in Meredith's simple words, 'a true poet.' Francis Thompson as a man and as a poet is seemingly beyond praise, beyond blame ; be it our purpose, then, to strive to interpret something of his wisdom, and in interpreting to admire. Not unwisely has Carlyle written : 'It is the joy of man's heart to admire, where he can ; nothing so lifts him from all his mean imprisonments, were it but for moments, as true admiration.'

The *Wisdom* of Francis Thompson ? The term is purposely vague, for to allude to *mysticism* or *message* in this sane century is not unfrequently to put oneself under a ban, and it is precisely of these we wish to speak. By the 'Wisdom of Francis Thompson' we intend the *Message* of

Francis Thompson the Mystic,¹ and as this slight sketch develops we hope to tend to the conclusion that this message is a world-message, that from its very nature its appeal is universal. It is said repeatedly, on the other hand, and with much truth, that this is not an age for 'messages,' that in however big a voice they are uttered, the world of men finds no authority behind them, that prophets must cease vociferating from crags in a wilderness and work in the heart of the bustling world, if they would be accepted. We are bold enough to imagine that a reconciliation of these statements lies in the Wisdom of Francis Thompson, that herein rests the true greatness of this placid mystic, this seer of noble visions, this singer of exquisite odes.

From the outset let us put far from our minds the mere shadow of suggestion that Francis Thompson was anything of a *poseur*, conscious of the splendour of his singing-robes or the superbness of his laurel; quite the contrary, there was ever a boyish gladness about him, a merry gravity, a self-forgetfulness, an utter want of affectation. He has vigorously repudiated the idea that he was a Teacher:—

Deaf is he to the world's tongue;
 He scorneth for his song
 The loud
 Shouts of the crowd;
 He asketh not world's eyes;
 Not to world's ears he cries;
 Saith, 'These
 Shut, if ye please.'

He has even written his own epitaph:—

One stricken from his birth
 With curse
 Of destinate verse.

¹ Needless to state, we apply the term 'mystic' to Francis Thompson chiefly in the meaning it has gained by wide extension to the domain of literature, with this emphatic and all-important addition, that Francis Thompson and his Wisdom are, in accordance with Carlyle's estimate of Shakespeare and his era, the 'outcome and flowerage of Catholicism.' How far this estimate might be advanced, or what conclusion may be deduced from the poet's abiding conviction that *Pain was the price of Vision* must remain for the most part uncertain. There is at least a clear echo here of the Teresian cry, 'Aut pati aut mori,' or of the 'Non mori sed pati' of St. Mary Magdalen of Pazzi.

Certainly he did not share the ambitions of Byron, Wordsworth or his favourite Shelley, to be a reformer of thought or morals, but in spite of all this, possibly because of it, Thompson deservedly ranks as one of the greatest and wisest poet-thinkers and poet-teachers of any age. Nor was it mere perfection of form, richness of imagery and luxuriance of thought that attracted the literary world to his works. Swinburne's music, Tennyson's imagery, Browning's richness still and will captivate; there was a charm beyond all these in the profound sincerity of soul, in the joyous simplicity that ever guides his purpose. In a word, Francis Thompson was so great because so simple, so wholly a mystic because so truly a child. We have ventured to conceive him somewhat of a compound of Shelley and Browning, transformed by an admixture of St. Francis of Assisi and St. John of the Cross. If this conception be at all just, it will not be difficult to realize his world-message.

A hasty survey of the channel of poetic thought from which he emerged will help us to grasp better his unique position. When we cast our thoughts back along the line of illustrious Victorian poets who moulded or reflected the spirit and mind of their age, we find one phase of mind more or less predominant in all, if under diverse forms—a consciousness of strength that is beating the air, or, more concretely, a certain vague restlessness in the present and an aching mistrust of the future. We remember how 'these unfathomable mysteries' perplexed Tennyson, perhaps the purest and clearest of vision of all, and his pathetic half-answer in 'In Memoriam':—

Oh yet we trust that somehow good
Will be the final goal of ill,
To pangs of nature, sins of will,
Defects of doubt, and taints of blood.

Behold, we know not anything:
I can but trust that good shall fall
At last—far off—at last, to all,
And every winter change to spring.

It is, indeed, a piteous solution, yet it voices the religious creed of a vast number of our fellow-men, and was an almost incalculable advance on that dark scepticism which FitzGerald's Omar in the *Rubáiyát* depicts so inimitably:—

Ah, make the most of what we yet may spend,
Before we too into the Dust descend ;
Dust unto Dust, and under Dust to lie
Sans Wine, sans Song, sans Singer, and—sans End !

The sole harvest Omar reaped from the ' great argument of Doctor and Saint ' will not be unfamiliar :—

I came like Water, and like Wind I go.

Into this Universe, and *why* not knowing
Nor *whence*, like water willy-nilly flowing ;
And out of it, as Wind along the waste,
I know not *whither*, willy-nilly blowing.

Within these two extremes of dark uncertainty and equally certain darkness the answer seemed to fluctuate. Godless materialism, begetting revolutionary socialism, the legions of anarchy and that exaltation of the merely animal side of life known as Tolstoyism at the one pole, and vague spiritism, supernaturalism, under the all-embracing term mysticism, at the other. Tolstoy came as a prophet armed with his own translation of the New Testament, speaking from no craggy eminence, but assuming the garb and taking in his hands the tools of those to whom he brought his message. The result has been the Tolstoyites sacrificing everything for a Christian brotherhood which amounts only to helping one another to live the dull material life, ' like green flies in a fat garden.' Have the so-called mystics fared better ? Let us note carefully the following conception of mysticism in a recent comprehensive book, entitled *Mysticism in Christianity and Heathendom*, by Dr. Lehmann, for it will bring us to the truth about mysticism and Francis Thompson :—

Every mystic believes he possesses a sixth sense—a mystic organ, for apprehending higher things, which are for the devout alone, not for the vulgar throng. . . . This is why there is so much

simplicity and so much pride in the mystic. . . . The mystic is full of egoism, yet his one object is to love his identity. . . . He feels that the Godhead dwells in him and he declares himself to be God. This oneness of the human soul with the Divine Being is the conceit of mysticism, and the connecting link between being possessed, being in trance and being a savage medicine-man. Yet the mystic does not believe in a personal God.

This irreverent distortion reflects fairly honestly the average conception of a mystic. He is at worst a civilized Sybil, soul-intoxicated by his phantasies; at best his goal is a kingdom of twilight in a dreamy lotus-land, purpureal with the gloom of the gods.

We know how this atmosphere still colours so much of the best literature even of this new-born decade, how many philosophers, poets, and men of science are groping in this Ultima Thule, and who shall deny its fascination, even its power for ultimate good over certain minds. Of course all cannot come under one condemnation; there is room for vast pity—the pity Francis Thompson so fully accorded to the wayward Shelley, to the ill-starred Clarence Mangan. From this broad channel trickled a tiny stream—the mis-called pre-Raphaelites. All too soon, on Rossetti's death, the brotherhood, with its alien friends, was severed, and its great ideals transmuted. William Morris and Ruskin began to lecture on socialism, Swinburne to re-create paganism, Holman Hunt to mould a school of art. Apart stood that noble solitary, Aubrey de Vere, and that forerunner, that bold 'Captain of Song' of Francis Thompson, the transcendental visionary Coventry Patmore, striving with success to re-trim and re-light the lamp of a more vital pre-Raphaelitism, that was to be the lamp of Francis Thompson. All this brings us beyond the death of Tennyson in 1892. Meanwhile Francis Thompson had passed from the schoolroom at Ushaw to the dull lecture-rooms of medicine in Owens' College, and thence to the grim solitary life in the grey streets and squares of London, there to serve, wittingly or unwittingly, his noviceship to song. The admirers of the poet have, for the most part, passed over this period with casual references, perchance because Thompson himself

appeared to value it so lightly; but surely this was his sowing time, the stern days of ploughing and harrowing, the days when he too, like his great Exemplar, trod the wine-press alone. Then he *lived* his wonderful poems; afterwards, when kindly rescuers came to succour him at the sound of his cry from the heart of that city-wilderness, he wrote down the message he had learnt to strengthen and soothe the hearts of his fellow-sufferers. But the *life* preceded the *message* and was one with it.

Let us try to observe closely the making of this mystic and his message. And first of all we see that not opulence, nor congenial surroundings, were his, but for wearisome months and years he was the prey of poverty, of suffering, and often of destitution. What it meant to such a refined nature to form a unit in that great army of London's homeless and unknown, to belong to that spectral host that hovers over London Bridge, along the Thames Embankment, anywhere, everywhere, silent and starving, those who have watched such or known such may dimly conjecture. We are told that he had two books in his possession—an Æschylus and a volume of Blake; and they symbolize excellently the lofty aspirations and the stern reality of his life at this time. Often must he have thought of Chatterton, suffering and destitute in his wretched garret till very despair drove him to compass his own death; of George Wither, of de Quincey, and of so many who had listened at midnight to the London chimes, with the pale stars for canopy and the dark Thames rolling at their feet. There is little of direct autobiography in his intimately autobiographical poems; but one oft-quoted scene he has painted for us, wherein he reveals to a child's pitying eye the deep pathos and tragedy of those days:—

Forlorn, and faint, and stark,
I had endured through watches of the dark
The abashless inquisition of each star;
Yea, was the outcast mark
Of all these heavenly passers' scrutiny;
Stood bound and helplessly
For time to shoot his barbèd minutes at me

Suffered the trampling hoof of every hour
In night's slow-wheelèd car ;
Until the tardy dawn dragged me at length
From under those dread wheels : and, bled of strength,
I waited the inevitable last.
Then there came past
A child : like thee, a spring-flower : but a flower
Fallen from the budded coronal of Spring,
And through the city-streets blown withering.
She passed,—O brave, sad, lovingest, tender thing !—
And of her own scant pittance did she give,
That I might eat and live :
Then fled, a swift and trackless fugitive.

A simple incident—we have all witnessed such perchance—but to Francis Thompson it was worthy of immortality, for it was even thus his message was learnt.

Francis Thompson was approaching thirty at this time, highly cultured and refined, delicate in frame and constitution ; indeed, we are told, the disease had already gripped him that was to cause his premature death. How was it he succeeded where so many have failed, that he grappled with his surroundings and overcame them, not of himself physically and in the temporal, but morally and in the spirit ? We feel instinctively that Shelley and Byron, with their boundless desires for travel, pleasure and excitement, or Blake and Coleridge, would have succumbed in one way or another to such trials. What, then, sustained Francis Thompson ? He must be judged by another rule and standard. As a poet he may have been kindred with these, but as a man he was true kin besides with the Jesuit martyr-poet and mystic of the sixteenth century, Robert Southwell, from whose Norfolk race and house Shelley was actually descended. Thompson may have thought amid his ' watches of the dark ' of the literary galleons that suffered shipwreck in that city of rocks and shoals ; but surely it must be that his thoughts and his steps often turned to ' Tyburn Tree,' and to that nursing-home of martyrs, the Tower of London, where his true ancestors, great mystics and poets too, had suffered and died for Christ—Campion at forty-one, in 1580, and Southwell, whose zeal had ordained him priest at twenty-

two and consecrated him martyr at thirty-three, in 1594. These men were Thompson's brethren and sustainers: Chatterton, Shelley, Blake and the rest were merely his kinsfolk by adoption. The close relationship with Southwell is no imaginary one either in other respects. Witness Thompson's assertion in the *Essay on Shelley* that the Church has ever been the mother of poets, the source and guide of their inspiration, and his noble protest that the world should have been allowed to take almost entire possession of the art of poetry to the irreparable loss of religion. Side by side with these, place the following lines from the foreword by Southwell to his poems, collected and published in 1634, thirty-five years after his martyrdom :—

Poets by abusing their talents, and making the follies and feignings of love the customary subject of their base endeavours, have so discredited this faculty that a poet, a lover, and a liar are by many reckoned but three words of one signification. But the vanity of men cannot counterpoise the authority of God, who delivered many parts of Scripture in verse, and, by His apostle willing us to exercise our devotion in hymns and spiritual songs, warranteth the art to be good and the use allowable. . . . Christ Himself, by making an hymn the conclusion of His last supper, and the prologue to the first pageant of His passion, gave His Spouse a method to imitate, as in the office of the Church it appeareth ; and to all men a pattern, to know the true use of this measured style.

Men suffered strongly and spoke strongly in those days, and the Blessed Martyr was no exception. He continues :—

But the devil, as he affecteth deity and seeketh to have all the compliments of divine honour applied to his service, so hath he among the rest possessed most poets with his idle fancies. For in lieu of solemn and devout matters . . . they now busy themselves in expressing such passions as serve only for testimonies to what unworthy affections they have wedded their wills.

And this was the hour of dawn for the great Elizabethan age !

This comparison with Southwell will also make more evident our conception that Francis Thompson was some-

what of a compound of Shelley and Browning, transformed by an admixture of St. Francis of Assisi and St. John of the Cross, for all these appear and unite in Southwell too, though rather as the tender green shoots that foretell the golden harvest—the harvest that ripened in Francis Thompson. Both poets possess the virile strength and deep sincerity of Robert Browning, with much of his uncertainty and ruggedness softened by the divine reality and sweet austerity of St. John of the Cross; and both share the sublimity and bold fervour of Shelley, with his vagueness and waywardness enlightened by the austere sweetness and seraphic simplicity of that ‘Troubadour of the Most High,’ the Saint of Assisi. In what follows we trust this conception will grow still more clear.

What, then, is this elusive quality we claim for Francis Thompson? What is the spirit of this mysticism, not the pale ideal, but the living, breathing reality? Let us try to grope our way down—for there is a descent at first—into its hallowed workshop, handle its tools and hearken to some of the mystics, our friends. We ask forgiveness if the way be old and tedious, but at the end, perchance, we shall see Francis Thompson and his message.

The law of suffering, from within and from without, the rugged path, the thorny crown, have commonly been the heritage of the true mystic. It was chiefly by these that Teresa made her Foundations, it was thus Francis of Assisi drew men entranced to his ‘Lady Poverty,’ and Catherine of Siena led back the Pontiffs, and with them loyalty, to Rome; it was even so Ignatius laid and strengthened the foundations of the Company of Jesus. These mighty works were their messages to the world, but they had lived the message themselves first, deeply conscious that a Greater than they had made it a law unto Himself: for was not Christianity lived and preached most effectively amid the blood-sweat of Gethsemane and the bloodshed of Calvary? There have been mystics without the active works of charity of the nature of those we have mentioned above, but scarcely true mystics in any age without self-abasement, renunciation, self-immolation: this seems the

path all must tread in a lesser or greater degree, if they would reach those heights or depths of contemplation which is their ultimate goal. St. John of the Cross describes most appealingly the ruggedness of the way, the darkness of this Dark Night of the Soul ; but when the solitary traveller is spent and weary, though hope ever surges high within him, lo ! the light arises, all-healing, all-entrancing, and everything is forgotten in that clear vision of the presence of God. Betwixt St. John of the Cross and the author of *Orthodoxy* there may be thought to stand somewhat of an abyss, yet here is a firm bridge across it, in the form of a paragraph rescued years ago from the columns of a daily paper. The article was on George Macdonald :—

True mysticism will have nothing to do with vagueness. True mysticism will have nothing to do with twilight. True mysticism is entirely concerned with absolute things : not with twilight, but with the sacred black darkness, and the sacred white sun. For to all good mystics, from Plato downwards, absolute ideas, like those of light and darkness, are the real and interesting things. It must be always remembered that the only person in the world who can be really exact and definite is the mystic. All sane materialism is avowedly agnostic and relative. The evolutionist cannot be precise. The positivist cannot be positive. But the mystic believes that a rose is red with a fixed and sacred redness, and that a cucumber is green by a thundering decree of Heaven. Hence in all the great Christian mystics, in St. Francis, in Vaughan, in Macdonald, there is brightness of colour that might satisfy a negro. Actuality is the keynote of mysticism.

No vagueness, no mere rhapsody here—it is the spirit of the sublime yet simple wisdom of Francis Thompson. Let us turn to the message. We read ‘ In No Strange Land ’ :—

O world invisible, we view thee,
O world intangible, we touch thee,
O world unknowable, we know thee,
Inapprehensible, we clutch thee !

And the poem concludes :—

But (when so sad thou canst not sadder)
Cry—and upon thy so sore loss
Shall shine the traffic of Jacob's ladder
Pitched betwixt Heaven and Charing Cross.

Yea, in the night, my soul, my daughter,
Cry, clinging Heaven by the hems ;
And lo, Christ walking on the water
Not of Genesareth, but Thames !

No aimless groping here, no inarticulate cry from a kingdom of twilight. Again, in the after-strain to his ' Ode to the Setting Sun ' :—

One step, and lo ! the Cross stands gaunt and long
'Twixt me and yet bright skies, a presaged dole.

Even so, O Cross ! thine is the victory.
Thy roots are fast within our fairest fields ;
Brightness may emanate in Heaven from thee,
Here thy dread symbol only shadow yields.

Of reaped joys thou art the heavy sheaf
Which must be lifted, though the reaper groan ;
Yea, we may cry till Heaven's great ear be deaf,
But we must bear thee, and must bear alone.

And thus he prays and is answered :—

Therefore, O tender Lady, Queen Mary,
Thou gentleness that dost enmoss and drape
The Cross's rigorous austerity,
Wipe thou the blood from wounds that needs must gape.

So, though suns rise and set, but crosses stay,
I leave thee ever, saith she, light of cheer.

This indeed is the refrain throughout his poems, often so hushed and low that one has to bend a reverent ear to catch its strains. It was surely the melody he had heard in those dark days, when, unlike so many poets similarly circumstanced, who strove after an empty vision of the Beautiful and fell victims to the opium den, their own

despair or torn by wild passions, he dwelt with his thorny crown in the purple light of Golgotha, pleading :—

Where is the land of Luthany ?
Where is the tract of Elenore ?
I do faint therefor.

Till his ' Mistress of Vision ' answered :—

When earth and heaven lay down their veil,
And that apocalypse turns thee pale ;
When thy seeing blindeth thee
To what thy fellow-mortals see ;
When their sight to thee is sightless ;
Their living, death ; their light, most lightless ;
Search no more—

Pass the gates of Luthany, tread the region Elenore.

Observe, it was not mere suffering but *solitariness* of suffering that was required of Francis Thompson in common with all the mystics. Words have escaped them from time to time that reveal the agony of this loneliness ; such is the patient complaint of St. Catherine of Siena : ' She is assured that she is doing right, though for well-doing she receives evil : for the honour which she seeks to do her fellow-citizens she receives shame : in return for life they give her death.' John R  sbr  ck, that sweet, scarcely-known Flemish mystic, with whom Thompson's spirit so strikingly accords, had written in the thirteenth century :—

Our essence is an immense solitude where God lives and reigns. Now we are condemned to wander in this desert, unless love bears us up above ourselves into the bosom of God. . . . Our type dwells eternally in the sacred shadow, but an indefinite light reveals and manifests us in God. . . . What is needed is solitude of heart and spirit. Without this were you alone in the world you would not be a solitary ; with it you would be a solitary amid the densest crowd. The just man is he who possesses God in very truth, and he lives in the depths of solitude, no matter where or with whom he may be. He lives in the marketplace as if it were a church or cell. . . . If you love this solitude of the spirit, you will penetrate persons and things to such a depth, that they will lose their power to harm you.¹

¹ Cf. *Reflections from the Mirror of a Mystic*, translated from works of John R  sbr  ck by E. Baillie. London : T. Baker.

John Rüsbröck even forestalled Dr. Lehmann's objections in that remote century: 'God and the creature can never be confounded; union can never become confusion; the distinction remains for ever inviolable.' His 'Escape' is identical with Francis Thompson's: 'If we bear about with us the God-Man crucified, His Life and His Death, He will live in us and we shall live in Him: flesh and blood, the world and hell will be under our feet.' This Flemish mystic, living prior to so many of the Church's great mystical writers, was spoken of by Denis the Carthusian as the 'Divine Doctor . . . a man to whom the Holy Ghost has revealed His secrets'; and by Surius: 'His every word is a work of salvation: it is God alone who speaks.'¹ Our excuse for quoting him is to make more clear the kinship of Francis Thompson.

We may now turn to the highest expression of his message in that apocalyptic poem, 'The Hound of Heaven,' where natural and supernatural, earth and heaven, interlink and interweave till they almost seem identical. We will mark the close of that mystical 'pursuit,' when the poet's renunciation and immolation is complete and he has fled pleading, till he can fly and plead no more. All must be renounced, or rather re-found. For a moment

. . . within the little children's eyes
Seems something, something that replies;

but this hope, too, has been quenched in the 'unhurrying chase' from his 'tremendous lover.' From human-kind he fled to Nature, read all her 'secrecies,' divined all her sympathies; it is only when he lays his heart to beat 'against the red-throb of its sunset-heart' that his illusions vanish.

For ah! we know not what each other says,
These things and I.

Naught else remains but to sink down before those 'noisèd Feet' that ever pursue him with 'majestic instancy.' Then follows the picture of broken-hearted anguish, of strength,

¹ See also the excellent little volume by Dom V. Scully, C.B.A., *A Mediæval Mystic* (Baker, 2s. 6d.)

nerveless yet expectant, of fears that paralyse soul and limb—a picture for a Raphael to envy. Upon him lying bruised, destitute, abandoned, yet patient, comes the dread Voice like ‘a bursting sea’ :—

And is thy earth so marred
 Shattered in shard on shard ?
 Lo all things fly thee for thou fliest Me!
 Strange, piteous, futile thing,
 Wherefore should any set thee love apart ?
 Seeing none but I makes much of naught,
 he said,
 And human loves need human meriting :
 How hast thou merited—
 Of all men’s clotted clay the dingiest clot ?
 Alack, thou knowest not
 How little worthy of any love thou art !
 Whom wilt thou find to love ignoble thee
 Save Me, save only Me ?
 All which I took from thee I did but take,
 Not for thy harms,
 But just that thou might’st seek it in My arms.
 All which thy child’s mistake
 Fancies as lost, I have stored for thee at home :
 Rise, clasp My hand, and come !

We almost see the weary raising of the head, we almost hear the glad, quickened beating of the heart, as the poet doubting the Vision asks :—

Halts by me that footfall :
 Is my gloom, after all,
 Shade of His hand, outstretched caressingly ?

And the unhesitating reply :—

Ah, fondest, blindest, weakest,
 I am He whom thou seekest !
 Thou dravest love from thee, who dravest Me.

In these six simple lines lies Francis Thompson’s answer to the mystery that has perplexed poets, and a host besides, for generations. The gloom, the twilight, the veil before them, whether woven of sorrow or of trial, of perplexing

doubts or of dark fears, is only 'the sacred shadow,' 'the shade of His hand outstretched caressingly.' In this knowledge lies the secret of the mystic's perennial cheerfulness and joyous gravity. What recks he, for the rugged path leads to God, the thorny crown once wreathed His brows, beyond the Dark Night is the radiance of His Presence—nay, the Darkness is the very 'shade of His hand' ! Southwell had proclaimed this when, from his cheerless cell and with the hand that was to be thirteen times racked, he wrote the poems 'Mary Magdalen's Tears,' and the noblest of his odes, 'St. Peter's Complaint'—an ode that may be fittingly called his 'Hound of Heaven.'

Our Lord is not cruel but kind, says the friend of *Richard Raynal, the Solitary*,¹ and I think He acts so to show us that life is nothing but a play and a pretence, and that His will must be done, however much we rebel at it. He teaches us, too, that the blows we receive, and even death itself, are only seeming, though they hurt us at the time, but that we must play in a gallant and merry spirit . . . and that He will set all right and allot to each his reward at the end of the playing. And since it is but a play, we are none of us kings or cardinals or poor men in reality : we are all of us mere children of our Father, and upon one is set a crown for a jest, and another is robed in sanguine, and another in a brown kirtle or a white ; and at the end the trinkets are all put back again in the press, ready for another day and other children, and we all go to bed as God made us.

This lamp of Francis Thompson's seems to make Francis of Assisi, Teresa, Catherine, and Ignatius clearer, and, perchance, bring them nearer. Surely these are tidings for all, and it is not mere enthusiasm that would hail Francis Thompson a world-teacher with a world-message. Is this the whole of his simple, yet stern, evangel ? For some it may be so, for others it is but the beginning. As we have seen, the mystic ascends by renunciation, self-immolation, to the Mount of Contemplation. Many have been content to dwell in the raptures of the heavenly vision, for others it has been but a prelude. Blinded and strengthened by

¹ Cf. *Richard Raynal, Solitary*, by R. H. Benson.

the light thereof, they have been led to descend again to earth to speak of it to their fellow-men. There they have seen wondrous reflexions of the vision in all things around them. As they wandered along the sea-shore, through the meadows, in the midst of woods, even in the heart of cities, this celestial image has haunted them, and they have ever seemed to gaze beyond the mere externals of shell, flower or fountain. They have spoken with a strange reverence of things we scarce notice, with a clear disdain of much that we highly prize. Paltry leaves, chattering sparrows, tiny insects, pain, poverty, grief have drawn forth rhapsodies, have caused ecstasies; pomp, pageants and treasures of wealth have passed them unobserved or been the occasion of some strange moral. But especially has this reverence been paramount when they have stood face to face with their fellow-men. Prince or pauper, sage or savage, little mattered: these beings of vision have seen beyond, have looked only to the soul. To that they have spoken, for that they have suffered anew. It would seem at times that there, and there alone, was the price of their renunciation, their Mount of Contemplation. Again we borrow plain words from John Rüsbröck:—

Were you rapt in ecstasy like St. Peter or St. Paul, and heard some poor person was in want of a hot drink or other assistance, I should advise you to wake for a moment from your ecstasy to go to prepare the food. Leave God for God: find Him, serve Him in His members; you will lose nothing by the exchange. What you give up for love of Him, God will give you back with abundant interest.

Recall Chesterton's emphatic words: 'The only person in the world who can be really exact and definite is the mystic.' Amongst these ampler visionaries, with all due regard and measure, is Francis Thompson to be numbered, though he cries out in his humility:—

Not to me, not to me,
Builded so flawfully,
O God,
Thy humbling laud!

And to the 'Dead Cardinal':—

I have no thought that I,
When at the last I die,
Shall reach
To gain your speech.

But you, should that be so,
May very well, I know,
May well
To me in hell

With recognizing eyes
Look from your Paradise—
'God bless
Thy hopelessness!'

And this completes the wisdom of his world-message. He became the Sir Galahad of the poets only to return to tell his fellow-men of the glory of the celestial city, and to lead them likewise to follow the Grail. He is a singer who 'singing still doth soar and soaring ever singest,' but he is ever mindful that his nest is on earth, in the deep meadow-grass, and not in the white splendour of the clouds or amid the golden tracts of sunset. His own eulogy is in the title he bestows on the 'Dead Cardinal':—

Anchorite who didst dwell
With all the world for cell.

Had Francis Thompson only written the four poems 'Daisy,' 'The Poppy,' 'The Making of Viola,' and 'The Hound of Heaven,' we could, without great diffidence, assign him his own degree of participation in this full mystical vision. Earth's tiniest object for him is instinct with heaven, thrills with the presence of the divine. 'What heart could have thought you?' he asks of a snowflake. The answer comes exultingly:—

God was my shaper.
Passing surmisal,
He hammered, He wrought me,
From curled silver vapour,

To lust of His mind :—
Thou could'st not have thought me !
So purely, so palely,
Tinily, surely,
Mightily, frailly,
Insculped and embossed,
With His hammer of wind,
And His graver of frost.

Great things, vital truths, are seen by the same light. 'Life is a coquetry of Death,' 'a tiring room'; of man's immortal soul he says: 'Its keys are at the cincture hung of God,' while man's great world is but a fragrant thurible swung by angel-hands before the Almighty's throne. That 'witching hour of the poets, the dawn of day, mark ever for him the beginning of a solemn benediction, when

Lo, in the sanctuaried East,
Day, a dedicated priest
In all his robes pontifical exprest,
Lifteth slowly, lifteth sweetly,
From out its Orient tabernacle drawn,
Yon orbèd sacrament confest
Which sprinkles benediction through the dawn.

And when the momentous hours of blessing are over, and ere he is unvested of his 'sacerdotal stoles' by 'twilight, violet-cassocked acolyte,' he

Sets for high close of the mysterious feast,
The sun in august exposition meekly
Within the flaming monstrance of the West.

At the outset we asserted that Francis Thompson was so wholly a mystic because so truly a child. What we have lightly touched upon above will have confirmed this. His whole attitude before Nature is that of a child awed and delighted; it is not merely the lowly things of creation he revels in with a genuinely childlike rapture, but we have seen him addressing the sun, the ocean, the clouds, as though he were their needful playmate. In the charming poem, 'July Fugitive,' we have this spirit in its perfection. The poet is like a child who has lost a much-loved toy. Every-

where he is seeking the 'runaway' with his 'tarry, maid, maid.' Every passer-by must be asked of her, 'breezes, wheat, flowers sweet,' and, alas! 'none of them knows'; yet he vows to work marvels for 'him who findeth her.' He remembers

When the bird quits the cage
We set the cage outside,

so, as a supreme effort to regain his playmate, he will

Hang her cage of earth out
O'er heaven's sunward wall.

But even this last wile fails. Still, like a true child he ends hopefully and hoping

The lovely sleepy lady lie,
With all her stars about her!

There is a delightful intimacy here we do not find in Wordsworth or Shelley, for Francis Thompson loses himself wholly in these pure and simple pleasures of the soul, so wholly indeed that at a point in his 'Orient Ode' he has quite forgotten whether his verse 'beats but with fire.'

To thee, O Sun—or is't perchance to Christ?

And his 'splendent Brother,' with all the stars, forgivingly replies to the poet and to us all for all time:—

By this, O Singer, know we if thou see.
When men shall say to thee: Lo! Christ is here,
When men shall say to thee: Lo! Christ is there,
Believe them: yea, and this—then art thou seer,
When all thy crying clear
Is but: Lo here! Lo there!—ah me, lo everywhere!

Of a truth is all Nature Francis Thompson's for kingdom, cell and playground; it is the measure pressed full and running over, the wages of renunciation and pain.

Before we draw to a close we must cast a glance upon his other and still dearer playmates—the children of earth. The child whose tender pity had given him bread in that drear London street 'that he might eat and live' had won his absolute allegiance to all children of all time. In 'The

Hound of Heaven ' he turned to them for sheltering pity and found it—just as ' their Angels plucked them from me by the hair.' No detail is too trivial to tell of them; everything about them has a sacredness for him, and with the sacredness there is something of sadness. He leaves the ' Daisy Flower ' who gave him ' tokens three ' amid the hills at Storrington :—

A look, a word of her winsome mouth,
And a wild raspberry—

with the reflection

She went her unremembering way,
She went, and left in me
The pang of all the partings gone,
And partings yet to be.

She left me marvelling why my soul
Was sad that she was glad ;
At all the sadness in the sweet,
The sweetness in the sad.

As he watches by the bed of eleven-year-old Monica, ' thought dying,' a childish sentence of her's flits constantly through his mind, banishing all other thoughts and bearing an almost sacramental import for him :—

A cup of chocolate,
One farthing is the rate.
You drink it through a straw, a straw, a straw,

he murmurs, as the young life ebbs away.

Again, for the ' Making of Viola ' the ' Father of Heaven,' according to this playful child-mystic, required the aid of ' Prince Jesus ' for her ' dusky eyes,' the ' Lord Paraclete ' for her ' crystal flashing soul,' ' daughter Mary ' to spin her ' brown tress ' and all the choirs of angels to weave her ' woof of flesh.' Singing, all bear her down to earth, where she receives her last gift, ' a gift of tears.'

These are poems from his first volume of 1893, but we see from the later poems that the spell of the pure souls of children grew more potent over him, till in the poem to the

tiny 'Olivia,' 'his white flake of childhood,' he says half-regretfully, half mindful of Monica,

I fear to love you, Sweet, because
Love's the ambassador of loss.

I fear thee more than if thou stood
Full-panoplied in womanhood.

But to quote here is to mutilate, to paraphrase is to destroy these pictures of a great soul absorbed with reverence for that most beautiful work of the Creator's hand, the white soul of a child.

There is a story that Francis Thompson was taunted once to produce a poem in really simple language. His reply was 'Ex Ore Infantium,' a child's poem to the Child Jesus :—

Little Jesus wast Thou shy
Once, and just so small as I ?

Was it mere coincidence or his kinship of soul with the martyr-poet that made him choose thus ? Southwell, too, was a child's poet, or rather a poet of one Child, the Babe of Bethlehem, in whose honour he composed three charming lyrics, instinct with the spirit of 'Ex Ore Infantium.' 'A Child my Choice' opens

Let folly praise that fancy loves,
I praise and love that child
Whose heart no thought, whose tongue no word
Whose head no deed defiled ;

I praise Him most, I love Him best
All praise and love is His ;

and in 'New Prince, New Pomp,' he laments

The inns are full, no man will yield
This little pilgrim bed ;
But forced He is with silly beasts
In crib to shroud His head.

It is gratifying at the end to link these two names together once more.

Truly is mysticism of absolute things: its keynote is actuality, its principles are universal, its spirit would leaven the world! We have followed Francis Thompson along his thorny path to the vision of heaven in earth; here we may leave him in the earthly paradise whither his vision led, the mystical playmate, looking with reverent eyes upon all that is holy and beautiful about and above him. This is his wisdom, this his message, to all men of all times; for them it remains to translate it or turn it into the speech of their own souls. That all can take it equally, or will prefer the message to the form of the message, we do not say. There is nothing new here, only the newness of a profound realization of old truths that have ceased to be music in men's ears. There was nothing new either in that message of the Vicar of Christ, bidding us seek 'to restore all things in Christ.' To a loyal subject of Pius X. the messages are identical; and the sublimity of Francis Thompson the poet is founded in his loving kinship with the saints of the Infallible Church, and in his being to his inmost soul a devoted son of the Church of Christ on earth.

We leave, then, this 'heavenly grammar'

Of that high speech which angels' tongues turn gold,
content to lead yet another to delve deeper into the wisdom
of this 'sweet bird of the Lord' amid these dark nights and
bright days of our earthly life.

W. P. SMITH, S.J.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO CARDINAL
GIBBONS

AD V. E. IACOBUM S. R. E. PRESBYTERUM CARDINALEM GIBBONS,
BALTIMORENSIUM ARCHIEPISCOPUM, QUINQUAGESIMUM SACER-
DOTII SUI ANNIVERSARIUM CELEBRANTEM AC VICESIMUM
QUINTUM, EX QUO SACRA PURPURA EXORNATUS EST

Dilecte fili Noster, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—
Id libenter accepimus, omnes scilicet Antistites Clerumque uni-
versum Foederatorum Americae Civitatum, quin adeo plurimos
e praestantissimis cuiuslibet conditionis hominibus, duplicem
faustitatem sollemniter celebraturos, annum nempe suscepti
Sacerdotii Tui quinquagesimum, itemque annum quintum supra
vicesimum, ex quo inter Purpuratos Principes adscitus fuisti.

Universalis haec quoque animorum laetitia utramque tuam
solemnitatem expectantium luculenter Nobis declarat quanta
ubique gaudeas existimatione quantaque omnes veneratione Te
prosequantur, non solum ob excelsam dignitatem Tuam, sed
etiam ob praeclarissimas, quas recte novimus, animi ingeniique
Tui qualitates, ne dicamus singularem, qua emines, in gloriam
Altissimi in bonumque animarum sollicitudinem.

Antistitum vero existimationem et laudem quisnam ignorat
non modo in suae ipsorum Ecclesiae honorem splendoremque re-
dundare, verum etiam in Christi Ecclesiae universalis decus
atque ornamentum cadere?

Nemini igitur plus quam Nobis, Catholicae Religionis Antistiti
Summo, iusta inde exoritur causa cur maximam laetitiam suma-
mus ex praefatis sollemnibus Tuis, quae optimam simul Nobis
occasionem suppeditant singularem animi in Te Nostri dilec-
tionem aperiendi.

Macte igitur animo, dum toto Tibi corde gratulamur et vota
Deo suscipimus, ut cumulata pietatis Tuae merita usque remun-
eret, suique ubertate auxilii longum adhuc in aevum Te servet,
sospitet, tueatur : ac praeterea eorum, quos sollicitudo pastoralis
complectitur Tua, obsequium amoremque magis magisque Tibi
conciliet.

Quorum quidem omnium votorumque comes Apostolica sit
Benedictio quam, benevolentiae peculiaris in Te Nostrae testem

aeternorumque auspicem bonorum, Tibi, Clero populoque universo vigilantiae Tuae concredito, nec non omnibus qui prae-fatarum faustitatum participes erunt, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die VII mensis Maii anno MDCCCXI, Pontificatus Nostri octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
FRENCH BISHOPS

AD RR. PP. DD. GALLIAE ARCHIEPISCOPOS ATQUE EPISCOPOS
OCCASIONE CONVENTUS ALTERIUS DIOECESANIS MISSIONIBUS
PROVEHENDIS

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Conventum alterum celebraturis, *dioecesanis Missionibus* provehendis, ne desint vobis paternae caritatis Nostrae hortamenta, quibus, ut confidimus, studia vestra acrius excitentur in ea quae ad incrementum divinae gloriae atque animarum salutem patent coepta uberrima. Et re quidem vera perspectum optime habetis, Venerabiles Fratres, quanta ad christianam vitam in populis excitandam alendam polleant virtute sacrae huiusmodi expeditiones, in quibus selecti viri e clero populum alloquuntur non utique doctis humanae sapientiae verbis : sed facili oratione vel rudioribus accommodata, ea Evangelii aeterna vera ac praecepta aperienda suscipiunt, quibus christianae doctrinae summa continetur, quaeque semel in eorum animos illapsa qui docilem praebeant auditum, fiunt statim in eis *fons aquae salientis in vitam aeternam*. Haec igitur antiquissima sit vobis cura, apostolicorum virorum qui id obeant muneris ita augere copiam ut nulla sit in dioecesibus vestris paroecia quae eorumdem ministerium nimis diu desideret. Nescii equidem haud sumus minime deesse in Gallia viros qui, ad exemplum Apostolorum, orationi ac ministerio verbi instantes, in consummationem sanctorum toti sunt atque in aedificationem corporis Christi. Sed impar, probe nostis, eorum numerus paroeciis omnibus peragrandis, iisdemque evangelica instituendis disciplina. Quare hoc etiam pastoralis navitati vestrae maxime commendatum volumus, ut scilicet unaquaeque dioecesis illud tam salutare tamque expetitum *opus dioecesanis Missionariis efformandis edendis* rite constitutum habeat, et omni, ut par est, instructum pietatis doctrinaeque adiumento.—Propositum equidem difficultatibus non vacat, hinc a sacerdotum, inde a rerum inopia petitis. Sed

haud vos praeterit opus de quo loquimur tantae esse utilitatis excolendis ad pietatem animis, ut prae ceteris piis operibus sit vobis fovendum. Neque inde pertimescendum quod opera eiusmodi exarescant; immo vero incrementa captura dicenda sunt, quum perspicuum sit pietatem, quam sacrae Missiones tantopere excitant ac tuentur, esse christianis hisce institutis adeo necessariam ut si deficiat, id profecto deficiat a quo ea ipsa ortum habent et alimenta quotidiana.

Suadet caritas ea etiam diligentiae vestrae commendare, quae non ita pridem recolimus in Motu proprio 'Sacrorum Antistitum,' praecepta ac monita divini verbi praeconibus saluberrima. Eadem et vos, Venerabiles Fratres, in conventu recolite studiosissime, et curas adhibete maximas ut in dioecesibus vestris religiose ab omnibus servantur, rati vix quicquam emolumenti sollertiam vestram catholicae rei allaturam nisi, una cum sacrorum oratorum frequentia, consuleritis et optimae eorumdem institutioni.

Adsit, adprecamur, consiliis vestris Deus luminum pater, detque, affuso lumine consilii sui, uberiores afferant christifidelibus utilitates ea vos decernere, eaque ad usum quamprimum adiungere. Nos interim paternae benevolentiae testem Apostolicam Benedictionem vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, atque iis omnibus qui in conventu vobiscum aderunt, peramanter in Domino impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xv Maii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

NEW LEGISLATION REGARDING FEAST DAYS

MOTU PROPRIO

DE DIEBUS FESTIS

Supremi Disciplinae Ecclesiasticae custodes et Moderatores Pontifices Romani, si quando christiani populi bonum id Ipsis suaderet, sacrorum Canonum sanctiones relaxare benigne consueverunt. Nos quidem Ipsi, quemadmodum iam alia, ob mutatas temporum et civilis societatis conditiones, immutanda existimavimus, ita etiam in praesens ecclesiasticam legem de festis diebus ex praecepto servandis, ob peculiaris aetatis adiuncta, opportune temperandam censemus. Lata enim terrarum marisque spatia, mira nunc celeritate homines percurrunt, facilioremque per expeditiora itinera aditum ad eas nationes nancis-

cuntur, quibus minor est festivitatum de praecepto numerus. Aucta etiam commercia, et citatae negotiorum tractationes videntur ex interposita frequentium festorum dierum mora aliquid pati. Succrescens denique in dies rerum ad vitam necessariarum pretium stimulos addit, ne saepius servilia opera ab illis intermittantur quibus est victus labore comparandus.

His de causis iteratae preces, praesertim postremis hisce temporibus, Sanctae Sedi adhibitae sunt ut festivitatum de praecepto numerus minueretur.

Haec omnia Nobis animo repetentibus, qui unam christiani populi salutem cordi habemus, opportunum maxime consilium visum est festos dies ex Ecclesiae mandato servandos imminuere.

Itaque, Motu Proprio et matura deliberatione Nostra, adhibitoque consilio Venerabilium Fratrum Nostrorum S. R. E. Cardinalium qui ad Ecclesiae leges in Codicem redigendas incumbunt, haec quae sequuntur de festis diebus edicimus observanda.

I. Ecclesiastico praecepto audiendi Sacri et abstinendi ab operibus servilibus hi tantum, qui sequuntur, dies subiecti manebunt: Omnes et singuli dies dominici, festa Nativitatis, Circumcisionis, Epiphaniae et Ascensionis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi, Immaculatae Conceptionis et Assumptionis Almae Genitricis Dei Mariae, Beatorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum, Omnium denique Sanctorum.

II. Dies festi Sancti Ioseph, Sponsi Beatae Mariae Virginis, et Nativitatis Sancti Ioannis Baptistae, uterque cum octava, celebrabuntur, tamquam in sede propria, prior, Dominica insequente diem XIX Martii, immoto permanente festo si dies XIX Martii in Dominicam incidat; alter, Dominica quae festum Sanctorum Petri et Pauli Apostolorum antecedit. Festum vero Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, idemque cum octava privilegiata, Dominica post Sanctissimam Trinitatem, tamquam in sede propria, celebrabitur, statuta pro festo Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu feria VI intra octavam.

III. Ecclesiastico praecepto, quod supra diximus, dies festi Patronorum non subiacent. Locorum autem Ordinarii possunt solemnitatem exteriorem transferre ad Dominicam proxime sequentem.

IV. Sicubi aliquod festum ex enumeratis legitime sit abolitum vel translatum, nihil inconsulta Sede Apostolica innovetur. Si qua vero in natione vel regione aliquod ex abrogatis festis Episcopi conservandum censuerint, Sanctae Sedi rem deferant.

V. Quod si in aliquod ex festis quae servata volumus, dies

incidat abstinentiae vel ieiunio consecratus, ab utroque dispensamus; eandemque dispensationem etiam pro Patronorum festis, hac Nostra lege abolitis, concedimus, si tamen solemniter et cum magno populi concursu ea celebrari contingat.

Novum Apostolicae sollicitudinis argumentum huiusmodi praebentes, spem Nos certam fovemus, fideles universos iis etiam diebus, quos nunc de numero festivitatum praecepto obstrictarum expungimus, suam in Deum pietatem et in Sanctos venerationem, non minus quam antea, fore testaturos, ceterisque diebus festis, qui in Ecclesia servandi supersunt, diligentiore, quam antehac, studio observandum praeceptum curaturos.

Contrariis quibusvis, licet speciali et individua mentione dignis, non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die II mensis Iulii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIVS PP. X.

NEW LEGISLATION REGARDING FEAST DAYS MODIFIED

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

URBIS ET ORBIS

Evulgato *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X. *De diebus festis*, diei 2 Iulii vertentis anni, nonnulli Sacrorum Antistites, ne accadat, ut dies Octava S. Ioseph, in Dominicis privilegiatis Quadragesimae occurrens, nullam in Officio et Missa commemorationem accipiat, et Officium dierum infra Octavam, Tempore Passionis adveniente, saepius omitti debeat, ab Ipso Sanctissimo Domino Nostro instantissime petierunt, ut ad augendum cultum erga S. Ioseph, Ecclesiae Universalis Patronum, Festum Eius die 19 Martii sine feriatiōe et sine Octava recolatur; Festum vero Patrocinii Eiusdem iuribus et privilegiis omnibus, quae Patronis principalibus competunt, augeatur, et sub ritu duplici primae classis cum Octava celebretur, prout iam in aliquibus locis et institutis recoli legitime consuevit; eo vel magis quod Tempus Paschale aptius recolendae solemnitati conveniat, et Festum idem in Dominica III post Pascha nunquam impediri valeat.

Item Rm̃i Episcopi, quoad Solemnitatem Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, ab Eodem Sanctissimo Domino Nostro humillimis precibus postularunt, quod, remanente Feria v post Dominicam Ssm̃ae Trinitatis Eius Festo, absque tamen feriatiōe, externa Solemnitas ad insequentem Dominicam transferatur.

Sanctissimus Dominus Noster, referente infrascripto Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis Secretario, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, huiusmodi votis clementer deferens, firmo remanente *Motu Proprio* quoad reliqua Festa, statuit et decrevit :

I. Festum Natale S. Ioseph, die 19 Martii, sine feriatiōe et sine Octava, sub ritu duplici primae classis recolatur, adhibito titulo : *Commemoratio Solemnis S. Ioseph, Sponsi B. M. V., Confessoris.*

II. Festum Patrocinii Eiusdem S. Ioseph Dominica III post Pascha, sub ritu duplici I classis cum Octava, addita Festi primarii qualitate, recolatur sub titulo : *Solemnitas S. Ioseph, Sponsi B. M. V., Confessoris, Ecclesiae Universalis Patroni.*

III. Diebus infra Octavam et die Octava Solemnitatis S. Ioseph adhibeatur Officium, uti prostat in Appendice Octavarum Romani.

IV. Festum Sanctissimae Trinitatis, Dominicae I post Pentecosten affixum, amodo sub ritu duplici primae classis recolatur.

V. Festum Sanctissimi Corporis Christi celebretur, absque feriatiōe, sub ritu duplici primae classis et cum Octava privilegiata, ad instar Octavae Epiphaniae, Feria ♣ post Dominicam Ssmae Trinitatis, adhibito titulo : *Commemoratio Solemnis Sanctissimi Corporis Domini Nostri Iesu Christi.*

VI. Dominica infra Octavam huius festivitatis, in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis, recitato Officio cum relativa Missa de eadem Dominica, unica Missa sollemnis cani potest, uti in Festo, cum *Gloria*, unica Oratione, Sequentia, *Credo* et Evangelio S. Ioannis in fine. Ubi vero non adsit Missae Conventualis obligatio, addatur sola commemoratio Dominicae sub distincta conclusione, eiusque Evangelium in fine. Hac vero Dominica peragatur sollemnis Processio cum Ssno Sacramento, praescripta in Caeremoniali Episcoporum, lib. II., cap. XXXIII.

VII. Feria ♠ post Octavam celebretur, ut antea, Festum Sacratissimi Cordis Iesu, sub ritu duplici primae classis.

Valituro praesenti Decreto etiam pro Familiis Regularibus et Ecclesiis, ritu latino a Romano diverso utentibus. Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 24 Iulii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

DECRETUM

Ad quasdam liturgicas questiones de diebus Festis nuper propositas enodandas, inspecto *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X. diei 2 Iulii vertentis anni 1911, una cum subsequenti Decreto *Urbis et Orbis* Sacrorum Rituum Congregationis diei 24 eiusdem mensis et anni, Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, atque approbante Ipso Sanctissimo Domino Nostro, haec statuit ac declaravit :

I. Quum Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae in posterum celebrandum sit Dominica immediate antecedente Festum Sanctorum Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac proinde duae Octavae simul occurrere possint ; hoc in casu agatur Officium de Octava Nativitatis S. Ioannis cum commemoratione Octavae Ss. Apostolorum.

II. Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae affigatur Sabbato ante Dominicam quae praecedit Festum Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli. Quando in hoc Sabbato simul occurrant Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis et Vigilia Ss. Apostolorum, fiat Officium de prima, cum commemoratione alterius in Missa tantum. Si vero in hoc Sabbato incidat Festum sive Officium ritus duplicis aut semiduplicis, nona lectio erit de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis, et in Missa fiat commemoratio utriusque Vigiliae.

III. In Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis, in casu praecedenti, dicatur post Nonam Missa de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis cum commemoratione Vigiliae Ss. Apostolorum. Si vero occurrat Festum IX. lectionum, dicantur duae Missae Conventuales, una de Officio currenti post Tertiam, altera de Vigilia Nativitatis S. Ioannis post Nonam, cum commemoratione Vigiliae Ss. Apostolorum.

IV. Si Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae incidat in diem 28 Iunii, secundae Vesperae integrae erunt de hac solemnitate, cum commemoratione sequentis Festi Ss. Apostolorum, iuxta Rubricas.

V. Quum ex Decreto supracitato diei 24 Iulii 1911 ad instar Octavae Epiphaniae sit privilegiata Octava Commemorationis sollemnis Sanctissimi Corporis D. N. I. C., infra hanc Octavam prohibentur etiam, tum Missae votivae pro sponsis, tum Missae cum tantu de Requie pro prima vice post obitum, vel eius acceptum nuntium ; die vero Octava prohibentur Missae privatae de Requie, quae die, vel pro die obitus alias cum exequiali Missa permittuntur.

VI. Missa cum cantu de Requie die, vel pro die obitus, aut depositionis, praesente, insepulto, vel etiam sepulto, non ultra biduum, cadavere, vetita est in sequentibus Festis nuper suppressis, nempe Commemorationis sollemnis Sanctissimi Corporis Christi, Annuntiationis B. M. V., Commemorationis sollemnis S. Ioseph, et Patroni loci.

VII. Item praedicta Missa inhibetur in Festis Solemnitatis S. Ioseph, Sanctissimae Trinitatis, et in Dominica in quam transfertur solemnitas externa Commemorationis Ss̃mi Sacramenti.

Contrariis non obstantibus quibuscunque, etiam speciali mentione dignis.

Die 28 Iulii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Ep. Charystien., Secretarius*.

L. S.

DECREE OF THE SACRED CONGREGATION OF THE INDEX

S. CONGREGATIO INDICIS

DECRETUM

Feria II., die 8 Maii, 1911

Sacra Congregatio Eñorum ac Rñorum S. R. E. Cardinalium a SS̃no Domino nostro Pio PP. X. Sanctaque Sede Apostolica Indici librorum pravae doctrinae, eorundemque proscriptioni, expurgationi ac permissioni in universa christiana republica praepositorum et delegatorum, habita in palatio Apostolico Vaticano die 8 Maii 1911, damnavit et damnat, proscripsit proscribitque, atque in Indicem librorum prohibitorum referri mandavit et mandat quae sequuntur opera :

GABRIELE D'ANNUNZIO, *Omnes fabulae amatoriae* (Romanzi e Novelle).

— *Omnia opera dramatica*.

— *Prose scelte*. Milano.

P. A. S., *Catechismo di storia sacra*. Cremona 1910.

ANTONIO FOGAZZARO, *Leila, Romanzo*. Milano 1911.

IOANNES KONRAD ZENNER, *Die Psalmen nach dem Urtext. Ergänzt und herausgegeben von Hermann Wiesmann. I. Teil. Uebersetzung und Erklärung*. Münster 1906.

MALACHIA ORMANIAN, *L'Eglise Arménienne : son histoire, sa doctrine, son régime, sa discipline, sa liturgie, son présent*. Paris 1910.

Itaque nemo cuiuscumque gradus et conditionis praedicta opera damnata atque proscripta, quocumque loco et quocumque idiomate, aut in posterum edere, aut edita legere vel retinere audeat, sub poenis in Indice librorum vetitorum indictis.

IOSEPH TURMEL et PETRUS BATIFFOL decreto S. Congregationis, edito die 2 Ianuarii 1911, quo quidam libri ab eis conscripti notati et in Indicem librorum prohibitorum inserti sunt, laudabiliter se subiecerunt. Etiam auctor anonymus libri inscripti *La vraie science des Ecritures*, ab hac S. Congregatione eodem diei 2 Ianuarii 1911 prohibiti, huic decreto laudabiliter se subiecit.

Quibus SSmo Domino nostro Pio Papae X. per me infra-scriptum Secretarium relatis, Sanctitas Sua decretum probavit, et promulgari praecepit. In quorum fidem, etc.

Datum Romae, die 9 Maii 1911.

F. CARD. DELLA VOLPE, *Praefectus*.
THOMAS ESSER, O.P., *a secretis*.

L. ✠ S.

TAKING OF THE OATH BEFORE ORDINATION

S. CONGREGATIO CONSISTORIALIS

DUBIA

DE STUDIORUM CURSU PERFICIENDO ET IURAMENTO PRAESTANDO ANTE SACRAM ORDINATIONEM

Propositis dubiis quae sequuntur, scilicet: 1°. utrum ad effectum sacrae ordinationis studiorum anni expleti dici possint ad festum Pentecostes seu Ssmæ Trinitatis; 2°. utrum iuramentum praestandum ante susceptionem ss. ordinum, a Motu proprio 'Sacrorum Antistitum' 1 Septembris 1910 praescriptum, emittendum sit ante singulos ss. ordines, vel solummodo ante s. subdiaconatum: haec S. Congregatio, die 24 Martii 1911, respondit:

Ad 1^{um} *Negative*; sed requiri ut expleatur cursus scholasticus novem mensium cum examine finali feliciter emenso.

Ad 2^{um} Sufficere ut praestetur ante ineundum sacrum subdiaconatus ordinem, salvo Ordinarii iure illud denuo exigendi ante collationem singulorum ss. ordinum si ex qualibet causa necessarium vel utile ducta.

C. CARD. DE LAI, *Secretarius*.
SCIPIO TECCHI, *Adsector*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

ESSAYS. Henry Dudley Ryder. London : Longmans & Co.

THIS volume is a collection of *folia fugitiva* from the pen of the late Father Ryder, best known, perhaps, to the general reader by his reply to Dr. Littledale's *Plain Reasons*, a reply which has been called one of the best bits of polemic literature in our time. The essays deal with a variety of subjects, as may be seen from the following titles : A Jesuit Reformer and Poet ; Revelations of the After-World ; Savonarola ; M. Emery, Superior of St. Sulpice (1789-1811) ; Auricular Confession ; The Pope and the Anglican Archbishops ; Ritualism ; Roman Catholicism and Converts ; On Certain Ecclesiastical Miracles ; The Ethics of War ; The Passion of the Past ; Some Memories of a Prison Chaplain ; Purcell's *Life of Cardinal Manning*. Many of the essays are professedly controversial, while a vein of controversy runs through many others. It is here that some of the author's best qualities are displayed. His controversial manner is characterised by an urbanity and gentleness that only adds to its effectiveness. He goes to the heart of his antagonist's position with the keenness of a rapier. A typical instance of the controversial side of his genius will be found at the beginning of the essay on 'Revelation of the After-World,' where he takes Professor Salmon to task on the subject of private revelations. But though their controversial value is high, I consider the literary value of these essays still higher. The perusal of this volume makes one regret that the author has not written more ; but perhaps if he had been more prolific such uniform excellence could not have been expected from him. In almost every page we find touches that show the hand of the finished *litterateur*. Each sentence is chiselled out with the greatest care, and the author is never at a loss for an apt illustration from one of the great classics of literature. He seems to have been a man of a peculiarly spiritual nature, gifted with a refined and delicate imagination. These qualities are constantly recurring, but are more especially evident in that interesting study entitled 'The Passion of the Past,' where he treats us to subtle analysis of a sentiment commensurate with humanity. He is rich in bright witty epigrams, and always happy in expression. Here is how

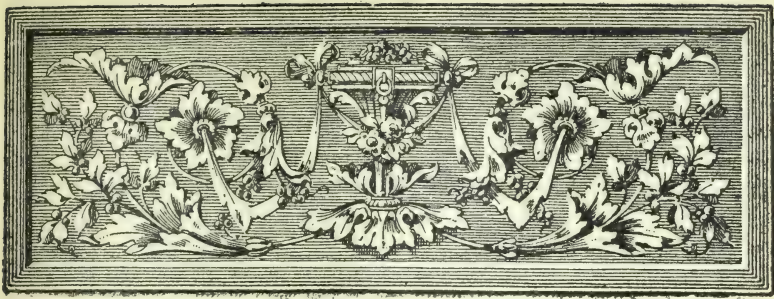
he describes Purcell's *Life of Manning*: 'The public has been invited to a Manning exhibition, in which letters, diaries, journals, documents *sub sigillo*, autobiographical notes are on view, and amongst them all Mr. Purcell moves, the cicerone mainly of the defects.' I feel sure this collection of delightful essays will appeal to all cultured minds.

J. F. D.

HEIRS IN EXILE. M. Constance Le Plaistrier. Melbourne :
W. P. Lenihan.

THIS novel from the land of the Southern Cross is to be commended especially for its fine Catholic tone. The story centres round the heroic sacrifices of a son to win an erring father back to the Faith. The character of Stephen is finely drawn, and should take its rank among the best in Catholic fiction. There is nothing very striking in the style of the book, rather there are certain crudities of plot and diction that betray the novice hand. Yet it is a novel that shows plenty of promise, and for that reason we wish it all success.

J. F. D.



MARSHAL MACMAHON, DUKE OF MAGENTA¹

(1808—1893)

EDME PATRICE MAURICE DE MACMAHON, Duke of Magenta, Marshal of France, and President of the Third Republic, was, as his name indicates, of Irish lineage. His grandfather, John Baptist MacMahon—sprung from an ancient family of Thomond, claiming descent from Brian Boru—was born in Limerick in 1715, the son of Patrick MacMahon and Margaret O'Sullivan. Like so many of his countrymen in the eighteenth century, John Baptist MacMahon was obliged to seek in France an education denied to him at home. Many other Irishmen arriving in France chose a military career. John Baptist MacMahon selected the more peaceful calling of medicine, and entered the medical school at Rheims. On the completion of his medical studies John Baptist MacMahon established himself at Autun. Here he married, in 1750, Charlotte Le Belin d'Eguilly, widow of John Baptist de Morey, and niece of the Marquis d'Eguilly, from whom

¹ The principal sources for the life of Marshal MacMahon are—

Histoire Complète de MacMahon, Maréchal de France. Par Leon Laforge. 3 vols. 4°. Paris, 1898.

Le Maréchal de MacMahon. Par le Commandant Grandin. 2 vols. 12°. Paris, 1894.

Le Duc de Magenta. Par Gabriel Colin. 1 vol. 8°. Paris.

Le Maréchal de MacMahon. Par Alfred Rastoul. 1 vol. 8°. Paris, 1908.

Histoire du Second Empire. Par Pierre La Gorce. 7 vols. 8°. Paris, 1894-1901.

Histoire de la France Contemporaine. Par Gabriel Hanotaux. 4 vols. 8°. Paris, 1908.

he inherited in 1761 a large estate in Burgundy. In August, 1763, Dr. MacMahon was created by Louis XV. Marquis d'Eguilly. The new marquis was styled Lord of Feenish, Inish, Arovan, Ilan-Magrath in the Co. Clare, and Lord of the island of Finus and of the town of Reneagh in the Co. Limerick, and Marquis of Eguilly in France. To the Marquis d'Eguilly two sons were born, both of whom embraced a military career. The eldest, Charles Laurus, Marquis de MacMahon, attained the rank of Member of the House of Peers (*Chambre des Pairs*), Chevalier of the Order of St. Louis, and was a personal friend of Charles X. The younger, Maurice Francis, Comte de Charney, Comte de MacMahon, served as colonel of the 2nd Hussars of Lauzun, and subsequently attained the rank of lieutenant-general and Commander of the Order of St. Louis. In 1792 Maurice Francis de MacMahon married Mlle Marie Edme Pelagie Riquet de Caraman, daughter of the Marquis of that name, and grand-niece of the Marshal de Broglie. From their union sprang a family of seventeen, of whom four were sons, who all in due time adopted the profession of arms. Edme Patrice Maurice de MacMahon, the sixteenth child and third son, and future Marshal of France, was born on 13th June, 1808.

The parents of young MacMahon were solidly pious, and Maurice Francis, the father of the family, was not ashamed to perform the office of chanter in the parish church at Sully, and it was his delight to see his sons serve at Mass. From the Petit Seminaire at Autun, where he received his early education, E. Patrice Maurice de MacMahon passed to an institution at Versailles, and thence to the Collège Louis-le-Grand in Paris. On 24th November, 1825, he entered the military school at Saint-Cyr, whence he came forth in 1827, thirteenth in order of merit and with a high reputation for discipline, application, and aptitude for the technical sciences connected with the military art. With the rank of sub-lieutenant he entered the School of the Etat-Major of the army and continued his military studies.

At this time the French army was engaged in active operations in Algeria, a field on which Marshal Bougeaud,

son of an Irish mother, had already won laurels. Desirous of active service, MacMahon exchanged places with another officer, and passed from the 4th Hussars to the 20th regiment of Infantry which was setting out for service in Algiers. On 6th May he embarked for Algiers, and on the 14th June he had already given proof of his intrepidity by being amongst the first in the capture of a redoubt at the battle of Staouli. In the following month an event took place which seemed destined to cut short the military career of the future marshal. In July, 1830, a revolution broke out in Paris. Charles X. was obliged to seek safety in exile. The family of MacMahon were royalists, and following the example of his brothers, Patrice Maurice de MacMahon offered his resignation of his post as officer. His father interposed, and pointed out to him that unlike his brothers, who were officers in the Royal Guard, he was serving his country in face of the enemy, and that therefore it was his duty to abide at his post. Accordingly he withdrew his resignation, and soon gave fresh proofs of his intrepidity. At the attack upon the Arab forces at the Col de Teniah MacMahon was the first to reach the summit of the hill, and in recognition of his bravery was named Chevalier of the Legion d'Honneur by his commander-in-chief, General Clauzel. In 1831 MacMahon obtained leave of absence to return to France on account of the illness and death of his father. On the expiry of his furlough he was selected as aide-de-camp by General Achard, and in that capacity took part in the siege of Antwerp in 1832. In 1836 he returned to Algiers as aide-de-camp to General Damremont. Always active and intrepid, MacMahon was frequently mentioned with eulogy in the official reports of the general. On one occasion at Blidah, as he was carrying despatches from the general in command, he was surprised by a body of Arabs. But he made his way through them until he reached a deep ravine. Behind were the enemy in full pursuit; before, a yawning chasm. Putting spurs to his horse he cleared the ravine and made his escape, but at the cost of his good steed, whose legs were broken in the fall. At the second siege of Constantine he received a gunshot in the breast,

but undaunted by his wound he charged at the head of his column, and carried the stronghold where the Janissaries had made their last stand. His intrepidity rendered him a favourite with his men, who familiarly spoke of him as *le Père Mac* (Old Mac), and when he was promoted in 1840 to the command of the 10th bataillon of Chasseurs his soldiers composed and sang in his honour the refrain—

Le dixième bataillon
Commandant MacMahon,
N'a pas peur du canon
Non de non.

His merits were recognized by successive promotions—Colonel in 1845, General in 1848, General of Division in 1852, he was named Governor of Constantine in the same year. In the intervals of active service he mastered the Arab language, studied the country, its resources, and its administration. His favourite recreation was lion-hunting.

In 1854 General MacMahon returned for a short time to France, and on 14th March married Elizabeth de la Croix de Castries, grand-daughter of the Duke of Castries. From their union sprang three sons, namely, Patrick (now Duke of Magenta), Eugene, and Emmanuel, and one daughter, now Mme la Comtesse de Piennes. After his marriage MacMahon returned to his post at Constantine, but events were impending which were destined to make him conspicuous as a hero before all Europe.

MALAKOFF.

In 1854 France and England, to whom Piedmont associated itself, combining in a species of crusade in favour of the Turks, declared war on Russia. MacMahon petitioned to be sent to the scene of action. His request was not granted. For nearly a year the war was carried on with no great success by the allied armies.

In 1855 General Pellissier was appointed commander-in-chief of the French troops in succession to General Canrobert. Pellissier knew and appreciated the qualities of

MacMahon, and he requested the Minister of War to send him to the Crimea, adding that he had a certain project in view, which without the aid of MacMahon he considered too hazardous. That project, as events showed, was the capture of the Malakoff. MacMahon was accordingly transferred to the army at the Crimea. No sooner had he arrived at the scene of action than he set to work to prepare the plan of attack upon the Malakoff. It was arranged that the English and Piedmontese should attack the great Redan; the French, under General Dulac, the little Redan, while MacMahon should attack the fort called the Malakoff. At noon on the 8th September, 1855, the action commenced. The fort called the Malakoff was a quadrilateral, protected by deep entrenchments. The side facing the French lines measured one hundred and twenty metres in length, with a lofty bastion in the centre. Heavy cannon surmounted the fortress. An open space of seventy-five metres in length lay in front. At noon MacMahon gave the signal for the assault. In a few minutes the open space was crossed amid deadly fire, scaling ladders set, and MacMahon, with about twenty men reached the summit of the parapet. Speedily he was followed by his troops, the Russians were dislodged. At a quarter past noon the flag of France floated from the summit of the Malakoff. This was the signal concerted for a general attack of the allied armies on the Russian forts. While the battle raged, the French general, knowing that the Malakoff had been mined by the Russians, sent to warn MacMahon, and to advise him to avoid a disaster by withdrawing before the mine should explode. MacMahon declared his purpose to hold his ground. Legend has embellished the words he made use of, and formed them into the phrase, 'J'y suis, j'y reste.'¹ He held his ground, and by a fortunate accident one of his sappers discovered and destroyed the wire destined to fire the mine with 1,000 kilos of powder beneath. The Russians, seeing that their principal fort was taken, set fire to Sebastopol and retired under cover of the flames. The

¹ See Hanotaux, *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*, vol. ii. pp. 5-20.

Crimean War was over. The capture of the Malakoff brought it to an end, and the glory of that achievement belonged to MacMahon.

At the close of the Crimean War MacMahon returned for some time to France; and in 1856 was raised to the rank of Member of the Senate. But his love for active service soon brought him back to Algiers, where he served as General of Division under General Randon in the expedition in Kabylie. Ere long a fresh opportunity of winning new laurels presented itself.

MAGENTA.

In 1859 Napoleon III. gave his co-operation to the policy of the King of Sardinia for the unification of Italy, and led a French army into Lombardy to aid Victor Emmanuel to drive the Austrians out of Italy. MacMahon was recalled from Algeria, and placed in command of the 2nd French Army Corps. The hostile forces met; and three times, at Montebello, at Palestro, and at Turbigo, the Austrians were defeated. The Franco-Sardinian army had reached the Ticino on whose banks Hannibal had defeated Publius Scipio more than two thousand years before. On the 3rd of June MacMahon received orders to advance upon Magenta, while Canrobert was commanded to cross the Ticino by the bridge of S. Martino.

On the 4th June the decisive action took place. The Austrian General, with 148,000 foot, 16,000 horse, and 600 guns advanced upon Magenta. About one o'clock in the afternoon MacMahon advanced to meet the enemy with his forces in two columns. One column was ordered to proceed to Buffalora, and to reach that place by 2.30 p.m. The other column was to reach Magenta at 3.30 p.m. Woods and vineyards barred the way, and advance was difficult. The Emperor, with the Imperial Guard, 5,000 strong, had taken up a position near the Ponte de Magenta expecting the support of Sardinian troops. Here he was surprised by the advanced guard of the Austrian troops, 25,000 strong, and for some time was in considerable danger of being overpowered. The noise of the cannonade in the

direction of Magenta attracted the attention of MacMahon. Immediately he rode forward with a few attendants to reconnoitre the position. Then, suspending the advance upon Buffalora, he hastened with all his forces towards Magenta. Everywhere the Austrians were driven back at the point of the bayonet. At half-past seven o'clock, after a stubborn resistance, they were driven from Magenta, leaving behind them four pieces of cannon, two flags, 12,000 muskets, 30,000 sacks of war material, 7,000 prisoners, and 12,000 men killed and wounded. The French loss was 4,446 officers and men killed and wounded. The victory was due to the intrepidity of MacMahon, and to the promptness with which he moved forward in full force upon Magenta. The Emperor congratulated him on his victory, adding, 'You have saved the army and the empire.' In token of his gratitude he created MacMahon Marshal of France and Duke of Magenta. Other victories followed, at Milan, Solferino, and Villa-Franca; then the meeting of the Emperors and peace. All France resounded with the praises of the Marshal Duke of Magenta.

Not long after MacMahon was chosen to represent France in a more peaceful scene. In 1861 William I. succeeded to the throne of Prussia. The Duke of Magenta represented the Emperor of the French at the ceremony of the King's coronation. While at Berlin he had an opportunity of witnessing a military review, and forming an opinion of the discipline and efficiency of an army he was destined one day to meet on a different field.

GOVERNOR-GENERAL OF ALGERIA.

Returning to France he was placed for some time in command of the garrison at Lille, and next at Nancy. On the 2nd September, 1864, he was appointed Governor-General of Algeria in succession to General Pellissier, and at once proceeded to the post of duty. The policy of the Emperor Napoleon III. was to conciliate the Arab population and, as it were, to make Algeria an Arab kingdom under French rule. The new Governor-General entered

warmly into that policy. He traversed the whole colony to study its needs and its resources. He gave close attention to the details of civil as well as military administration. He knew how much the clergy could aid in his work for the civilization of the Arabs; and when the see of Algiers became vacant he petitioned the Emperor to nominate to it Mgr. Lavigerie, Bishop of Nancy, whom he had learned to esteem while resident in that city. The Emperor objected that Mgr. Lavigerie was too impetuous. But at last he acceded to the request of the Governor-General, and Mgr. Lavigerie was appointed Archbishop of Algiers, and took possession of the see on 27th May, 1867. The diocese was an important one, comprising 83 parishes, 104 secular priests, 4 communities of men, 6 houses of religious women, 80,000 Catholics, and a Mohammedan population of 1,000,000.

Not long after the installation of the new Archbishop, Algeria was ravaged by locusts. Famine and cholera followed. Sixty thousand persons perished. The Governor-General and the Archbishop spared no effort to provide for the relief of the sufferers. Many Arab children were left homeless and orphans. Mgr. Lavigerie became a father to them. He collected together one thousand Arab children, and placed them in two orphanages, one for boys and one for girls, under the care of the Sisters of Charity. The Duchess of Magenta took an active part in aiding the Sisters in the good work. The orphans were instructed and brought up in the Catholic Faith. When the plague had passed away and confidence was restored, the French Government, with a view to please the native population, sent an order that the Arab orphans should be restored to their tribes. The Marshal felt it his duty to transmit the order to the Archbishop. Mgr. Lavigerie refused to obey. From the pulpit of his cathedral he said :—

To their fathers and mothers, to their natural guardians, I would have given them up without objection. But I am the father, the protector of all those orphans whose fathers and mothers and guardians no longer exist. They belong to me, because the life which still animates them has been saved by

me. Force alone shall tear them from the asylums in which they are.¹

To plead the cause of his Arab children Mgr. Lavigerie went to Paris, and sought an interview with the Emperor. Napoleon III. offered him a more important see, if he would only be silent, and allow the project of the Government to be carried out. Mgr. Lavigerie spurned the offer. It would be unworthy of a bishop to sacrifice the souls of his children for the sake of promotion. The Emperor at length yielded, and on the 28th May, 1868, a letter was published in the *Journal Officiel* authorizing the Archbishop to continue his work for the Arab orphans. The Governor-General had urged the giving up of the Arab children only to carry out the order of the Home Government. Now that the Government in Paris had withdrawn from its position, and over-ruled his action he felt hurt, and proffered his resignation. But the Emperor would not accept it.

While the Marshal was engaged in labouring for the relief of the plague-stricken, he was also maturing projects for the development of the colony over whose destinies he presided. On the 21st January, 1870, he appeared in the Senate in Paris, and spoke of the interests of the colony, for which he predicted a brilliant future. A few days after, on 27th of the same month, he paid a visit to the Irish College in Paris, and expressed a desire to attract Irish emigrants to Algiers. The Abbé Lacroix, then official administrator of the Irish Foundations, gives the following account of the visit :—

The Marshal, accompanied by the Prefect of Constantine, was received by the Superiors of the College, inquired about the course of studies and spoke of his project of attracting the current of Irish emigration to Algeria, where a colony of Irish emigrants had recently been established at Bône. His Excellency visited the various parts of the College, the chapel, and the study hall. The students received him with enthusiastic acclamations, saluting in him one of the most illustrious names of their beloved fatherland.

¹ *Le Cardinal Lavigerie et ses œuvres d'Afrique.* Par Felix Klein. Vol. i. p. 104. Paris, 1890.

The visit of the Marshal was followed by a correspondence between the Abbé Lacroix and the Prefect of Constantine. In a letter dated 7th June, 1870, the Secretary of the Prefect gives an interesting account of the arrival of some Irish emigrants and of their fortunes in Algeria. As it bears upon the administration of the Marshal it may not be out of place here :—

CONSTANTINE, *7th June*, 1870.

MR. SECRETARY-GENERAL,

I hasten to send you the information you have done me the honour to ask for, respecting the Irish colony which arrived in Algeria in November last. The colony consisted of twenty-five families, who sailed from Cork on board the Cunard steamer 'Palestine,' Captain Kelly. The total number of persons making up the twenty-five families was one hundred; along with them there were also thirty unmarried labourers. Unfortunately, both categories were completely devoid of resources, notwithstanding the recommendations of the Governor-General, who wrote several times to say that to succeed in Algeria what was wanted was families of the farming class with some capital. I shall add that the immigrants were made up of heterogeneous elements; the families were not united to each other by any bond, and in consequence they had no spirit of solidarity.

The steamship 'Palestine' reached Bône on the 6th November. All the Irish were sent on that day to a great proprietor, M. Nicolas, who offered to hire them. But the intention of the Administration was to transform the immigrants into small landholders, and not to make them servants. Hence, after four or five months' stay with M. Nicolas, a selection was made amongst the immigrants. Such of them as could only live from hand to mouth, or who were good for nothings—and, unfortunately, there were some of that sort—were at liberty to seek employment in the public works. Others who would not work, and who had been condemned for vagabondage at home, went back to France.

To-day the little colony, purged of unhealthy elements, is made up of twelve families, making a total of sixty-five persons. These families are settled in a village twenty kilometres from Constantine, the capital of the province. The village, situated at a place called Aïn-Smara, at an altitude of 700 metres, is very healthy, and the soil is good. The Irish have obtained grants

of land, which they will till with oxen, using seed which they owe to the munificence of His Excellency Marshal MacMahon. Until they have acquired the means to build residences, they are lodged in little houses which the Administration has placed at their disposal.

At Aïn-Smara there is a curé, and a pretty church ; a priest, too, who lived for a long time in the United States, and is well acquainted with the dispositions of the Irish, goes from time to time to the new colony to help the curé. The Sisters of St. Vincent de Paul at Constantine have taken some of the children, and the others get lessons in reading and writing from the curé.

The Irish colonists at Aïn-Smara will have as their speciality the raising of grain-crops and the rearing of cattle, which in Algeria are very fine and prolific.

If other Irish families were to come to Algeria they should be selected from such as have capital at their disposal amounting to about 2,000 francs (£80) per family. That sum is indispensable to enable them to meet the expenses of their installation, and to await the first harvest. Families that have means and are industrious are certain to make for themselves a very comfortable position in Algeria, where the Government grants them plots of twenty-five to fifty hectares,¹ at the cost of twenty francs per hectare, payable in five yearly instalments. Colonists who come to Algeria find medical attendance everywhere within reach.

I am making every effort to make our Irish colony at Aïn-Smara a success, because if it succeeds it will bring a current of immigration to Algeria, which is by excellence a Catholic country, since its population comes almost exclusively from France, Italy, Spain, Malta, the Balearic Islands, and from the German States professing the Catholic religion.

Since you are kind enough, Mr. Secretary-General, to remember me, permit me to ask you whether the Directors and administrators of the Irish College in Paris will be good enough to remember that they gave His Excellency Marshal MacMahon reason to hope that three burses would be established in the Seminary at Constantine in favour of young Irish students who would enter the ranks of the clergy of the diocese. His Lordship Mgr. de Las-Cases, Bishop of Constantine, looked forward with joy to the prospect of seeing arrive, after vacation, the three students destined to inaugurate this movement ; but he has heard nothing of it since.

¹ A hectare equals 2 acres 1 rood and 35 perches.

To send to the great Seminary at Constantine young Irish seminarists who would afterwards be placed as curates or pastors in the villages where their compatriots live, would certainly be one of the most practical and simplest ways of giving the Irish farmers a liking for Algeria, where they might become comfortable.

On behalf of His Excellency Marshal MacMahon and of Mgr. Las-Cases, I venture, Mr. Secretary-General, to recommend this matter to your kind attention.

I am at your service to give you any other information you may desire.

Please accept, Mr. Secretary-General, the assurance of my high consideration.

THE PREFECT,
DE TOUSTAIN DE MANOIR.¹

FRANCO-PRUSSIAN WAR, 1870. SEDAN.

While the Governor-General of Algeria was engaged in the active administration of the colony, war clouds were gathering on the frontiers of France. A German prince became a candidate for the vacant throne of Spain. France naturally took alarm at the prospect of finding herself hemmed in between the kingdom of Prussia on the east, and Spain, ruled by a German king, on the south. She protested against the elevation of a Hohenzollern prince to the throne of Spain. The King of Prussia at length consented to withdraw his approval of the Hohenzollern candidature. With this France ought to have been satisfied. But in an evil hour she insisted that the King of Prussia should promise never in the future to permit the project to be revived. The king declined to give such an engagement. France still insisted. Then followed the famous Ems telegram styled by Emile Ollivier 'le soufflet de Bismarck,' 'Bismarck's slap in the face.'² Public indignation was aroused in France; clamours for war to avenge the honour of France were heard on all sides. At length the

¹ Letter of M. de Toustain de Manoir, Prefect of Constantine, to M. Ovin Lacroix, Secretary-General of the Grand Almonry and Administrator of the Irish Foundations in France, dated Constantine, 7th June, 1870.

Original in French in the Irish College, Paris.

² *L'Empire Liberal*. Par Emile Ollivier. Vol. xiv.

Emperor of the French, after much wavering and hesitation, yielded to the assurance of Marshal Lebœuf, Minister of War, that the French army was fully prepared, and on 17th July, 1870, declared war. The Emperor himself, though disabled by infirmity assumed the chief command of the French forces with Marshal Lebœuf as his Major-General. Marshal MacMahon was summoned from Algiers, and placed in command of the First Army Corps. At the head of 40,000 men he advanced in the direction of Strasbourg. The third division of the Prussian army, under the Crown Prince Frederic, barred his progress. On 4th August the vanguard of MacMahon's army under the command of General Douay was surprised by the Prussian forces at Wissenbourg, and after a gallant struggle was compelled to retreat, leaving behind its camp, one gun, and 500 prisoners. The victory was dearly purchased. The Prussian loss was 91 officers and 1,400 men. Two days later, 6th August, Marshal MacMahon found himself at Woerth, near Reichshoffen, with 35,000 men face to face with a German force 140,000 strong. At 4 a.m. the battle began. The French fought with admirable courage and tenacity. All through the day the Marshal displayed the greatest coolness and intrepidity. At length, about 4 p.m., in face of overpowering numbers he was compelled to give the signal for retreat. The French fell back in good order. But they had lost heavily : 200 officers and 6,000 men in killed and wounded, and 9,000 prisoners. The Prussian loss was 900 officers and 10,000 men. When the Marshal reached Saverne he had been thirty hours in the saddle. From Saverne he fell back upon Chalons to reorganize his army.

The news of the defeat of MacMahon produced consternation in Paris, and the ministry of Emile Ollivier was compelled to resign. Meantime the Emperor was at Metz with the army of the Rhine amounting to 160,000 men. Here on 12th August he gave over the chief command of the army to Marshal Bazaine ; and leaving Metz he proceeded to join MacMahon at the camp at Chalons. Hardly had he left Metz when the German forces made a determined effort to surround Bazaine, and cut off his com-

munication with the rest of France. On 14th, 16th, and 18th August fierce struggles took place between the opposing forces at Brony, at Mars-la-Tour, near Gravelotte, at Vionville, and at St. Privat. The Germans suffered heavily, especially at Mars-la-Tour. The French fought with a courage worthy of success. But Bazaine, though a brave officer, had not the energy required for so great a crisis, and allowed himself with an army of over 100,000 men to be shut up in Metz.

When the news of the events at Metz reached Chalons a council of war was held. Some advised an advance upon Metz to relieve Bazaine. Marshal MacMahon was of opinion that the best course was to fall back on Paris and protect the capital. Bazaine, however, was commander-in-chief, and MacMahon awaited instructions from him. Bazaine sent messages holding out the hope that he would be able to form a junction with MacMahon. There was still hesitation in the camp at Chalons. But the Minister of War at Paris on 27th August sent MacMahon a definite order to march on Metz and relieve Bazaine. The Marshal obeyed against his own better judgment. As he gave the order to move forward towards Metz, one of his staff was heard to say: 'Nous partons pour Sadowa'; 'We are starting for Sadowa.'¹ The Marshal overheard the words and replied: 'Que voulez vous, c'est un ordre: il faut obeir.' 'It is an order we must obey.' Accordingly he set out and, marching through Chêne Popoleux and Rheims, on 31st August he reached Sedan, with a force of about 120,000.² Sedan, at that time a walled town of about 15,000 inhabitants, stands on the banks of the Meuse. On the north, north-east, and south it is overlooked by a chain of hills, which were already occupied by the German army numbering 220,000 men. The position was unfavourable to the French, and they would have acted wisely in making an effort to fall back. But a battle could not be avoided. On 1st September the battle which decided the fate of France

¹ Hanotaux, *Histoire de la France Contemporaine*, vol. ii. p. 13.

² *Histoire du Second Empire*. Par Pierre La Gorce. Vol. vii. pp. 291-368. Laforce gives 70,000 as the number of the French at Sedan.

and of the Empire was fought. At seven o'clock in the morning the troops on both sides were already engaged. MacMahon mounted an eminence at Moncelle to view the field. As he scanned his own and the enemies' forces with his field glasses, the brilliant uniform of his staff became a mark for the enemy's gunners. A shell from the Prussian lines killed the Marshal's horse and a splinter struck the Marshal in the thigh. He fell to the ground and was carried unconscious from the field. General Ducrot, as the Marshal had arranged, took the command, but before he could exercise it effectually that post was claimed by General Wimpffen, who produced an order from the Minister of War at Paris conferring on him the command of the army should MacMahon become disabled. Under General Wimpffen, therefore, the battle went on. The French fought with great bravery. The King of Prussia, who viewed the battle from an eminence, was astonished at the intrepidity with which the French charged overwhelming numbers, and he could not refrain from exclaiming 'Oh! the brave fellows!' The Emperor himself took part in the battle, and for four hours he went over the field encouraging the soldiers, heedless of personal danger. At length, seeing that all hope of a successful retreat was at an end, and in order to put an end to useless bloodshed, he ordered the white flag to be hoisted from the citadel of Sedan. It was not perceived, and after a short time it was shot down. Wimpffen was still determined to cut his way through the enemy's lines rather than become a prisoner. But all hope of success was at an end. Four hundred cannon thundered from the heights around the city; the walls crumbled beneath the shells, and the buildings were in many places on fire. Confusion and destruction reigned in the narrow streets. The Prussians sent an *estaffette* to summon the town to surrender. The commander-in-chief was not to be found, and Napoleon III. in person gave the answer in a brief note addressed to the King of Prussia:—

MONSIEUR MON FRÈRE,

N'ayant pu mourir à la tête de mes troupes, il ne me reste qu'à remettre mon epee entre les mains de votre majesté.

The King of Prussia accepted the surrender, and asked Napoleon to send a French officer with full powers to treat of the capitulation of the army. General Wimpffen was deputed to discuss the terms of surrender. Sedan was lost, the Emperor and 83,000 men became prisoners of war ; 21,000 prisoners were taken during the battle ; 13,000 were wounded and 3,000 killed.

With Sedan the second Empire fell. The formation of a Provisional Government of National Defence, the flight of the Empress-Regent, the siege of the capital, the surrender of Bazaine, the capitulation of Paris, and at last a cessation of hostilities followed in succession. Meantime, MacMahon was under treatment in an ambulance hospital. When sufficiently recovered, he, too, was treated as a prisoner of war, and sent to Weisbaden, whence he returned to France on 15th March, 1871, after peace had been concluded.

Another campaign now awaited him. A revolution had broken out in Paris, and the Red Republicans were masters of the capital. Thiers, head of the Provisional Government, entrusted to MacMahon the command of the army destined to reduce Paris, and in a speech in the National Assembly he styled him the 'chevalier sans peur et sans reproche de notre temps.' On 11th April operations began, and on 28th May MacMahon entered Paris. The reign of the Red Republicans was at an end.

MACMAHON, PRESIDENT OF THE THIRD REPUBLIC

For the next two years the re-establishment of order and the payment of the heavy war indemnity exacted by Prussia occupied the attention of France. In March, 1873, Thiers, President of the Republic, resigned his office, and on 24th May, 1873, the National Assembly by 390 votes out of 392 chose Marshal MacMahon to be his successor. The Duke de Broglie became Prime Minister. At this time one of the questions which most engaged the attention of the French Chambers was the adoption of a Constitution. Was that Constitution to be Republican or Royalist or Imperialist ? Each had partisans. The De Broglie Ministry were in favour of a restoration of royalty. The Count de Cham-

bord, the representative of the Bourbon line, and the Count de Paris, head of the Orleanists, became reconciled. In the event of a restoration, as the Count de Chambord was childless, the house of Orleans would succeed him on the throne of France. Negotiations were set on foot with a view to ascertain the conditions on which it might be possible for the National Assembly to vote the restoration of royalty. The Count de Chambord was prepared to accept the conditions proposed by the Chambers, except on one point. He declared that he never would accept the tricolour, which had been the flag of France since 1793. France was unwilling to accept the white flag of the Bourbons. MacMahon himself, though a royalist in sympathy, declared that if the white flag were substituted for the tricolour the muskets of the soldiers would go off of their own accord. It was thenceforward useless to hope for a restoration by a vote of the Chambers. As a last resource the Count de Chambord came to Versailles on 9th November, 1873, and through his agent, M. de Blacas, asked Marshal MacMahon to come to the house where he lodged and grant him an interview. On November 10th M. Blacas sought an interview with the Duchess de Magenta, and said to her : 'The King is at Versailles, and desires to see the Marshal.' The Duchess replied : 'I know not what my husband will do ; but I fear it is impossible for him to accede to the requests of his Lordship. He would have the air of taking part in an intrigue, the mere appearance of which is incompatible with the dignity of his character.'

M. Blacas was presented to the Marshal, who gave him the same reply. The Marshal was at heart a royalist. Had the Chambers voted the restoration of the king he would have been the first to welcome him. But he was now the constitutional head of the French Government, and he could not pass over the Chambers and make himself a party to a *coup d'état*. In his *Memoirs* the Marshal records his sentiments regarding the interview : 'I should have been happy to sacrifice for him [the king] my life. I could not sacrifice my honour. The majority [in the Chambers] . . . considered his return in actual circumstances impossible.'

After a short stay at Versailles the Count de Chambord withdrew from French soil. This drama, says M. Hanotaux, marks the close of the history of ancient France.

From 1873 to 1877 the Marshal continued to govern France amid the respect of all. The war indemnity was paid, the Prussian army of occupation withdrawn from French territory, the reorganization of the military forces of the country carried out. To this latter task the Marshal applied himself with earnestness, and in person presided at the councils charged with reforming the military affairs of the country. Discussions continued in the Chambers on the subject of a Constitution. At length, on 20th November, 1875, by a majority of one the National Assembly decided that the form of government should be Republican, and that its Presidents should hold office for seven years. Meantime, a great religious revival had taken place all over the country. In May, 1873, a great Catholic pilgrimage, numbering 20,000 persons, and amongst them 140 members of the Chamber of Deputies, was made to the shrine of Notre-Dame de Chartres. Shortly after a pilgrimage, equally large, took place to Paray-le-Monial, and amongst them fifty Legitimist Deputies representing a larger number who were unable to be present. On 28th July, 1873, a law was passed declaring the construction of a church on Montmartre to pray for a blessing on France, a matter of *public utility*. In 1875 a law was passed authorizing the establishment of Catholic Universities.

But a reaction was setting in. For electioneering purposes the cry that clericalism was the enemy was raised by Gambetta. With the approval of a majority of the Senate the President of the Republic dissolved the Chamber of Deputies. A general election was held on 14th October, 1877, and the result was a Republican majority of 120 members. It was during this election contest that Gambetta, referring to the policy of the Marshal, said in a speech at Lille : ' When France shall have made her sovereign voice heard, rest assured that it will be necessary to submit or to resign.'

When the Chambers met, a Ministry, with the Duke de

Brogie at its head, was formed ; but it had not the confidence of the majority, and was obliged to resign. The Marshal felt constrained to accept a Republican Ministry. At this time France gave a fresh proof of the revival of her prosperity by a Universal Exhibition at Paris. The Marshal-President opened the Exhibition in state on 1st May, 1878, and entertained the guests of the Republic at the *Élysée* with dignity and splendour. All hope of a Royalist restoration had passed away. But the friends of the Prince Imperial had not lost hope. They sent Cardinal de Bonnechose to treat with the Marshal. On 19th December, 1878, the Marshal received the Cardinal, and assured him that the project was impossible : ' Il ny a rien a faire.'

An election of senators in January, 1879, created a Republican majority in that house. With the new Ministry and Chambers the Marshal-President was no longer in sympathy, and he desired to resign, but yielding to persuasion he consented to continue in office. To give the sanction of his signature to measures which he disapproved was galling to him. At length he found a favourable opportunity to resign on a question regarding the army. On 28th January, 1879, the Minister of War proposed to put on the retired list five generals—Lartigue, Bataille, Bourbaki, de Montaudon, and du Barail. The Marshal refused to sanction a measure which he deemed a slur upon his former companions in arms, and gave in his resignation of the office of President of the Republic. Jules Grèvy was, on 30th January, elected to succeed him, and Marshal MacMahon retired into private life.

CLOSING DAYS : DEATH AND FUNERAL.

From his retirement in 1879 Marshal MacMahon spent most of his time upon his estate at the Chateau de la Forêt. He took no part in public affairs, but he continued to interest himself in questions regarding the army, and acted as President of an association for the relief of disabled soldiers, called *La Croix Rouge*.

In 1893 he began to suffer from renal trouble, and in October of that year he caught a chill. On 17th October,

while still in full possession of his faculties, he sent for the parish priest, Abbé Auvry, made his confession, and received the last sacraments. In the delirium of his agony the vision of his military life seemed to present themselves, and he was heard to exclaim : ' A moi les Turcos : En avant.' On 17th October, 1893, he breathed his last.¹

France gave her deceased hero a royal funeral. His remains were brought to Paris. On 22nd October the coffin was placed in state on a catafalque under the porch of the Madeleine church in Paris.² All departments of the State, civil and military, were represented. Admiral Avellan, with a detachment of the officers of the Russian Navy, then on a visit in French waters, and all the ambassadors accredited to the French Government by the powers of the civilized world, stood by the bier. At noon the funeral cortège in full military splendour moved from the Madeleine along the rue Royale and across the Seine to the Church des Invalides. There the funeral Mass was celebrated, and the remains of the deceased Marshal were deposited in the vaults beneath the church.

The Church no less than the State did honour to one who had always been a faithful son. Leo XIII. sent a telegram of sympathy to the Duchess of Magenta. On the 22nd November a funeral service for the deceased Marshal was celebrated in the Cathedral of Autun. Mgr. Perraud, subsequently Cardinal, who had served as an army chaplain during the war of 1870, preached the funeral oration. He dealt at length on the Marshal's career, on his Irish origin, his military achievements, his loyalty of character, and his strong and simple Catholic faith, like to that of his Irish forefathers. In eloquent words he described the Marshal's preparation for death. Then referring to words uttered in his agony, ' En avant,' he compared him to a warrior making the final charge, after which entering on the beatitude of heaven he might truly say : ' J'y suis, J'y reste.'

¹ *Histoire Complète de MacMahon.* Par Leon Laforge, Vol. ii.

² Four Irish priests, Rev. Patrick M'Kenna, Rev. John M'Guinness, Rev. Patrick Boyle, of the Irish College, and Rev. Thomas Reynolds, St. Vincent's, Cork, had the privilege of being present near the catafalque.

At the Church of Ste. Madeleine in Paris the Society of La Croix Rouge, whose President the Marshal had been, had a Requiem Mass celebrated for his repose on 25th February, 1894. Cardinal Thomas, Archbishop of Rouen, had been invited to preach the sermon. Unable through illness to deliver the panegyric he had prepared he had it read at the Mass by the Abbé Fremont.

Marshal MacMahon was survived by the Duchess of Magenta, by two sons and one daughter. Patrick, the eldest son, who has succeeded to the title of Duke of Magenta, is an officer of distinction in the French army. On 23rd April, 1896, he married the Princess Margaret d'Orleans, and thus the royal line of Thomond and the royal line of St. Louis are united.

HABITS OF THE MARSHAL AND ESTIMATE OF HIS CHARACTER.

But it is time to sum up this sketch of Marshal MacMahon and to inquire what manner of man he was in appearance, in habits, and in character, and to form an estimate of the rank he holds in history.

In stature he was above the middle height. His complexion was florid, his countenance open, to which deep-set blue eyes gave an expression gentle and severe. In social life he was somewhat shy, silent, and embarrassed. With his intimate friends his conversation was more free and sprightly. He was most at ease amongst his soldiers, and most at home on the field of battle.

Methodical in all things, the Marshal rose at 5 a.m., took a morning ride, returning at 7 a.m. Then he attended to business until 11 a.m., when he lunched. In the afternoon he again attended to business, and then went out shooting if the season permitted. He read the papers only for a short time in the evening before dinner. When residing on his estate, if he met the parish priest he used to stop to converse with him, and never failed to inquire about the crops, the condition of the labourers, and about the sick. On Sundays he regularly attended Mass.

Various opinions have been expressed about the abilities of Marshal MacMahon. Marshal Bougeaud said of him : 'I am but little acquainted with MacMahon, but I believe he is an excellent officer, very military and very firm, but I do not think he has the breadth of mind necessary for the government of Europeans and Arabs.' Some have found fault with his administration as Governor-General of Algeria. But able men have borne testimony to the excellence of his administration. 'He worked hard,' says M. Hanotaux, 'moving about through the country, unceasingly attending to civil and military business ; keeping an eye to everything. There was in all that, method, good sense, and grave and judicious activity.'

His administration as President of the Republic has found critics. But the best answer to such critics is found again in the words of Hanotaux : 'In reality Marshal MacMahon was a firm and conscientious President of the Republic, loving his country and attached to its welfare. There were excellent features in his government, namely, the moral and material uplifting of the country.'

His capacity as a general has been called in question. But if he failed at Reichshoffen he failed, not through any fault of his own, but because he had to cope with forces four times as numerous as his own. His march to Sedan, and the disaster which followed, cannot be laid to his charge. Bazaine was his commander-in-chief ; and he had sent him word that he would effect a junction with him. The Minister of War was his superior, and he had sent MacMahon an order to effect a junction with Bazaine. If he failed, he failed because he obeyed the orders that were given him ; and, as Mgr. Perraud expressed it, he was a victim of tactics that were not his own. A Nelson, a Wellington, a Napoleon might have had the resolution in the face of danger to adopt tactics of their own. MacMahon's principle was order and obedience. He failed at Sedan, but Frenchmen knew that the fault was not his, and therefore they never wavered in their esteem for him.

No man during the nineteenth century commanded

the esteem and confidence of the French nation to the same extent as MacMahon. All regarded him as the bravest soldier of the age. His opponents looked upon him as a loyal and honourable man. M. Thiers spoke of him as the chevalier, without fear and without reproach, of our time. Gambetta himself would have taken office under his presidency. Jules Simon said of him : ' In short, Marshal MacMahon was a great captain, a great citizen, and a good man.' All spoke of him as *the loyal MacMahon*. MacMahon was a brave, a loyal and honourable man, and an intrepid soldier. He was not a politician.

He was, as the Comte de Chambord styled him, ' Le Bayard des temps modernes.' A Legitimist at heart, his conduct towards the Comte de Chambord is the best proof of his profound spirit of honour. ' He considered himself as the mandatory of the Assembly which represented the country. In accepting the first place he obeyed.'

But there is one feature in the career of the Marshal which his French historians omit to mention. The Marshal was a Frenchman by birth, but he was an Irishman by origin. Ireland followed his career with the deepest interest, and he on his part never forgot the country of his ancestors. When Ireland sent a deputation to present him with a sword of honour, he received the presentation with joy and gratitude, and in reply to the address which accompanied it he said : ' I will one day leave to my eldest son, Patrick, this magnificent sword. It will be for him as it is for myself a new pledge of those close ties which should unite him for ever to the noble country of his ancestors.' As Ireland rejoiced with him in his glory so he sympathized with her in her sorrow. When Ireland was suffering from want in 1880, and an appeal for her relief was made in the Church of the Madeleine by Père Monsabre, the greatest French preacher of the day, Marshal MacMahon was present to encourage the appeal and the Duchess de Magenta was one of those who went through the audience to collect the offerings of the charitable.

Marshal MacMahon was an honour to France and an honour to Ireland. Dutiful, brave, loyal to his country and loyal to his religion, he is a model worthy of the imitation of Frenchmen and of Irishmen: a hero without fear and without reproach.

PATRICK BOYLE, C.M.

GADELICA MINORA—III

IN our last article we enunciated the theory that the inserted pronoun in the A type of Identity Sentences has come to be universally used in that type, following the pattern of other cases in which the pronoun was an element essential to the form of the sentence. The most important of these latter cases are : First, those in which the pronoun was proleptic, the material predicate coming in at the end of the sentence (types B, C) ; second, those in which the pronoun was retrospective, the material predicate having appeared, for rhetorical or other reasons, at the beginning of the sentence (type D) ; and third—a class which is of especial interest in Old Irish—those which contain the word ‘ inso,’ or ‘ insin.’ In the present article I propose to give *in extenso* the occurrences of class one, which I have noted in the Würzburg and Milan Glosses, and perhaps in one or two other Old Irish texts. For convenience of reference I have divided the examples into three classes, according as the proleptic pronoun is ‘ é,’ ‘ sí,’ or ‘ ed ’ :—

I.—EXAMPLES OF ‘ É ’ (SING. AND PL.) PROLEPTIC.

1°. *Würzburg Glosses.*

- III. Fol. 2c 14—matuhé ata horpamin indi rochomalnisset
recht.
- II2. „ 8a 17—arishé *assapiens et aspotens . . . qui credit in
iesum christum. . . .*
- II3. „ 8d 20—ishé didiu intecttaire maith condaig indocbáil
diathigerni. . . .
- II4. „ 9c 25—ithé inimici lessom qui fraudant et qui iniu-
riam faciunt.
- II5. „ 10d 17—ithé son leuiti olchene nobitis octimthirecht
innanidbart.¹
- II6. „ 14d 19—act bahé cúrsagad maid madachoisged
dílgud. . . .

¹ Perhaps this gloss should be classed as belonging to type A rather than here.

117. Fol. 27a 10—arishe besad felsub etarcert didúlib et saigid forru et nebchretem anadiadar¹ dicrist.
 118. „ 27b 8—ishé insenduine fessin .i. uilidetu nandúalche. . . .
 119. „ 28b 20—ithé gnimi epscuip asmbeir sí.²
 120. „ 29c 7—ishé³ astopur innanane [Deus (understood from context)].
 121. „ 30d 8—bithé magistir dongegat indhí asindisset atola féisne dóib.

2°. *Milan Glosses.*

122. Fol. 19d 6—ishé didiu ambés adi intí diib bes tresa orcaid alaile.
 123. „ 22c 3—ishe didiu intærchoiliud ut honorabiles rl.
 124. „ 24a 4—ba hé angnimsom molad dæ.
 125. „ 29a 6—is hae intord coir quoniam vides.
 126. „ 31b 24—huare didiu asné gnim tengad comlabrae. . . .
 127. „ 36a 32—is hé incét sians didiu ni conrogab terochraic ho fiur sommu. . . .
 128. „ 42b 7—it he caeli lasuide indapstail soscelae.⁴
 129. „ 42b 7—is he sonus les fogur soscelai. . . .
 130. „ 46c 14—it hé intoirthi amal sodin inna hi adfiadatar hitestinnib file is intsalm anuas.
 131. „ 47a 8—is he aicsenugud les in quoniam so .i. et in domino speraus rl. .i. is airi friracachasa quoniam. . . .
 132. „ 54a 12—ní aisndet Duaid airmdis hé iusti indí nad ocmanatar hothrogaib. . . .
 133. „ 54a 12—acht it hé iusti indí ocubendar hothrogaib innan ingramman 7 innafochaide. . . .
 134. „ 56a 20—air it hé ata⁵ firien lesom indí dluget triecha⁶ oina.
 135. „ 74d 9—ithe indaerchoilti asbersom toltanugud deo 7 buith i mbethid noib foirbthiu.
 136. „ 89a 8—it hae didiu indaidmi asmbeirsom .i. organa.

¹ 'An adfiadar' (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 671, note a).

² It seems best to regard 'gnimi epscuip' as *subject*. The sentence belongs, then, to type C, like Canon O'Leary's 'Cuiusmō supab é an slánuigteoir mac Dé.'

³ 'é' might here, of course, be regarded as retrospective.

⁴ Recte 'soscelai' (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 115, note).

⁵ MS. 'afrien.'

⁶ Leg. 'fricecha' (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 183, note d).

137. Fol. 89a 8— γ it hae indorgain¹ inna hí asber innadiad .i.
timpanum γ chithara.
138. „ 91a 21—is hé forcan² doratsom forsnammorchol dori-
gensat a namait fris díltud remdeicsen dae
desom.
139. „ 91d 7—it hé innallathar asbeir innandiad .i.
140. „ 91c 1—is hé in loc terra repromisionis.
141. „ 102b 5—is háe inmacc asbeir som in popul.
142. „ 111c 13—is he rufiastar cumachtae innadiglæ dom-
bir siu hualondas, inté duécigi is ar trocairi³
 γ censi dubirsiu forunni siu innahi fodaimem
re techt innúnn.
143. „ 114b 7—ithé ata findbadaig indi chomallaite timnae
ndae triaforcital doib.
144. „ 123c 8—ithé tra apringeindi lessom hisunt inna-
primiti innatorud.

II.—EXAMPLES OF ‘SÍ’ PROLEPTIC.

1°. *Würzburg Glosses.*

145. Fol. 3d 30—issí trebaire chollno cecha dethidnea domundi
doimradud cen imradud na nemde.
146. „ 5c 22—issí thol dée anísíu .i. atredeso .i. bona et
placens et perfecta.
147. „ 6c 10—issí regnum immurgu aní siu (iustitia et pax
et gaudium in Spiritu Sancto).
148. „ 11b 5—issí tra temptatio homana asrubart túas
freccor céil ídol et accobor á tuáre.
149. „ 14c 10—issí diuitte dae precept soscéli cenlóg cenaithi.

2°. *Milan Glosses.*

150. Fol. 14d 1—is sí tra brith ar intestiminso maní bé *est*
and tuas γ mad argumento bes ant.
151. „ 23b 5—is sí didiu introcaire .i. nacharomarbsom dia
indigail neich dorigensat fri duaid.
152. „ 23b 5—is sí indochraide huare nadruccsat diriug
orcuin duid iarna erbartso(m).
153. „ 26b 1—is sí arnires his'n atá mordechur etir deacht
 γ doinacht.
154. „ 37a 10—is sí inchumtubart γ indoidgne nad fetammar
ní im du iudaib fagentib berthair a sanctis
fil sunt.

¹ MS. ‘indorgan.’

² *Recte* ‘forcenn’ (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 308, note).

³ *Rectius* ‘throcairi γ chensi.’

155. Fol. 74d 13—is sí ciall¹ dumber side assindisiu .i. nimalartae
siu hua inscribiunt intituil .i. olinspiurt
noib triguin infatho frípont phelait ní der-
legaesiu intitil 7 rl.
156. „ 46d 10—isí in miscuis clóin asmbeir dorigensat assir
huare nach dudia duarilbset forbrisiud
innaniudae acht is dianeurt fessin.
157. „ 83b 1—issí inne fil is indi as fluit consumitur.
158. „ 90a 12—issí persann fil and amal sodin paupertas.
159. „ 94b 17—issí chiall fil and
160. „ 101c 6-7—issí ciall² gaibes in testimin so corrici aliter
.i. is do. . . .
161. „ 101c 6-7—issí immurgu inchiall ua aliter síis .i. . . .
162. „ 104c 1—issí ade accuis .i. nephchuindchid anmae dae
nisi per vim.
163. „ 117d 4—issí abríg liumsa a techtae som huaim amal
niconfessin etir.
164. „ 122b 1—issí facies terrae animantia diversi generis.
165. „ 126b 17—is sí ind inducibal lesom in molad.
166. „ 126c 1—issí ind inducibal asbeirsom dorelad tris infers
nisiu .i. á ceul 7 in molad trissanétar in-
ducibal a deo.
167. „ 131c 11—issí induilen doibsom tadchor as indoiri.
168. „ 138a 2—issí briathar súle dano a cumgabál suas
dochum ndae.
169. „ 138a 2—is sí briathar glunae 7 chos a filliud fri slechtan.
170. „ 138a 2—is sí briathar choirp dano intan roichther do
dia oc slechtan 7 chrosigill.

III.—EXAMPLES OF 'ED' PROLEPTIC.

1°. Würzburg Glosses.

171. Fol. 3c 33—ined fodera báas domsa atimne sainemail sin ?
172. „ 3d 5—ished a perficere lessom forbe indagimrata
centetarcor drogimrato.
173. „ 5c 23—ished a plus sapere lessom naní ararogartsom
madugnether.
174. „ 5c 23—ished immurgu a sapere ad prudentiam cach
réit ararogartsom do nebdénium et a for-
chongair dochomalnad.
175. „ 5d 5—ished fodera in(n) inchongnam sin huaire
issain dán cáich.

¹ Leg. 'chiall' ? (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 256, note).
Rectius 'chiall' (*Thesaurus*, i. p. 343, note).

176. Fol. 10a 26—nihed asrubart side bith nech inógi cid
sochumact no dochumact do.
177. „ 10b 15—ished didiu a honestum guide dée cen nach-
tairmescc ó dethidin inbetho .i. ósétchi.
178. „ 12d 29—ished torbe nammáa tra ara tobarr labrad
ilbelre conroadamrighther dia triit et combat
irlamude ind ancreitmich dochretim.
179. „ 12d 36—ished asberat it dásactig indóini hisiu.
180. „ 13c 12—ished aslinn andumelam.
181. „ 14c 19—ished arrath tanise dilgud pectho tre aithirgi.
182. „ 14c 43—ished áem foruar fáilti dunni formbuihse
iniriss et. . . .
183. „ 15a 16—ished robói indi morte moriatur.
184. „ 15a 19—ished asbeirsom híc aratartar airmitiu feid
donaib preceptorib.
185. „ 22b 3—ished torad forforce buid cen peccad.
186. „ 22b 3—ished as dilem lium rath precepte.
187. „ 26a 2—ished as dilem limm ciacloid (ciatlóid).
188. „ 26d —ished dodesta (MS. 'desta') disudiu dul
martre tarfarcennsi.
189. „ 30a 18—ished alligitime scarad fri indeb indomuin et
tol dae do dénum.
190. „ 30b 14—ished anesseirge leu maic indegaid anathre
nó tuath dae a dóiri.

2°. *Milan Glosses.*

191. Fol. 14d 7—is ed as dulem dún duengnu instoir.
192. „ 16c 10—is ed inchoisecht trisodin coic bliadni deac
dothormuch fora saigulsom.
193. „ 17c 7—is ed asberat ind heretic as laigiu deacht
Maicc indaas deacht Athar airis ho athir
arroét macc cumachtae.
194. „ 23d 12—is ed didiu ancride indermait buith cenchlaind.
195. „ 24d 29—is ed asberat asndudeacht 7 doinacht maic
rogabad insalm so.
196. „ 32a 5—is ed fodera dam in circuitu impii ambulabant.
197. „ 31d 5—is ed guides amal sodin airnach ndermanadar
dia inforcenn.
198. „ 33a 1—is ed a erat frittamiurat inna huli remiaer-
bartmar céine nosóife-siu huaím.
199. „ 35b 1—ní ed a mét demnigmini arndligeda hotestim-
nib screptaire intan nodascribam sed rl.

200. Fol. 35d 14—is ed annert foirbthe imgabail cech huile 7
denum cech degnima.
201. „ 43d 27—is ed inrochoisrecht trisodin coic bliadnai deac
dotórmuch forsaigul Ezechiae.
202. „ 46a 14—is ed rochreti cách duibsi nachaibersoilcfithe
etir.
203. „ 54c 2—airis ed roboi hirrecht digal cutrummae fris-
sinpeccad.
204. „ 55c 1—is ed scél forraithminedar is indisiu dialuid
duaid. . . .
205. „ 59c 3—is ed conaitech tantum dilgud a pecthae ndó
hó dia.
206. „ 60a 12—is ed a cétal nuae asbeirsom aní nárbu dilmain
dugabail isindoiri agabailadi iartichtin esse.
207. „ 62c 13—ba ed a frecræ adi lesom apud me oratio 7 rl.
208. „ 67d 8—is ed asbeirsom tra isinchanóinse is hituáis-
ciurt slebe síoin ata inchathir.
209. „ 71c 6—is ed adbar inna combartæ cloine teistiu int
síl immefolangar tri chomaccubur 7 peccad.
210. „ 84d 4—is ed adfet a legend as ndath glas roboi for-
sindsleib fochosmailius saphirr.
211. „ 89d 6—is ed as doig lium isindisiu bid exaggeranter
duintad an emfases asbeir som.
212. „ 90c 12—is ed ón dano aschomadas huathad foirbthe du
dénun innaereigmese.
213. „ 93b 4—ba ed ba aicned dusudib soirthe retha.
214. „ 93d 14—is ed asberatsom is gau dunni innahi adfiadam
dichrisst.
215. „ 95a 5—is ed asbertis ba a nert fadesin immefolnged
choscur doib.
216. „ 98c 6—ni ed immurgu dorigni Dia anísiu.
217. „ 99b 5—ni ed as maamserc la tuistidi 7 choimdeda
primiti a clainde 7 primiti atorud.
218. „ 103a 9—is ed as dulem daitsiu metarcnae.
219. „ 106d 3—is ed asbeirtis ba madae du frecur chéill siu adae.
220. „ 107d 8—is ed a eret is gessi dia céine mbether in hac vita.
221. „ 114a 17—is ed bis is ind foitsecht huatha ipse conrici
sagit.
222. „ 115a 2—is ed andechur fil is ind aliter so .i. labraid
inspiurt noib inso trigun duaid.
223. „ 115a 14—is ed adfet uatha aliter síis is forcech lín a
huair immeroimded doberthe digal.

224. Fol. 128c 3—is ed dugní iarum atluchedar buidi do dia nammá.
 225. „ 128d 9—is ed anecnae híc iarcetbaid alanalae deserc.
 226. „ 129a 1—is ed log indegnima hisiu .i. ani is indbiuth frecndairc et dimicen inimicorum.
 227. „ 129d 6—is ed a frecrae quando dixit a facie dei iacob.
 228. „ 138a 12—ní ed a mét as netarcnad dun tri arnditin.
 229. „ 138c 3—ní ed a met asmbeir som inna aitríbhídhí domolad dae.

3°. *Turin Glosses and Scholia on St. Mark.*

There is just one example here of the proleptic pronoun (é),
 p. 4, col. 1. 113—ishé tintud indi as Barabbas magister eorum.

4°. *Fragment of Old Irish Treatise on the Psalter.*

(a) 'É' PROLEPTIC.

230. ishe a ainm isind ebru Sepher Tehallim .i. volumen hymnorum.
 231. ar it é teora aimsera airecaiter don chanóin fetarlicce .i. aimser rig ocus aimser brithemon ocus aimser sacart.
 232. is hé vox definitionis and óthá Beatus vir *usque* die ac nocte.
 233. is hé vox consolationis and óthá die ac nocte *usque* prosperabuntur.
 234. is hé vox increpationis and óthá prosperabuntur *usque* in finem.
 235. is hé in fírfíndbathach no in fírfion adchobra inna huile beatusa sainemlai ocus nadnaccobra ind ulcc.

(b) 'SÍ' PROLEPTIC.

236. isí saigid inne asbeir Isidorus and Beatus quasi bene auctus.

(c) 'ED' PROLEPTIC.

237. is ed dorimet alaili tragtairi comtís cóic libuir isint saltair.
 238. is ed immurgu asbeir Hieronymus amal nach forcenn libuir nach magen imbi amen amen isint soscélu ní forcenn libuir dano nach magen imbi fiat fiat isnaib salmaib.
 239. is ed dano forthét ingnimib inna n pstali. ba hoinlebor leu in saltair.
 240. is ed dicit isindí sin is la Asab in salm ocus alaili sailm olchena.
 241. is ed cetharda arataisilbtar int sailm aliis personis airec intliuchta ocus gnathugud cétail, immaircidetu gnima ocus rún ainmnigthe.

242. is ed didiu dorími in senchas inna fetarlicce ho roordnestar
Duíd. . . .
243. is ed dorigni dúid fria dedenchu Doróigu cethri míle. . . .
244. is ed immurgu asbeir Augustinus diapsalma intervallum
psallendi.
245. is ed asberat séssi inna trachtaire combad Te decet.
246. combad ed a ainm Psalmi David no cóic libri Psalmorum.
247. is ed a ainm iar fír Liber Psalmorum.

In all of the above examples the pronoun anticipates the material predicate, and the predication is therefore *formally* complete before the material predicate begins. It is not unnatural, then, that there should have been a tendency to assimilate the gender of the proleptic pronoun to that of the leading subject noun. Sometimes, of course, it happens that both subject noun and predicate noun are of the same gender (vide, e.g., Nos. 111-115). But in others they differ, and attraction generally takes place. Thus, with a neuter subject, we have attraction in Nos. 177, 182, 185, 194, 200, 203, 209, 225, in which the predicate is feminine; also in Nos. 181, 205, in which the predicate is masculine. Again, with a masculine subject, we have attraction in Nos. 116, 123, 125, 131, in which the predicate is neuter; also in Nos. 117, 140, where the predicate is feminine. Lastly, with a feminine subject, we have attraction in Nos. 146, 148, 150-157, 159-161, 163, 164, 170, in which the predicate is neuter; also in 165, where the predicate is masculine. The only two cases we have noticed in which the attraction does not take place are No. 147, where 'si' precedes the neuter 'regnum,' and No. 199 with 'ed,' where the subject is 'mét.' In the former case, however, it is easily explained, as the Irish word 'flaith' (fem.) was in the glossator's mind. Nos. 230, 232, 233, 234 are peculiar. In 230 the proleptic pronoun is é, although the subject (ainm) and the predicate 'volumen' are neuter. In 232-234, although the subject is 'vox' (fem.) and the predicate is equivalently neuter, the proleptic pronoun is, nevertheless, é.

Seapóro Ó Nualláin.

GLIMPSSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—XIII.

SOME of the closing scenes in the fearful drama of Ireland's sufferings belong to the end of the seventeenth and the beginning of the eighteenth centuries, when to what may be called the tragedy proper or the time of wholesale bloodshed, a period characterized by craft and astuteness succeeded.

The Act for the registration of the Popish clergy (1703, 2 Anne, sess. i., cap. viii.) commanded all whose presence in the country the Parliament could henceforward consistently with self-respect be aware of, to give in their names, etc., at the first Quarter Sessions after the feast of St. John the Baptist in the following year. By the Act of Transportation (1697 ; 7 William III.) Archbishops, Bishops, Vicars-General, and all others exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, together with all Jesuits, monks, and friars, had been ordered to quit the kingdom before the 1st of May, 1698. So Queen Anne's first Parliament could and should and did act as if not a single individual belonging to any of the classes just mentioned was to be found in Ireland. But then came the curates' turn. As it was considered necessary not to ignore the large and increasing number of the inferior clergy, early in the first session (c. ii.) an Act was passed to prevent the entrance of priests into the kingdom. However this was only a prelude: the main body of legislation, what Queen, Lords, and Commons had most set their hearts on enacting, soon followed. It was the Act of Registration.¹

In virtue of it there was to be only one priest in the parish, and Parliament took care to tell him that he was only a pretended parish priest. First of all, he had to answer several questions: to state his name and residence, the time and place of his receiving priesthood, also the name of

¹ Bellesheim, iii. p. 47.

the Bishop that ordained him. Then he was to be treated much the same as if he were a ticket-of-leave man. He might not perform any priestly function outside the district for which he was registered. Neither was he to have a curate or an assistant priest of any other description; otherwise he would forfeit the beneficial results of registration, and be considered a regular—which practically meant transportation for life, or, as an alternative, death, in case he dared to return home. But the worst clause of all remains to be mentioned. Not one of the registered priests was to have a successor. Registration was designed to be the death warrant of the clergy. The Act of 1703 was to be the *coup de grace*, the achievement that would crown the work and win a glorious, never-ending triumph for the Reformation. ‘Cedunt arma togae!’ What Cromwell’s troopers could not effect was to be accomplished by Queen Anne’s Parliament.

It mattered not to those in power that such a Bill, and the preceding one, ‘the Bill to prevent the growth of Popery,’ were flagrantly unjust. They were contrary to the treaty of Limerick. With full knowledge of this both houses of Parliament passed them. Might was right. It cannot be said that at the time no protest was made. There is in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, a collection entitled ‘Irish Pamphlets’ (A.7.1).¹ Pamphlet No. 4 is ‘The Case of the Title of the Roman Catholics of Ireland, in Relation to the Bill against the Growth of Popery and other Bills now under consideration. Dublin. Re-printed, 1703.’ We may quote a few passages:—

By the first of the Articles hereunto annexed, made on the surrender of Limerick, and since ratified under the great Seal of England, and saved and provided for by two English Acts of Parliament; All the Roman Catholicks of Ireland are to enjoy such Privileges in the exercise of their Religion, as they did in the reign of King Charles II., etc.

¹ It may be permitted to mention that pamphlet No. 58, ‘The Protestant Courant,’ contains a notice of the execution of Henry O’Neal, who had been a witness in the trial of Oliver Plunket.

The writer then enumerates some clauses of the Bill against the growth of Popery ; and shows that if none of them were in force in the reign of Charles II. in Ireland, and if every one of them restrains more or less the privileges that Roman Catholics did then enjoy, and if the Roman Catholics of Ireland do thereby suffer on account of their religion, ' all the aforesaid Matters and Clauses contained in the said Bill, Intituled " An Act to prevent the growth of Popery," are, as is humbly conceived, against the words, and the plain Intent and Meaning of the said first Article.'

Then lower down he says :—

There is another Bill lately transmitted from *Ireland* for *Registering the Popish Clergy* : in which there is a clause requiring the said Clergy to take the Oath of Abjuration ; if this Law doth pass, no Priest will remain in Ireland, and none of them can come thither from abroad under Penalty of High Treason, so the Catholicks cannot live there, being thereby barred of the exercise of their Religion. This Bill is against the first of Limerick Articles, which provides for the free exercise of their Religion, and against the Ninth, which directs that the Oath of Allegiance made *primo* Will. & Mariae, and no other Oath, shall be administered to such Roman Catholicks as do submit to the Government.

The anonymous writer was well informed and took the right view of the matter. His argument, however, was lost on the persons vested with authority : in England the Bill was approved of, and in Ireland it was passed. How could his protest avail ? We are perfectly sure that in case the Parliament in College Green had condescended to notice his representation of Catholic rights, and had honestly declared its own motive and hope, it should have adopted the writers' words, ' if this Law doth pass, no priest will remain in Ireland,' and should have avowed that this was the very end and aim of the proposed statute. But a candid statement was as little to be looked for as justice.

That the Act of Registration was well planned, admits of no doubt whatever. If credit be due to cunning, its originator deserves praise. It was part of a deep-laid scheme. When brute force had not succeeded in annihilating the Irish clergy, stratagem was resorted to. The halter and

the sword had been tried in vain during a hundred and fifty years, for at the beginning of the eighteenth century the priests were as zealous and powerful as ever, but Parliament, taught by failure, resolved to discontinue violent measures and for a time to employ another and a very different means. It affected a certain amount of leniency, and tacitly undertook to bear with the presence of such priests as would give in their own names and the names of what they looked on as their parishes. The government that with all its spies and all its soldiers could not succeed in hunting the priests down now asked them to make themselves and their abodes known. As it had not been possible to exterminate them, they were as a favour to be tolerated. The act was designed so as to have the appearance of a concession; in reality it was cajolery. In future the priests were to be few, and these were to be cribbed, cabined, and confined. The priests were to be taken unawares in the meshes of registration, and very soon there would be an end to them. The Government firmly and fondly hoped that the priests who would give themselves up in this way would be the last priests to be seen in Ireland.

A remark may be permitted here. If the priest submitting himself for registration had been ordained after April, 1698, by an Irish Bishop in his native country, it is obvious that by answering the last of the prescribed questions he would expose the Bishop to danger, if the Bishop was still in Ireland. And presumably it was for the purpose of obtaining in such a case incontrovertible testimony of an incriminating nature that the question was put. But though in the penal times persons were as a rule ordained priests before being sent to the seminaries abroad, scarcely any information of the kind desired could be elicited. In point of fact, as appears from the list of registered priests printed and published by government in 1704, most, if not all, of them had been ordained long before 1698, and several of them on the Continent. An original MS. list (No. 854), now in the Record Office, gives the names and parishes of seventeen priests who were registered on July 4, at Tallow, Co. Waterford. We know indeed from other sources that

some Bishops did venture to ordain priests in Ireland between April, 1698, and 1704, but we do not remember to have seen either in the Waterford list or in any other that such priests presented themselves for registration. Antecedently speaking, it is highly improbable that they would do so.

But the Irish Parliament in 1703 did not reckon with Providence, nor even consider the character of the people, when it fancied that its pet Act would prove effectual. Though to the downtrodden parishioners it must have been somewhat of a relief to see one of their priests suffered to stay in their midst, and though to the pastor it must have afforded a certain consolation to find himself in comparative security, yet neither priest nor people could accept this measure as satisfactory. Nor had they suggested it, because in the struggle for religion they had not been worsted. The Government had been sorely disappointed, so now to save appearances it compromised itself. They took what they got, acting on the wise principle that half a loaf is better than no bread; and they looked upon the enactment as a reluctant admission of impotence and a cessation from bloodshed due exclusively to a sense of defeat. But they did not regard the Act as if it were a contract or mutual arrangement, nor did they consider themselves as in conscience bound by it. The priests had not the slightest intention of confining their administrations to the prescribed districts, and the people had not the least notion of being content now with the number of registered priests, and after their death with no priests whatever. Nor did the Government put such questions.

But the Act of Registration was on the part of the Government nothing more than the chief preparatory step. We do not find that it imposed the taking of an oath; if, however, at registration an oath was taken, we suppose this was the Oath of Allegiance¹ in some unobjectionable form.

¹ We saw above that the writer of *The Case of the Title of the Roman Catholics of Ireland* refers to the ninth article of the Treaty of Limerick as directing that only the Oath of Allegiance made in the first year of William and Mary shall be administered to Roman Catholics. That oath was:—

'I, A.B., do sincerely promise and swear, that I will be faithful, and bear true allegiance to their Majesties King William and Queen Mary. So help me God.'

It was, however, when the time came, followed by another Act commanding all the registered priests to take the Oath of Abjuration either in the Four Courts, Dublin, or at the Quarter Sessions for their respective counties. This had to be done March 25 (New Year's Day, O.S.), 1710 : if it was not, and if after that date any of the registered clergy said Mass or performed any other priestly function, he was to be punished just as much as if he belonged to a religious Order.¹ Now the plan of campaign against the registered clergy was complete. Those who had given in their names would have to take their choice : either to deny their faith or to quit the country. In either case the approaching end of Catholicity in Ireland was, according to the reasoning of the bigots, an absolute certainty.

The Oath of Abjuration was :—

I, A.B., do swear that I do from my heart abhor, detest, and abjure, as impious and heretical, that damnable doctrine and position that Princes excommunicated or deposed by the Pope or any authority of the See of Rome, may be deposed and murdered by their subjects or any other whatsoever. And I do declare that no foreign Prince, Person, Prelate, State or Potentate, hath or ought to have Jurisdiction, Power, Superiority, Pre-eminence or Authority, ecclesiastical or spiritual, within this realm.

So help me God.

And shall also make and subscribe the Declaration following :—

I, A.B., do solemnly and sincerely in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper there is not any Transubstantiation of the elements of bread and wine into the Body and Blood of Christ, at, or after the Consecration thereof by any person whatsoever, and that the invocation or adoration of the Virgin Mary, or any other saint, and the sacrifice of the Mass as they are now used in the Church of Rome, are superstitious and idolatrous. And I do solemnly in the presence of God, profess, testify, and declare that I do make this declaration, and every part thereof, in the plain and ordinary sense of the words read unto me, as

¹ Bellesheim, iii. p. 55.

they are commonly understood by Protestants, without any evasion, equivocation, or mental reservation whatsoever, and without any dispensation already granted me for this purpose by the Pope, or any authority or person whatsoever, or without believing that I am, or can be acquitted before God or man, or absolved of this declaration, or any part thereof, although the Pope, or any person or persons, &c., &c.

This was the turn of the parish priests. But with few exceptions they were true to their trust. They kept the faith, and let go whatever immunity registration had procured for them. What was said some years before by Samuel Leeson, Mayor of Derry, in a letter addressed to Archbishop King of Dublin, about the priests in his own neighbourhood, would apply to their brethren throughout the rest of Ireland :—

23rd July 1703.

The papists in this country having all refused the Abjuration Oath. I beg your Grace to inform us of what methods Government will order to be taken therein, and which shall be duly put in execution to our power.

However, some fell away.¹ Dr. MacDermott, O.P., Bishop of Elphin, whose letter sent to Propaganda (c. 1709) has already been quoted in these pages, says that a few priests did take the oath, and he adds that they were in consequence held in execration and abhorrence by the people. To the credit of the vast majority of the registered clergy be it said that De Burgo, writing fifty years after the passing of the Act, states that out of a thousand and eighty registered priests, one thousand and forty-seven refused to take the blasphemous oath.² In judging about the number of these unfortunate men, we must bear in mind that then for a time the virus of Jansenism had appeared in Ireland, and as a result there was servility to the State, hostility to the religious Orders, together with fear to participate in their lot, and disloyalty to the Pope. Hence, when we read of the proportion of falls, we are not so much surprised, though a statement to the effect that the same happened in a different time would be incredible.

¹ Bellesheim, iii. pp. 58-59.

² *Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 157.

It is certain that in the period of which we write a determined effort was made not only to get rid of a large number of secular priests, but to eradicate Catholicity itself. The following extract from a letter edited in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense*¹ shows this clearly :—

Dublinii 16 Augusti 1707.

Sedit Parlamentum nostrum ab initio Julii, leges condit, quibus nedum praecavetur Papismi incrementum, verum etiam omne assumitur medium ad illum hinc prorsus extirpandum. Ipsi presbyteri hactenus tolerati, exulare aut abjuramentum praestare coguntur. Novem, decem, aut plures sacerdotes hucusque tolerabantur, nunc autem unus duntaxat, et si quis alius praeter hunc unicum fuerit repertus, prima vice multabitur egregie, secunda vice reus erit laesae Majestatis. Unus eorum nuper captus est, et in nova porta (vulgo Newgate) incarceratus.

While the Parliament was thus actively employed in persecuting, as a matter of course articles, said to be inspired, appeared in newspapers stating that the Irish Catholics enjoyed liberty! This report was contradicted by Father Ambrose O'Connor, O.P. (Provincial of Ireland 1700-1708), and afterwards appointed Bishop of Ardagh. A copy of his letter was transmitted to Propaganda by the Internuncio that had charge of Irish affairs. The whole correspondence is worth quoting :—

(Archivio della S. C. de Propaganda. Acta S. C. ann. 1711, fol. 24.)

Il Signor Internunzio di Fiandra manda copia d'una lettera del P. O'Connor Exprovinciale de' Domenicani Ibernese, che scrive esser falso, che sia stata in quel regno data liberta ai cattolici, et aperte le chiese. Dice pero il medesimo Internuntio d'aver udito da altre parti, che li cattolici d'Ibernia comincino bensi ad adunarsi nelle chiese che erano state chiuse ma che li sacri operarii non ardiscono ancora celebrarvi e predicarvi, como facevano prima.

(Relata.)

Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali de 12 Gennaro, 3 Febbrao 1711, Vol. 575.

¹ Vol. ii. p. 386.

Emin. e Revmo. Sig. Sig. padrone colendissimo.

Essendomi stata comunicata una lettera, che ha scritta ultimamente da Dublino il Padre Ambrosio O'Conor Exprovinciale de' Domenicani Irlandesi, mi fo lecito di umiliarne l'ingiunta copia a cotesta Sagra Congregazione. Da altre parti ho udito che i cattolici in Ibernia comincino bensì a radunarsi nelle chiese, che dopo il noto decreto del Parlamento erano state chiuse, ma che i sagri operarii non ardischino ancora di celebrare la santa Messa e predicare, come facevano prima, usando tuttavia nell' adempire questi uffici grandissima segretezza e cospezione.

Brusselles II Dicembre 1710.

Di Vostra Eminenza umilissimo, devotissimo et obligatissimo servitore.

Girolamo Grimaldi, Abbate di S. Maria.

Copia epistolae P. Magistri O'Conor Exprovincialis Hibernorum ordinis Praedicatorum die 16 Novembris 1710.

Quod libertatem hic catholicis datam, et capellas apertas Gazulae apud vos referunt, fabulosum (proh dolor!) est. Prae-biteranorum, seu eorum, qui inferioris dicuntur ecclesiae, astutia tale quid in Gazulis curavit poni ob malevolentiam erga ducem Ormoniae proregem Hiberniae nuper creatum. Certe imprudenter nostrates, si in his circumstantiis, in quibus maxima adhibenda est cautela, ecclesias, capellas, seu sacella aperirent: nondum enim est tempus similia praesumendi; sed modeste se gerentes possent libertatem majorem sperare, et si de majori praesumerent libertate, merito timenda esset nova persecutio.

Father O'Connor could speak with the authority of experience. In the discharge of his duty as Provincial he had been in almost every part of Ireland. While, as he states in a Memorial to Clement XI. in 1704, he found about ninety of his subjects secretly engaged in missionary work in various places, five others were in prison for the faith. And in another Memorial presented to Mary of Modena (wife of James II., or, as he was then called, 'the Chevalier St. George) Father O'Connor says: 'I arrived in Ireland on the 7th of May of the present year 1708. Having learned the instant I landed that all the Lords, clergymen, gentlemen of that kingdom had been seized and their horses carried off, I gave intelligence to Lord Clanrickard by the

same frigate that brought me to the island.' In such times priests and people did well not to expose themselves needlessly to danger. At best they found it hard to live. That even the registered priests, if they infringed the clause of the Act could hardly hope to escape the legal consequences is exemplified by the following document which may still be seen in the Record Office, Dublin :—

Warrant Book, 1711, folio 28, verso.

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices & Council of Ireland.

The humble petition of Edmond Schuldham humbly sheweth :

That your petitioner being likewise ordered to prosecute Charles Dempsey and Paul Egan who had contemptuously broken Her Majesties laws in saying Mass publicly in severall parts of the city of Dublin out the Parishes for which they are registered.

And that an arrest for an offence of this nature was not confined to the metropolis nor to the activity displayed in 1709, appears from the following, which refers to what was done in a secluded spot seven years afterwards :—

(4. Q. 137.1.8339.)

To their Ex^{cs} the L^{ds} Justices & Council of Ireland.

The humble Petition of Chas. Woodward Esq. late High Sheriffe of the County of Meath

Sheweth

That y^r Pet^r apprehended one James Plunkett a Popish Priest for saying Mass out of the Parish for which he was registered according to the Statute.

That at the Assizes & Gen. Goale delivery held in & for the County of Meath the 9th day of July 1716 the said James Plunkett was tryed and convicted for saying Mass in the Parish of Kilsker¹ in the s^d County being only registered preest for the Parish of Killeagh & thereupon ordered by the Court to be transported

¹ Kilsker or Kilskyre (the church of St. Schiaria), about five miles from Kells, is the place mentioned. The old church is now in ruins. In it a grave is pointed out where some priest now unknown is buried, and on which, to perpetuate respect for the occupant (and, we suppose, to obtain his intercession), coffins are placed and the *De Profundis* is said previously to interments (Cogan's *Diocese of Meath*, vol. i. p. 148). The Plunketts were the chief Catholic family in the neighbourhood, the convicted priest may have been a member of the family, and may be he whose grave is so honoured. It may be observed that some years ago the last of the Woodwards in very reduced circumstances had to leave the place.

pursuant to the Statute in that case made and provided at y^r Petr's prosecution as by the Deputy C^{lke} of the Crowne's certificate annexed may appeare.

That y^r Petr was at great trouble and Expence in apprehending & prosecuting the said James Plunkett.

Y^r Petr therefore humbly prays y^r Ex^{ies} and L^{ps} to grant him the reward mentioned for the said Service by Act of Parliament.

And y^r Petr will ever pray, &c.

CHA : WOODWARD.

(Enclosed.) Search being made among the Pleas of the Crown for the County of Meath I find that att a Gen^l Goale Delivery held in & for the said County the 9th of July 1716 James Plunkett was att the prosecution of Cha. Woodward, Esq., then High Sheriffe of the said County, tryed & convicted for saying Mass in the parish of Kilskeer in the County of Meath being only registered Priest for the Parish of Killeagh in the said County upon which conviction he was ordered by the Court to be transported pursuant to the Statute in that case made & provided, which I certify this fourth day of December 1716.

RICH : WHITE,
D. Clerke.

(Endorsed : The Petr to show how he is entitled to a reward from the Council, Jan. 9th, 1716/17.)

Such was the fate which awaited the registered priests that were brave enough to give the greatest happiness of religion to flocks not their own. But if the registered were thus hampered, the unregistered priests as such ran the risk of being apprehended at any hour of day or night. By the Act passed in 1703 it was provided that if the *soi-disant* Parochus failed to present himself for registration at the Quarter Sessions immediately following the Feast of St. John the Baptist in 1704, he was to be deemed a regular and would be obliged to quit the country before July 20 ; if he did not leave of his own accord he would be transported ; and in case he ever returned he would be liable to the penalty for high treason. And probably not every one arrested on suspicion succeeded in keeping the secret of his

sacred character so well as did the individual of whom we read :—

A Thomas Power of the barony of Tyrawley, Co. Mayo, flatly refused to say whether he was a priest or not. The only information he vouchsafed Robert Blakeney, Mayor of Galway, was that 'he kept a plow going.'

25 Jan. 1715.

Nor was every priest so active as the Meath one who ran or rode faster than the men that tried to arrest him, and who, to judge from the absence of an Indictment, etc., at any time subsequently, never gave the members of the Privy Council the pleasure of seeing him.

Privy Council.

Whereas there was a letter dated the 18th day of November, 1661, directed from one *James Dermot* a popish priest, to one *James Feilan* a popish Priest at *Kildalky*,¹ who (upon former general directions being to be apprehended) found means to escape, and in his hasty flight let fall his Pass-book, which was then taken up by those that were in pursuit of him, and in that Book the said letter was then immediately found by some of the same, &c.

(he is to appear before the Privy Council, &c. &c. 24 Dec. 1661.)

It is impossible now to know the names or even the number of priests taken. Historians were content with general statements, and the documents extant in the Record Office are only specimens that have escaped destruction. Of course besides those already mentioned, some individual cases are known. The breviary is still preserved of a Dominican, Father Bushe, who was seized with it in his hand while saying his office in the old chapel yard of Denmark Street, Dublin. By some chance the breviary escaped notice, as he was being hurried off to the ship for transportation to America. And De Burgo says that the *Hibernia Dominicana* would probably never have been

¹ In the barony of Clune, Co. Meath.

written, had he not exchanged the hours for saying Mass on the following Sunday (in the old chapel in Bridge Street) with a brother Dominican. He was arrested in his vestments at the altar.

That another non-registered priest (Rev. John MacDonald) was arrested about this time appears from the petition presented by his captor. Readers will notice that in it reference is made to the reward promised by Act of Parliament and by Proclamations. The amount stipulated by the Act passed in 1709 was twenty pounds (*to be levied on the Papists of the County in which the priest was caught*). A similar proclamation, dated November 25, 1701, offered thirty pounds. All through this period of excitement proclamations of various kinds were issued. (1702, December 2)—Against Papists being continued or admitted into any regiment in this kingdom. (1704, April 30)—For apprehending the persons who rescued Donnelan, Titular Popish Bishop of Clonfert. (1706, April 11)—Against perverting Her Majesty's subjects to the Popish religion. (1707-8, March 23)—Lord Lieutenant. For apprehending Popish Clergy. (1708, September 20)—For putting the laws against Popery into execution. (1712, September 20)—Lord Lieutenant. Against certain nuns, Popish Priests, etc. (1713-4, March 18)—Lord Lieutenant. To seize the arms in the hands of Papists not licensed. (1714, April 19)—Against Popish Priests, Jesuits, and Rebels. (1714, August 7)—Lords Justices and Council. For disarming Papists and seizing all serviceable horses in their possessions. (1714, December 6)—For putting in execution the laws against Papists and non-jurors (*repeated July 25, 1715*). (1715, November 23)—Lords Justices. All Papists inhabiting the city of Limerick or town of Galway to give security for their good behaviour, otherwise to depart thence. (Same date)—For apprehending Popish Priests, Rebels, and Disaffected Persons. (1716, October 8)—Lords Justices. For banishing the Popish Clergy. There are others, but it is not necessary to mention them : these specimens will suffice. Everything makes it certain that after a lull in the beginning of the century another storm arose.

The following is the document which refers to Father MacDonald :—

(PETITIONS.) (4. Q. 125, 1. 8051, 6980.)

To their Ex^{cies} the Lords Justices & Council of Ireland.

The humble Pet^{on} of William Montgomery.

Sheweth

That your Pet^r apprehended one John McDonald a Popish Priest not registered.

That at the Assizes and Gen^{ll} Goale delivery held at Carrickfergus in and for the County of Antrim the 28th day of March 1716 the said John MacDonald was indicted tryed and found guilty for exercising the Function of a Popish Priest not being registered at your Pet^{rs} prosecution as by the Deputy Clerke of the Crown's Certificate annexed may appeare.

That your Pet^r was at great trouble and expense in apprehending and prosecuting the said John MacDonald.

Your Pet^r therefore humbly prays your Ex^{cies} & Lord^{sps} to grant him the reward mentioned (for his said service) in sev^{ll} Proclamations & in the Act of Parliament.

And y^r Pet^r will ever pray &c.

WILLIAM MONTGOMERY.

annexed to it is

Upon search being made among the pleas of the Crowne for the County of Antrim I doe find that at the Assizes and General Goal delivery held at Carrickfergus in & for the said County of Antrim on Wednesday the Twenty Eighth day of March one thousand seven hundred and sixteen John McDonald a Popish Priest was indicted tryed and found guilty for exercising the office or function of a Popish Priest, not being registered, and I also find that the said John MacDonald was apprehended and prosecuted by William Montgomery, all which I certify this second day of August 1716.

JAMES McMULLAN,
D.C.

(Endorsed.)

The humble Pet^{on} of Wm Montgomery for apprehending Jo. McDonald a non-registered Popish Priest.

(Note.)—The Petitioner is to show by what Proclamation he is entitled to a reward.

How, notwithstanding every hindrance and despite every

danger, the succession of priests at this time was kept up is little short of miraculous. The result anticipated from registration was never obtained; it was found impossible to realize the hopes entertained by a government that had at its disposal all the means that the ingenuity of man could devise. When the priests of 1704 disappeared others took their place. A Record Office paper, dated April 2, 1715, Tralee, mentions by name ten priests recently appointed to parishes, and also their predecessors. Registration went on. We take for granted that in most instances the Oath of Abjuration was not required. This would be owing to the fairness of individual judges or magistrates, and we must bear in mind that all through the penal times instances even of friendliness on the part of Protestants were not wanting, but we do not know how the oath was dispensed with. At a Quarter Sessions in Cavan, held on April 26, 1715, as another Record Office document shows, seventeen priests were registered. It contains their names, those of the parishes for which they were registered, and those of the persons who went bail for them, together with the amount of security. It would be interesting to know were any of these gentlemen Protestants?

And the Bishops were not afraid to expose their lives. Ordinations were held frequently, and several received priesthood. The following document affords an instance of what even at the present day would be considered a large number :—

The Examination of John O'Muldowny of Ballyheanes taken before us James Macartney & William Caulfield Esqrs, Lords Justices of Assize for the Connaught Circuit this sixth day of August 1713.

This discoverer said he knew Francis Burke of Co. Galway to be reputed Vicar General under James Lynch Titular Archbishop of Tuam, he gave the names of several priests, and added that they 'did celebrate Masses from the dawn of day till Twelve of the clock, & this Examinant's cause of knowledge is that he saw all the said persons before named except Bryan Mulcroan & Edmond Nally in their surplices and saw particularly Francis Burke & Patrick Tohill elevate the Wafer, & the same day the

said Francis Burke & Ed. Duffy ordained fifty Popish Priests on or about 20th day of November last, at Lane near Aghagower in the parish of Aghagower, Barony of Moriske, Co. Mayo (No. 849).

Dr. James Lynch here alluded to was Archbishop of Tuam from 1669 to 1713. From 1692 to the end of the century he resided chiefly in the Irish College, Paris; but that he frequently returned to his diocese is certain from the reports still to be seen in the Record Office. The Francis Burke here alluded to, a kinsman of Lord Clanrickarde, was consecrated April 4, 1714. He had been appointed co-adjutor to Dr. Lynch on September 20, 1713. The latter died in October, 1714. Ed. Duffy was not the name of any Irish Bishop at the time—it may have been an *alias*; or the discoverer did not know the rubrics and took the arch-deacon for a Bishop. It does not appear that there was any necessity for the presence of a second Bishop on the occasion.

However, a little before this time there was an informer that did not make mistakes, never grew tired of priest-hunting, and knew every Bishop in Ireland. This was Tyrell, the *professional*, to whom the Woodwards, Montgomerys, and others could not be compared. In the Record Office the reports of many spies are preserved, but his forms the gems of the collection. We shall, then, conclude with one of his elegant compositions. It has been selected on account of its mentioning Bishops and ordinations:—

May it please y^r Excellencys

I made bould to come hither in order to wait upon y^r Excellencys to inform y^r Lordships that I have matters of a high nature to discover to y^r L^s which is as followeth. That in the year one thousand seven hundred and ten I travelled beyond seas and mostly in the low countryes where I took occasion to goe to Lovaine where there is an Irish convent where I made myselfe known to severall of the Irish popish clergy who entertained me very civilly as being one of thire Country and becoming soe familiar with them gave me an opportunity to improve myselfe to manage the affair I undertook to accomplish, and after continuing severall weeks in that convent: I made it my business to inspect into the behaviour and conduct of those

fathers a great number of whom flocke hither into this kingdome with one Primate Mackmahon and severall other Irish popish bishops that came out of that country into Ireland, in order as it may be believed to set up and exercise their several functions : and after I becamed well acquainted with there real intentions I hastened over to this Kingdome to acquaint the government with such proceedings and soon after my arrivall in this kingdom I went disguised into the Country to fiend out there several places of settlement and likewise the method by them used in the exercise of their religion. I can make it appear before yr Ex. that there is lately set upon near Earscourt a convent which consists of one hundred at least of these sort of people. I will undertake to justifie that there is another of the same kind very near Firbane in the Kings County and another as great as any near Dundalk of the order which they call St Francis, and that severall young men hath of late been ordained in these convents, all which I will undertake to prove with many other small places where they doe meet frequently, likewise I doe assure yr Exc. that I can make it appear where some of these persons hath taken farms in remote and obscure parts of this kingdome, and the persons who intertains them as well as protestants as papists who harbours and incurages them—further I beg leave to inform yr Ls that on the ninth day of October last there was a great meeting at a place called in seven churches in the Kings County where I was present and saw fifty masses celebrated and also present at the same place where I saw fifteen young persons ordained by the man that takes upon himself the stile and title of Bishop of Drummore whom I have secured with his chaplain the 19th day of Sept. last in the Kings County with severall papers particularly an ordination letter dated in the year 1711 and signed Edmund Dublinus. I have secured likewise another regular in the beginning of this month who held a farm in the Kings County in whose custody severall papers were found amongst them there was an acquittance for rent signed by a justice of the peace who lives neighbouring to the said popish regulars house which said acquittance with the rest of the writings which was found in the custody I have delivered to James Forth Esq. and justice of the peace. I have also in the month of August last seized severall Popish regulars in the county of Louth and elsewhere in the Kingdome with generall and ordination letters as may appear to yr Exs by convinceing proofs as certificates, produceable by me from undeniable hands in the county. I beg leave to inform yr Lps that I would use meanes

before now to prevent the meeting of these disaffected persons who comes over frequently in great numbers, but being discouraged by the enemy of the government who was not wanting on thire part to render me uneasy of doeing anything that may be serviceable to the queen and government they used thire endeavour to render me as odious and as contemptible as possible thy could, not that only but waylaid me with a design to take my life. I doe here promise and engage that if yr Exc. will be pleased to put me in full power and give me horse and arms and due Incuragement: not in the least doubting your willingness to forward any that would be of soe great a consequence to the queene especially matters of this nature, that I will in a very short [*time*] cleare the kingdome or fill the jayles thereof with these sort of persons whom I doe know to be an enemy to the government. I hope that yr Ls will be plased to inable me to put into execution what I have in view which ought to have been done without any delay, though I am afraid that I cannot be so serviceable to the Queen as I would if not speedily put in a codition to doe her service. I humbly pray that yr Ex. will be pleased to grant me a protection dureing the time I shall stay in town or serve the government affter this nature.

The Primate whom he mentions was Dr. Hugh MacMahon, 1713-1737. He had been translated from Clogher. We may add that he was succeeded by his brother, Bernard, who lived for many years at Ballymacscanlon,¹ Co. Louth, under the name of 'Mr. Ennis.'²

The Bishop of Dromore (1698-1716) was Dr. Patrick O'Donnelly.³ He had been Vicar-General of Armagh. On March 28, 1707, Propaganda granted a hundred scudi or crowns for the relief of the Bishop, who was in Newgate Prison, Dublin, on a charge of high treason. This must mean return to Ireland; however, we find him back once more, and at his old work.

¹ Ballymacscanlon is a little village about three miles from Dundalk, on the road from that town to Carlingford. In his 'Answer to Froude' Mitchell mentions that it was the hiding place of Dr. Bernard MacMahon, also that the roofless walls of the little building called 'Primate O'Reilly's house' were still standing a few years before he wrote.

² See Cardinal Moran's article, 'The Condition of Catholics in Ireland One Hundred Years Ago,' *Dublin Review*, 1882.

³ Mitchell, who knew this part of the country, mentions also that a secluded spot, about five miles from Newry, on the road to Crossmaglen, is called 'The Doctor's Quarter,' from the fact that it was for many years the hiding place of Bishop Donnelly.

Edmond Byrne, Archbishop of Dublin (1707-1724). On November 28, 1708, the Pope gave him leave to exercise archiepiscopal functions without having received the pallium. It was feared that the Irish Government would get notice of his appointment, if the usual petition for the pallium were made in the consistory. However, Tyrell, of whom more anon, was not to be balked, and he kept his promise to give important information to his employers.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

[*To be continued.*]

THE SCAPULAR PROMISE: A DEFENCE OF FATHER CHERON

IT will be remembered that the Chéron incident was suggested as a theme for special study, when I had occasion to allude to the opportune discovery of the document which, from the year 1642, came to be regarded as one of the recognized reliable sources of information concerning Our Lady's apparition to St. Simon Stock.¹ The reader was left in no doubt as to my own conviction of the authenticity of this document, so fortunately rescued from obscurity in the circumstances mentioned by Pope Benedict the Fourteenth.² I did not dwell on this very interesting phase of the question, since the object then in view was to demonstrate how the historical truth of the Scapular Promise could be upheld on the testimony of other witnesses whose veracity it would imply extreme rashness to impeach. Ancient copies of their respective narratives are still extant; and although the evidential value of these MSS. has been recently either depreciated or ignored in a most unwarrantable manner, critical students of the subject are always in a position to determine for themselves whether William de Sanvico, John Grossi, and Thomas Bradley were men likely to incur the suspicion of having tampered with their sources of information: 'if any detail in the accounts before them had conflicted with the story as it was told in their day, [feeling] no scruple in suppressing it or changing the wording.'³

We saw that de Sanvico was a professed Carmelite at the date of the Vision; and that Grossi was born before the death of some of the contemporaries of St. Simon Stock, and had visited England, as Superior-General, just a short time prior to Bradley's joining the Order in that Province.

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, 1911, p. 269, note 1.

² *De Festis B.M.V.*, ii. c. vi. p. 269.

³ I. E. RECORD, July, 1904, p. 68.

I drew special attention to the fact of these three witnesses having referred to the Apparition quite casually, and without assigning the source of their information: thus, undoubtedly, conveying the impression that this episode in the life of St. Simon Stock was well known throughout Christendom as early as the close of the thirteenth century.¹ Still, it is contended that critics nowadays may be in a position to possess more accurate knowledge of the subject than witnesses such as these: a preposterous suggestion, which practically implies reserve in accepting the testimony of the Saint himself, because in conflict with the theories adopted by modern opponents of the Carmelites.

The article, in which the medieval writers of the Order are thus openly denounced for alleged crime in connexion with the Scapular Vision, was recently utilized in what purports to be a critical study of the Chéron incident, published in the *Bulletin de Littérature Ecclésiastique* of Toulouse.² It was written with the set purpose of proving that the narrative attributed to Peter Swanyngton is a 'shameless forgery,' perpetrated to meet the emergency occasioned by the vicious attack of the sceptic Launoy: whose vituperative style manifestly appeals to the critics of those called upon to vindicate the memory of an unjustly accused brother in Religion.³ Indeed, in the present instance, the several counts of the *Bulletin* indictment have been strengthened, admittedly, by arguments drawn from a certain treatise by Launoy which, we are assured, was not condemned by Rome.⁴

But readers familiar with the popular defence of the Scapular Promise, which appeared in the *Month* just twenty-five years ago, would hardly be impressed by the authority of one whom a distinguished editor of that periodical described as 'a dangerous, scurrilous and disloyal character'; while the article in *A Catholic Dictionary*—based on Launoy's writings—was censured as 'likely to be very mischievous to the ignorant and ill-informed, and to disgust all well-

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, 1911, p. 270 sq.

² No. I. p. 24 sqq.; No. II. p. 85 sqq.

³ Ibid. p. 87.

⁴ Ibid. p. 41.

informed and loyal Catholics, all faithful servants of Mary and honest lovers of Truth.¹ I dare say this warmth of expression only evinced the piety of the author of one of our best known manuals on *Logic*, and should not be interpreted as questioning the orthodoxy of those maintaining views such as we find expounded in the *Bulletin*—which is issued under the auspices of the Institut Catholique of Toulouse.

For my own part, I am required to deal with assertions prejudicial to the traditions and privileges of the Order—indifferent, of course, to the personality of any particular writer; or to what, in an excess of courtesy, may be said about myself. And I am sure nothing could be further from my intention than to furnish even remote cause for reasonable complaint. Hence, I shall here confine myself to a critical analysis of the various counts of the *Bulletin* indictment; and I hope to throw some interesting sidelights on the subject from the testimony of certain ‘independent witnesses’ not yet cited, to the best of my belief, in connexion with the actual Vision; although, like Swanington, contemporaries of St. Simon Stock. By thus narrowing down the scope of our inquiry, we rigorously exclude everything irrelevant to the much-desired ‘scientific examination’ of the document published by Father John Chéron, as found by him in the ‘archives’ of his monastery at Bordeaux.² We know that the original MS. disappeared again under circumstances which the sceptically inclined regard as suspicious: even though informed that it had been verified, in the meantime, to the perfect satisfaction of the famous Father Bollandus, S.J., and others equally interested in the matter from the historical point of view.³ However, this authentication seems to weigh lightly with modern critics, who would have us believe that all concerned were prejudiced in favour of the Carmelites.

Therefore it should prove all the more difficult to

¹ Vol. lviii. p. 306; p. 314. The *Month* was then edited by the late Father Richard Clarke, S.J.

² *Bulletin*, p. 24. See *De Festis B.V.M.*, loc. cit.

³ I understand that this formal declaration is to be again issued at an early date by the Editor of the *Analecta Ordinis Carmelitarum*.

accomplish the task before me, if, as the *Bulletin* asserts, the published version of the document in question reveals unmistakable signs of spuriousness in the light of its own intrinsic evidence. It is not denied that we may find statements there not necessarily untrue in themselves ; but which Father Chéron is accused of having so ' manipulated ' as to form a continuous record, thus unscrupulously forged to silence Launoy : clamouring incessantly for further proof of the truth of the Scapular Vision.¹ Moreover, it is said that the narrative displays such ingenuity of composition that, were it not for the results of recent investigation, it would not be easy to bring home to the Carmelites the alleged guilt of one of their brethren of the seventeenth century : no better than a certain Jesuit Father, a Carthusian, an Oratorian, and a secular priest—each bluntly accused of the heinous crime of forgery.² The I. E. RECORD is quoted as containing a justification of the charge made against Father Chéron ; and it may be well to recall some of the erroneous assertions occurring in the article to which I have already referred :—

The document professes to be what it is not ; it is grossly inaccurate in names and dates ; it was first heard of three hundred years after the death of its supposed author ; it was brought to light by a person who was very far from being unbiassed or disinterested ; it was never submitted to any kind of expert criticism ; it disappeared unaccountably when its publication was demanded.³

In my former paper I demonstrated, incidentally, the falseness of the statement as to Swanyngton's narrative being ' grossly inaccurate in names and dates ' ;⁴ I also gave a summary of the facts recorded, which was substantially the same as that furnished by the *Bulletin*. The first part of the relation comprises St. Simon Stock's letter to the religious, in which he informs them of his appeal to Our Lady for succour, because of the hostile attitude of

¹ *Bulletin*, p. 47. ' Il fallait bien satisfaire l'appétit de cet insatiable englobisseur d'arguments qu'était Launoy.'

² *Bulletin*, p. 89.

³ I. E. RECORD, July, 1904, p. 64.

⁴ Ibid. March, 1911, pp. 269, 271 sq.

many of the secular clergy towards the Order. Appearing to him and holding the habit of the Order, the Blessed Virgin made the well-known Promise in favour of those who should wear the same. She instructed him to apply to Pope Innocent IV., through whose intervention the opposition should cease. This letter was duly despatched to the religious, being dated 'Cantabrigiae [Cambridge], in crastinum Divisionis Apostolorum 1251 (the 16th of July).' In the second part, Peter Swanyngton—the Saint's secretary, to whom the foregoing letter was dictated—records a miracle wrought at Winchester, 'decimo septimo kalendas Augusti,' in confirmation of Our Lady's Promise': the immediate conversion of a despairing sinner after investiture in the Carmelite habit. The favoured penitent died; and subsequently appeared to his brother to console him by the assurance of his having been saved in virtue of Our Lady's special intercession. On being informed of the marvellous event, the Bishop of Winchester instituted a formal inquiry into the circumstances of the case; and in thanksgiving for so extraordinary a grace, the brother founded a monastery for the Carmelites at Winchester.¹

A transcript of the complete Latin text of the Swanyngton narrative, as edited by Father Chéron, is submitted in the *Bulletin*; and with this exclusively we are now concerned. From the outset it is pronounced a forgery, and presented as such in the first section of the study; in the second, the occasion of the assumed crime is discussed; while in the third Father Chéron is proclaimed the culprit: deceiving not only his contemporaries, but succeeding generations of the Faithful—with exception of those astute modern critics who fancy they have unveiled a very ingenious fraud! We find them quoting each other's authority with a complacency that might prove amusing in a less serious connexion; but here we have to weigh the arguments which they put forward to convince educated

¹ *Bulletin*, p. 27 sq. For an English version see the I. E. RECORD, May, 1901; February, 1904.

readers of the truth of the following counts in the indictment formulated against the accused Carmelite¹ :—

I. It is asserted that the text of the document has been drawn, to a considerable extent, from the chronicle of William de Sanvico, which was not written until towards the end of the thirteenth century.

II. Also, that the date given, A.D. 1251, betrays a second anachronism, because associated with the festival known as 'Divisio Apostolorum.'

III. The Bishop of Winchester in 1251 was a prelate to whom St. Simon Stock would never have appealed.

IV. In the account of the Winchester miracle ascribed to Peter Swanyngton, the facts were borrowed from Bishop Bradley's chronicle.

V. And it is highly improbable that Swanyngton was the companion and secretary of St. Simon Stock.²

We are told that a close inspection of the narrative discloses these five salient points which, by aid of certain extrinsic evidence, can be developed to establish the guilt of Father Chéron conclusively. But it is this very evidence I now propose to subject to the *examen scientifique*, acting on a practical suggestion made in the introduction to the *Bulletin* study.³ In the first place, we are invited to consider the chronicle of William de Sanvico as the 'framework' of the supposed forgery. For it contains explicit, if casual, mention of an apparition of the Blessed Virgin to the Prior-General of the Carmelites some short time before the 13th of January, 1252.⁴ Now, we know that de Sanvico himself was a member of the Order at this particular date ; and as he was then in Palestine, naturally we wish to be informed how he could speak with such absolute confidence of a fact fraught with consequences of the utmost importance to the Carmelites ? Judging from the assurance with which he writes, his authority must have been unimpeachable ; and, indeed, the accuracy of his narrative in other

¹ *Bulletin*, pp. 38 sqq., 85 sqq.

² *Ibid.* pp. 33-38.

³ *Bulletin*, p. 24 sq.

⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 33, 34.

respects encourages unhesitating reliance on his own testimony.¹ Some of the events recorded by him have raised the question as to the actual date of the chronicle, but are, likewise, indicative of his having been afforded an opportunity of consulting recognized official sources of information. And as St. Simon Stock died at Bordeaux (A.D. 1265), de Sanvico would, reasonably, have expected to find in the archives of the Carmelite community there a formal account of the Vision and of subsequent happenings in the Order during the remainder of the Saint's career. Be this as it may, we have documentary evidence to prove that the chronicler was in Europe and in the vicinity of that city repeatedly throughout the latter half of the thirteenth century.² Therefore, instead of arguing the spuriousness of the Swanington narrative, any similarity between the chronicle and the document discovered at Bordeaux is rather a strong proof in favour of its authenticity: since a striking resemblance would instantly suggest the very source whence de Svanvico had derived his knowledge of the Vision vouchsafed to St. Simon Stock.

Furthermore, this very first count in the *Bulletin* indictment seems to counteract what is urged with so much insistence, the marvellous ingenuity of the imaginary forger in piecing together a narrative calculated to deceive even the redoubted Launoy. But the exacting sceptic had already rejected the testimony of both de Sanvico and Grossi; yet we are asked to believe that a clever criminal, aware of the existence of the *Viridarium*, would venture to submit the following to the scrutiny of so rigorous a critic:—

Sermone vero per Angliam et extra currente, multae civitates offerebant nobis loca ad inhabitandum et multi proceres petebant affiliari huic sacrae religioni pro participio gratiarum, desiderantes mori in habitu sancto Ordinis, ut per merita gloriosae Virginis Mariae haberent exitum vitae bonae.³

¹ For instance, he was in a position to give a transcript of the Bull issued by Pope Innocent IV. (*Chronicle*, cap. vii.).

² He assisted at various General Chapters of the Order held in those parts.

³ *Bulletin*, p. 30.

Needless to say that Father Chéron, however, would have instantly identified this passage as the original record of the facts to which Grossi thus alludes :—

Ratione hujus magni privilegii diversi procures regni Angliae, utpote dictus Edwardus Rex Angliae Secundus post Conquestum, qui fratres praedictos fundavit Oxoniis dans illis proprium palatium pro conventu, Dominus Henricus dux Lancastriae primus, qui miraculis dicitur claruisse, et multi alii nobiles hujus regni praedicti Scapulare Ordinis in vita clandestine portaverunt in quo postea obierunt.

The second count of the *Bulletin* indictment illustrates the necessity of tracing all such assumptions to the writer responsible for their circulation. In the case before us, that alleged anachronism had its origin in a gratuitous assertion :—

Contra vero authenticitatem (of the Scapular Promise) militant plura quae circumstantiis omnino repugnant. Hujusmodi est subscriptio 'Datum Cantabrigiae in crastinum Divisionis Apostolorum. . . .' Festum Divisionis Apostolorum ante a. 1480 tantummodo in Alemania inferiori celebrabatur, nequaquam in Anglia vel in Gallia meridionali, sive apud saeculares sive in Ordine [Carmelitarum].²

The earliest reference to this particular point occurs in the I. E. RECORD, where we read in a foot-note :—

The Feast of the 'Division of the Apostles' was not kept by the Carmelites until a much later period, for it is not in the official Ordinale of 1315, nor in the English Carmelite Calendars, the Oxford Breviary, or the Kilcormic Missal. On the Continent, however, it appears in the Bruges Obituary of 1340, and also in all the printed missals and breviaries from 1480 till 1579. It certainly appeared in the Martyrology in the first place.³

That this remark was not intended to militate against the genuineness of the document discovered by Father

¹ MS. Laud. Misc. 722, f. 114b.

² *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana* (Lirinae, 1907), p. 334.

³ I. E. RECORD, February, 1904, p. 144, note. The Festival also occurs in the *Avignon Diurnal* (MS. 103); and I think the student's attention should be drawn to the Carmelite MSS. Nos. 74-83 in the *Katalog der Handschriften der Königlichen Bibliothek zu Bamberg*, vol. i. p. 221 ff.

Chéron is manifest from a very emphatic expression of opinion occurring in the text of the same article: 'It is our firm conviction that both external and internal evidence is absolutely in favour of the authenticity and that no reasonable ground to the contrary can be alleged unless one would wish to deny all supernatural intervention in human affairs.'¹ In the *Bulletin* we find it suggested that circumstances called for a modification of so uncompromising a conviction; but these could not possibly affect the main issue of the case, since they do not include the discovery of any documents that might impugn the veracity of Father Chéron: while the method of 'proving by argument' adopted by modern opponents of the Carmelites can hardly appeal to those who take a critical view of questions of this kind. For instance, I consider it mere trifling in matters of a serious nature to ignore the testimony of Bishop Bradley as to the sense in which we are to understand the reference made to the Scapular in the medieval (A.D. 1324) Constitutions of the Order, quoted in my former paper.²

Here, too, allowance should be made for those liturgical 'modifications' which might easily account for the 'silence' of the codices mentioned; thus obviating the risk of abuse of the negative argument, a failing to which all hostile critics of the Carmelite Order are extremely prone. For 'not only each Christian nation, but every religious Order, every ecclesiastical province, every diocese (almost every city) may be said to have a liturgical calendar of its own.'³ Neither does the 'subscriptio,' as it appears in the version of the Swanington narrative published by Father Chéron, present a new difficulty submitted in the *Bulletin* indictment; being, in reality, yet another mere assumption: the conjectural impossibility of St. Simon Stock having been able to get anywhere near Winchester on the 'seventeenth of the Kalends of August' (16th of July), if at Cambridge the same day.⁴ The text of the original document was

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1904, p. 150.

² Ibid. June, 1911, p. 609. See Ibid., March, 1911, p. 280 sq.

³ *A Catholic Dictionary*, p. 99. See Ferraris, vol. iii. p. 545 sqq.

⁴ I. E. RECORD, February, 1904, p. 144, note.

verified, as I have explained, to the satisfaction of certain learned men ; although a later version, published by one of the Bollandists, reads somewhat differently from the Chéron edition, but only inasmuch as the ' subscriptio ' is punctuated in conformity to the usual rendering given to dates in medieval MSS. of that particular period : ' Cantabrigiae in crastinum Divisionis Apostolorum MCCLI. decimo septimo Kalendas Augusti.'¹ This certainly indicates the possibility of an accidental separation of the ' decimo septimo Kalendas Augusti ' from ' in crastinum Divisionis Apostolorum MCCLI. ' But, waiving this point, and the question of miraculous intervention, I can see nothing very wonderful in the accomplishment of such a journey in the circumstances actually specified : only, accepting the Chéron version literally, one might be led into idle speculation as to the hour of the Vision ; what time the Saint and his companion set out from Cambridge ; whether, in a matter of so great urgency, they, likewise, proceeded ' celeri vectura ' ; how far they had travelled before encountering the Dean of St. Helen's ; and as to the interval that had elapsed after their arrival in Winchester ere the death of the penitent Walter.² Swanyngton simply assures us that, admonished by a ' heavenly message,' Dean Peter left Winchester, ' celeri vectura,' to meet the ' venerated Father '—whom the secretary, like other intimate friends of great servants of God, also calls the ' aforesaid blessed Simon '—and ' now could not render sufficient thanks for having found him so speedily.'³

The third count of the indictment shows how the very wildest conjecture may be invested with an importance most

¹ See, for example, the *Calendar of Documents relating to Ireland*, 1293-1301, p. 14 sq., where we read : ' Anno ab Incarnatione Dmni. M.CC. qnto. die Martis ante Nativitatem Beatae Mariae,'—if we consult the original (Record Office, London). The translation of this particular document contains one of those blunders which not even experts in paleography can always avoid : such a blunder as that—' subito ' for ' Sabbato '—which furnished ground for a theory in the I. E. RECORD some years ago (1904).

² *Bulletin*, p. 35.

³ Launoy and others base an objection on the fact of the Saint being called ' Blessed ! ' (*De Viso*, p. 36).

prejudicial to the cause of historical truth. A number of gratuitous assertions are put forward as if they were established facts ; nor are the *Bulletin* readers placed in a position either to verify or disprove allegations which apparently tell most forcibly against the integrity of Father Chéron. Another indication of forgery is said to be a vague allusion to the Bishop of Winchester, in 1255, as a patron of the Carmelites, but without mention of that prelate's name. It is suggested that there was a motive for such prudent silence, and this becomes revealed later on. However, the supposed forger frustrates his own object by assigning 1251 as the period of the anonymous Bishop so well inclined towards the religious, and possessed of sufficient influence with Pope Innocent the Fourth to forward their cause. For at this very date Adhemar de Lezignam occupied the See of Winchester—a 'profligate' and only in acolyte's orders. And it is deemed inconceivable that St. Simon Stock could have appealed to so notorious a character. But it is assumed that Father Chéron, as the alleged forger, was not aware of this fact ; and included the detail to round off his reputed fabrication, never dreaming of discovery at some remote future time.¹

Here we have a tissue of most injurious assertions resting on a preposterous surmise first tentatively submitted in the I. E. RECORD, where it was barely hinted that the Bishop of Winchester in 1262 *may have been* favourably disposed towards the Carmelites : *on the supposition* that St. Simon Stock 'must have known him personally'

¹ As the above is not a literal translation, it is right to quote the actual text in a matter implying accusations so grave. 'III.—Un autre signe de faux se tire de la mention vague et sans aucun nom propre de l'évêque de Winchester comme protecteur des Carmes en 1255. On verra plus loin la raison du silence prudent gardé par notre auteur sur le nom de cet évêque. Mais tout de même cette prudence s'est trouvée en défaut, lorsque le faussaire fait de cet évêque anonyme un prélat considérable, dévoué aux Carmes et dont l'intervention auprès d'Innocent IV pouvait avoir de la valeur, en 1251. Or, à cette date, l'évêque de Winchester était Adhémar de Lézignan, prélat très décrié (profligatus) et décoré seulement de l'ordre d'acolyte. Un recours de Simon Stock à pareil personnage est une invraisemblance. Mais le faussaire n'en savait pas tant. Il a inventé ce détail comme tout le rest et sans soupçonner que la réalité une fois connue le démasquerait.'—*Bulletin*, p. 36.

as Chancellor of York in 1255!¹ This singular surmise developed into historical certainty in due course :—

Episcopus vero S. Simoni tam favorabilis dubio procul erat Joannes de Exonia, quondam cancellarius Eboracensis quo tempore Simon conventum Eboracensem fundaverat, deinde per summum pontificem Wintoniensi mense Julio 1262 prae-fectus. Nullatenus enim admitti potest Simonem a. 1251 Wintoniam se recepissee ad invisendum Adhemarum de Lezignam, tunc temporis episcopum, quippe qui homo profligatus erat usque ad vitae finem solo ordine acolytatus insignitus!²

Doubtlessly, upon this mere assumption the *Bulletin* argument is based ; but a critical student of the question should trace every such assertion to its original source, in order to ascertain whether he has to deal with facts that can be demonstrated, or with conjectures to be taken with the utmost reserve and submitted to others for their actual worth. Had this been done in the present instance, we should not find a fancied forger of the seventeenth century credited with having made 'la mention vague' of that Bishop of Winchester first claimed in 1904 as 'protecteur' of the English Carmelites.

But the argument is thought to derive its special force from the fact of Ethelmar or Aymer de Valence having been Bishop-elect of Winchester in the year 1251. The absence of his name in the Swanington narrative is absolutely of no significance, of course ; since 'anonymity' of this kind is by no means unusual in medieval documents.³ Nevertheless, if St. Simon Stock did appeal to the then Bishop of Winchester in the circumstances described, he must have had some very pressing reason for taking such a step ; and that assigned would amply suffice—provided Aymer was in a position to comply with the Saint's request. Hence, if the document before us be genuine, the writer must have known for certain not alone that the Bishop of Winchester at the date specified was a friend of the Carmelites ; but

¹ I. E. RECORD, February, 1904, p. 146.

² *Monumenta Historica Carmelitana*, p. 346.

³ See, for example, the *Papal Registers*, vols. ii. p. 202, iii. p. 453.

that he was also possessed of influence to furnish the recommendation needed ; and, consequently, could not then have been a notorious 'profligate' : above all, there must be no misgiving whatever as to Aymer's presence at Winchester in the month of July, 1251. Not even hostile critics of the Carmelites could themselves suggest a more searching test of authenticity ; and I propose to meet it by invoking the testimony of an 'independent' contemporary witness who has left us some extremely valuable information concerning that prelate's appointment to the See of Winchester : Matthew Paris, who certainly was not prejudiced in favour of Aymer de Valence.¹ The renowned chronicler of St. Alban's died about the time Peter Swanyngton took his doctor's degree at Oxford (A.D. 1259) ; and it is upon his authority that we can confirm, in precisest detail, the reference made by the secretary of St. Simon Stock to the Bishop of Winchester in 1251.

Notwithstanding the reason assigned by Swanyngton, it may still seem strange that the Saint did not apply, in the first instance, to the Bishop of Ely, especially as the matter was one of such urgency ? However, we must not forget what William de Sanvico tells us of the occasion of the appeal made to Pope Innocent the Fourth ; and we have evidence to prove that certain influential members of the secular clergy of the diocese of Ely—including the Archdeacon—were not kindly disposed towards the White Friars of Cambridge at the date of the Vision. At least, there are strong presumptive grounds to show that it was not the known good-will of Peter of Linton alone and the friendly regard of Aymer de Valence which induced St. Simon Stock to repair to Winchester at so critical a juncture in the history of his Order.² For even the Archiepiscopal Registers of Canterbury help to substantiate, indirectly, the testimony of Swanyngton ; without the assistance of whose narrative it would be impossible to explain satis-

¹ *Matthaei Parisiensis Chronica Majora* (Rolls Series, No. 57), vols. iv. and v. passim. See the *Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. xliii. p. 207. *Ibid.* ii. p. 286 (Aymer de Valence).

² 'Archbishop Peckham's Register' (Lambeth), f. 176v. Nicholas of Ely was Archdeacon in 1249.

factorily the existence of a number of ancient documents, to which I shall draw more particular attention when treating of the origin of the Scapular Confraternity.¹

According to Matthew Paris, the Chapter of Winchester had been constrained by King Henry the Third to elect his young step-brother (uterine) Ethelmar, their Bishop, in succession to the lately deceased William de Raleigh (A.D. 1250). 'On hearing the news [of William's death], the King sent two of his clerks . . . to coerce the monks of Winchester Cathedral, by blandishments, threats and promises to choose Æthelmar as bishop, in spite of his insufficiency in orders, age, and knowledge.'² The Chapter yielded on condition that the necessary Papal dispensations should be duly obtained; and we are told that special envoys were despatched forthwith to win over the Sovereign Pontiff and the Cardinals to compliance with the King's wishes. Indeed, we are left to infer that Aymer himself accompanied this embassy; yet we find him back in England again, and at Winchester before the Feast of St. Mary Magdalen, 1251: just in time to verify one of the most vital statements in the Swanyngton narrative!³ We cannot say whether the formal ratification of his election was in any way owing to a favourable impression produced by Aymer's own bearing before the Papal Court; but we know for certain that in virtue of such ratification he became entitled to recognition as 'Lord Prelate' and 'Venerable Bishop' (Elect) of Winchester, as he is called by Peter Swanyngton, who had no occasion at all to allude to him by name.⁴

At this particular period of his career (A.D. 1251), far from being the 'profligate' he is represented in the *Bulletin* indictment against Father John Chéron, Aymer's sole disqualification for his exalted position was, Matthew Paris assures us, 'insufficiency in orders, age, and knowledge.' Otherwise, he seems to have been prudent, and, evidently,

¹ These documents are still extant. But the present evidence is to be examined independently.

² *Chronica Majora*, vol. v. p. 178.

³ *Ibid.* p. 224.

⁴ See text in the *Bulletin*, p. 29.

was anxious to discharge such duties as he felt incumbent upon him; even to the extent of identifying himself with those other prelates who would uphold their ecclesiastical prerogatives against the royal encroachment. He forfeited the King's favour for having done so; and when Henry bitterly reproached him with ingratitude, Aymer replied 'that as he was young in years he ought not to withdraw from the opinion of all who loved God and the King's honour.'¹ In this we have a further illustration of the selfsame prudence that caused the Bishop of Winchester to consult with his advisers before instituting a formal inquiry into the circumstances of the miracle wrought on behalf of Dean Peter's repentant brother; although the extraordinary event had, as the narrative records, already caused amazement throughout the city.²

Moreover, without attaching undue importance to the fact, I may add that Aymer's name is found associated with the diocese of Ely from the year 1249; so that his esteem for the holy Prior-General of the Carmelites might, possibly, be traced to that date: when the Cambridge community changed from Chesterton to Newnham, the scene of the Scapular Vision in 1251.³ As a native of Linton, Dean Peter could, of course, have known those religious before his appointment to St. Helen's; and that this was actually the case appears manifest from his intimacy with the secretary of St. Simon Stock.⁴ Here, at all events, we have in the Bishop of Winchester a prelate willing and competent to comply with the request which was the object of the Saint's visit; and without deliberately shutting our eyes to evidence of a most conclusive nature, neither can we overlook the effect of Aymer's influence at Court in the ensuing great prosperity of the Carmelites in England.

¹ *Chronica Majora*, v. p. 324. They became reconciled later on; and it was, unquestionably, through Aymer's influence the English Carmelites first secured those Royal Letters of Protection which, together with the Bull of Pope Innocent IV., mark the beginning of a most prosperous era for the Order.—See Aymer's own comment on the action of those bishops.

² *Bulletin*, p. 29.

³ See Tanner's *Notitia Monastica*, p. 48 sq.

⁴ *Bulletin*, p. 29 sq.

Because of certain subsequent hostilities on the part of the secular clergy we have been recently invited to accept, in all seriousness, the fantastic theory that the Bull of Pope Innocent the Fourth, issued in 1252, remained ineffective for some considerable time. But here not even the rejection of the Bull itself, together with the testimony of Swanyngton and de Sanvico, would avail us anything; since the Papal Registers afford ample proof of opposition of this kind arising, at intervals, down through the ages; being by no means confined to the Order of Carmel. Besides, how, then, should we account for the marvellous progress made by the White Friars in England, from A.D. 1252, of which we possess abundant documentary evidence? ¹

As for the alleged use of Bishop Bradley's chronicle, this count of the *Bulletin* indictment might, likewise, be urged far more successfully in Father Chéron's defence. Writing about the year 1420, the renowned Bradley had, undoubtedly, access to the same source of information as John Grossi—which was, I maintain, the Swanyngton narrative.² However, as the *Bulletin* here submits one of those 'half-truths' so fatal to historical accuracy, we must inquire into the circumstances in which Thomas Bradley wrote: 'Wyntoniae fundator Dominus Petrus de Wyntonia praepositus ecclesiae sanctae Helenae Wyntoniensis qui propter miraculum sibi per gloriosam Virginem Mariam ostensum, fratres ibidem fundavit.' This reference occurs in a list of the English Carmelite friaries; the approximate date of each of the thirty-nine houses being thus suggested by mere mention of the name of the principal benefactor of the community, usually the original founder.³ Now, Bradley himself assures us, elsewhere, of the fame attaching to the Scapular in his own time; and therefore took it for granted that this casual allusion to the Dean of St. Helen's would suffice to recall to the minds of his readers generally the

¹ See vols. ii. (A.D. 1320), p. 202; and iii. p. 190. Also, I. E. RECORD, February, 1904, p. 153.

² Cambridge University Library, MS. Ff. 6, 11, f. 42. *Speculum Carmelitanum*, t. ii. p. 413.

³ *Speculum Carmelitanum*, vol. i. pars. ii. p. 183 sq.

date of an event so intimately associated with Our Lady's well-known Promise to St. Simon Stock.¹ Indeed, the ancient transcript of this list, still extant, shows that the copyist made an effort to fill in the actual dates of the various foundations, but with indifferent success; although it is significant that the friary at Cambridge is, erroneously, ascribed to the year 1251.² If Thomas Bradley really wrote 'Petrus de Wyntoniam,' no doubt he merely wished to convey that the founder held an official position in the diocese of Winchester as Dean of St. Helen's; but, personally, I am inclined to think it is a mistake made in transcription for 'Petrus de Lyntoniam.' A yet more pronounced blunder occurs in the *Speculum Ordinis*, where we read, 'Sanctae Helenae Lynthoniensis.'³ Those accustomed to medieval MSS. are always prepared for slips of this kind on the part of less careful scribes; and rarely, except in the case of ciphers, do they offer any difficulty to the experienced student.

The final count in the *Bulletin* indictment lays new stress on the silence of the medieval historians of the Order concerning Peter Swanyngton in his capacity of secretary to St. Simon Stock.⁴ This is, of course, due to the influence of Launoy's flagrant abuse of 'negative argument'; and to his total disregard of the tradition of the Order. Yet, remembering the casual nature of the references made by de Sanvico, Grossi, and Bradley, it seems to 'transcend the requirements of legitimate criticism'; and we know that later writers, such as Palaeonydore, either quote at 'second hand' or merely give a paraphrase of the original text. Thus, for instance, the quotation in Bale's *Anglorum Heliades* is, manifestly, but a pious paraphrase of this kind, drawn, we are informed, from a work, now unknown, by Sibert de Beka: 'A Virgine Deipara monitus Symon adversus procerum infestationes ab Innocentio remedia

¹ *Speculum Carmelitanum*, p. 192; Cambridge MS., loc. cit.

² Cotton MS. Titus D. X. ff. 127, 128.

³ *Speculum Ordinis* (de Cathaneis, Venice, 1507), f. 60.

⁴ *Bulletin*, p. 38.

sumpsit. Ex Siberto de Beka.¹ It may be remarked that the *Bulletin* presents the alleged forger of the Swanyngton narrative as having had access to the *Heliades* also ; because the account of the Vision attributed by Bale to Sibert de Beka contains the date 1252, together with what is described as the 'interpolation'—the actual words of the Promise—in the chronicle of William de Sanvico!² Why, therefore, accuse Father Chéron of having utilized the Chronicle as the 'framework' of an assumed forgery ; when, here, according to Bale, we find the selfsame facts associated by one who was de Sanvico's own contemporary ?³ As for the possibility of the accused Carmelite having been in a position to consult the *Anglorum Heliades*, I need only remind the reader of how Bale himself must have lost sight of this particular MS. from the year 1553 ; and of the circumstances under which, two centuries later, it became the property of the British Museum.⁴ The discoverer of the Swanyngton narrative and his religious superiors formally testified to the fact of its bearing the name of the writer to whom it is attributed ; and, considering the nature of this document, we should expect to see such a verification as the signature of some witness there ; whereas specific mention of this detail by de Sanvico, de Beka, Grossi or Bradley would strike the critical student of the question as surprising in the extreme.

Nor is this silence the only point insisted upon in the final count of the *Bulletin* indictment : it is urged that it would have been practically impossible for Swanyngton to act as secretary to St. Simon Stock in 1251 ; since he survived until 1305, and was not then deemed too old to be sent to teach Theology at Bordeaux. It has been asserted within recent years that until the occasion of this visit Swanyngton delayed the writing of his record of the

¹ MS. Harley, 3838, lib. i. cap. xviii. This collection was compiled by Bale 'Extra Regnum Papisticum' (*Scriptores Britanniae*, i. p. 703), and not before his apostasy, as is sometimes erroneously assumed.

² *Bulletin*, p. 38, note.

³ A.D. 1280 is assigned as the date of de Beka's religious profession (*Monumenta*, p. 190).

⁴ *Scriptores Britanniae*, ii. p. 161. See *Dictionary of National Biography* (Harley, R.), vol. xxiv. p. 399.

Scapular Vision, a theory as misleading as it is absurd!¹ We are now invited to accept Bale's authority as absolutely reliable in regard to what transpired at the Chapter of 1305, since it is assumed that he had the *Acta Capitularia* before him when compiling the *Heliades*.² But on turning to the MS. itself we notice that the events recounted are submitted 'Ex scriptis Gobelini Alemani et Conradi de Sancto Georgio; just as we have seen the testimony of Sibert de Beka adduced above in confirmation of the historical truth or the Promise made to St. Simon Stock.³ Now, if the reader consults the principal source of information furnishing arguments for the indictment against Father Chéron, it will be found that the evidence which Bale ascribes to Sibert de Beka is arbitrarily attributed to 'Menaldo de Rosariis et Rolando Bouchier . . . quorum prior a. 1500 scripsit, alter vero paulo post'; without so much as a suggestion that either of these writers might have relied, in turn, on the testimony of the celebrated de Beka.⁴ Why, then, should we be here constrained to regard Bale's authority as irrefutable, granting that a certain chapter in the *Heliades* possesses the freely admitted evidential value attaching to the *Acta Capitularia*? For once we come to examine that chapter critically, it transpires to be nothing more authoritative than one of Bale's own characteristic comments on the transactions of the year 1305; made *after* his apostasy, when 'veritas Baleo parum curae erat, dummodo Romanae Ecclesiae inimicorum numerum augere posset . . . clausis plerumque oculis scriptorum Anglicorum aetates definivit.'⁵ This is the stricture passed by a learned

¹ I. E. RECORD, May, 1901, p. 403. Ibid. July, 1904, p. 60 sq.

² *Bulletin*, p. 32: 'Ces renseignements sont fournis par J. Bale, qui les a certainement empruntés aux "Acta Capitularia" . . . La liste des Carmes docteurs en théologie d'Oxford fait de P. S. le premier docteur d'Oxford, et en 1259. Cette liste tardive ne saurait contre-balancer le témoignage des Acta.' As a matter of fact, we know for certain that Bale had access to the 'List' in question; and why should it be described as 'tardive?' (*Scriptores Britanniae*, ii. p. 162).

³ MS. Harley, 3838, cc. xxxi., xxxii.

⁴ *Monumenta*, pp. 225 sq., p. 341. See I. E. RECORD, 1904, February, p. 148. Ibid. July, p. 62 sq.

⁵ *Anglia Sacra* (Wharton), vol. i. pp. 31, 47.

non-Catholic historian of the seventeenth century; and since Swanyngton is included among those writers, it would be prudent to inquire whether we should be justified in acknowledging Bale's interpretation of such matters without considerable reserve.

Carmelite writers of the same epoch as Father Chéron assure us that the tradition of Peter Swanyngton not having long survived St. Simon Stock then prevailed throughout the Order.¹ In the *Bulletin*, however, it is gravely stated that the *Acta Capitularia*, as cited by Bale, preclude the possibility of our verifying the historical accuracy of this contention; because those *Acta* are supposed to be more authoritative than the official register, 'Doctorum omnium Carmelitici generis per Angliam' which favours the tradition mentioned by the writers to whom I refer.² In fact, Bale's assigning the year 1270 as Swanyngton's period is vaguely suggestive of the same tradition, and he was certainly in a position to consult the Register; while his allusion to the *Acta Capitularia* is too significant to be omitted in this connexion: 'Quid de Capitulorum decretis diversarum ceremoniarum traditionibus sit sentiendum. *Ex proprio cerebro*.'³ If it were merely a question of the secretary having survived until the Chapter of 1305, we might appeal, moreover, to the Register itself for instances of other medieval Carmelite doctors being called upon to teach Theology in their extreme old age; and they did so with conspicuous success. But we have now to deal with what Bale states in that chapter of the *Heliades*, where, together with Peter Swanyngton and other very learned White Friars of the English Province, he brings under our notice a certain William Paganerus.⁴

This Paganerus—also written Pagham, de Pagula, and de Paul—was eighth Prior-Provincial of the Carmelites in England before his elevation to the episcopate as Bishop of Meath in Ireland. So, fortunately, we have the Episcopal

¹ *Speculum Carmelitanum*, t. ii. pars iv. p. 429.

² *Scriptores Britanniae*, i. pp. 320, 616.

³ MS. Harley, 3838, cap. 53.

⁴ *Ibid.* cap. xxxii.

Register of that diocese, and the Royal Letters Patent to test the accuracy of what is asserted in the *Anglorum Heliades*.¹ According to Bale, de Paul—as the name is more correctly written—was elected Provincial at the General Chapter of 1309: ‘Et post tertium ejus regiminis annum, a Clemente Quinto Romano Pontifice fiebat in Hybernia Midensis episcopus, ubi et reliquum suae vitae peregit.’² Yet the annalists of the Order, the Carmelite *Bullarium*, the Episcopal Register, and the Patent of Edward the Third prove incontestably that de Paul was appointed to the See of Meath by Pope John the Twenty-second in 1327; and there is equally conclusive evidence to show that he died in 1349, being succeeded the following year by his former Archdeacon, William St. Leger.³ Were we still to credit Bale, the same diocese was governed in 1350 by another William de Pagula: ‘alius ab illo ejusdem cognominis, qui sub Edwardo primo Midensis episcopus fuit.’⁴ Perhaps the similarity between the names de Paul and ‘de Pagula’ might be advanced in some extenuation of so egregious a blunder; and the unlikelihood of any name resembling Swanington occasioning again confusion of this kind. Nevertheless, in the very passage to which we are referred as the official *Acta*, Bale springs upon our notice a Carmelite called *Peter Starryngton* as one of the distinguished religious present at the Chapter of 1305; whom, however, he fails to mention among the ‘*Scriptores Britanniae*,’ or include in the catalogue of the English theologians of the Order which the second volume of the *Anglorum Heliades* contains.⁵ As in the case of William Pagham (de Paul) and ‘William de Pagula,’ Bale appears quite anxious that we should not identify this ‘Peter Starryngton’ with the secretary of St. Simon Stock, alluding to both as distinct personages: ‘uterque Petrus Swaningtonius et

¹ See *Ware's Bishops*, Harris, p. 146

² *Scriptores Britanniae*, i. pp. 340, 448.

³ *Lezana*, iv. p. 504; *Bullar. Carmel.*, i. p. 553; *Epis. Reg. B.*, p. 58; Pt. I., Edward III.

⁴ *Scriptores*, i. p. 448.

⁵ MS. Harley, 3838, lib. ii.

Starryngtonus.¹ It is possible, I admit, that the latter White Friar may have actually attended the Chapter in question; but we should be ill-advised, indeed, to reject the tradition of the Order concerning the former, as understood by the Carmelites of the seventeenth century, on the evidence furnished by the *Heliades* alone.

This point assumes its more serious aspect when, because of superficial knowledge of the subject, modern critics of the Carmelites present a characteristic comment of the notorious apostate as an extract from the *Acta Capitularia* of 1305. Besides, it may be to Bale's chronological errors that we have to trace, in the first instance, those grievously misleading theories formulated within recent years and widely circulated, as authoritative, by our opponents to the prejudice of historical truth. The scope of my own task is limited to showing how all such theories clash with the positive evidence of 'independent witnesses,' whose testimony should suffice to safeguard the general reader against the harmful effects of undue importance attached to the writings of one whom even non-Catholic authors proclaim to have been an utterly unscrupulous man.² And it is permissible to remark that my own experience of Bale's proclivity to inaccuracy was acquired in the pursuit of studies not directly bearing on the traditions and privileges of the Carmelites.

The 'setting' of the *Bulletin* indictment is suggestive; but I have refrained from comment, fearing lest I should be misunderstood were I to dwell on the 'résultats négatifs,' mainly attributable to that treatise of Launoy which has not been condemned by Rome.³ I found the several counts of the indictment more tangible, if I may so express it; especially seeing with what confidence it was asserted that by these, above all, the supposed forgery stood revealed.⁴ Convinced that the verification, in 1670, of the original

¹ Ibid. lib. i., loc. cit. See *Monumenta*, p. 226. *Both were sent to Bordeaux!*

² See authors quoted by Harris, *Ware's Bishops*, p. 416 sqq.

³ *Bulletin*, p. 99.

⁴ Ibid. p. 33.

document discovered at Bordeaux should have settled definitely—and in the negative—the question as to the actual existence of a ‘Life’ of St. Simon Stock by his secretary, I felt it would be a mere waste of time to speculate upon what Father Chéron wished to convey precisely by the words: ‘Historiam de vita et gestis ejus confecit Petrus Swanyngtonus, cujus fragmentum placuit adjungere.’¹ Some writers inferred from this that a complete ‘Life’ of the Saint had been discovered; but there is no evidence to justify such an interpretation.² Some ten years ago the document was submitted to readers of the *I. E. RECORD* as ‘a letter . . . found in the Saint’s reliquary at Bordeaux.’ Later on it was described as comprising ‘two chapters’ from ‘Swanyngton’s Life of St. Simon Stock’: so much for fruitless speculation.³ Finally, there is that intensely interesting point as to how the tradition of the Order associating the Saint’s name with Cambridge can be verified on strictly historical grounds; and this I am reserving for a special paper, in which it will be seen that Father Chéron’s memory can be also vindicated, very effectively, by a critical study of the origin of the Scapular Confraternity.

JAMES P. RUSHE, O.D.C.

¹ *Bulletin*, p. 92. The document was also authenticated at an earlier date, as I have stated.

² See the *Month*, vol. lviii. p. 312 sq.

³ *I. E. RECORD*, 1901, May, p. 401. *Ibid.* 1904, February, p. 150.

CARDINAL MORAN

THE I. E. RECORD has very special reasons to lament the death of His Eminence Cardinal Moran, who was its first Editor and its lifelong friend. In laying our mourning wreath on the tomb of the great Prince of the Church we are, therefore, discharging a duty of gratitude, whilst paying at the same time a tribute of admiration and affection. The name of the great Cardinal appeals to us from many points of view. As a priest, a scholar, a missionary, a ruler of the Church, and a patriot, he was all that an Irishman ought to admire and love. The many phases of his character, the many activities of his busy and diversified life, will, we trust, be presented to us some day in a biography worthy of the man. Until that is done it would be the merest futility to endeavour to present a faithful sketch of his career within the limits of an article. We will, therefore, confine ourselves here to this word of sad regret at the disappearance of the noble and stately figure that carried so worthily the scarlet robes of Empire. His name will find a place in the annals of the Irish Church as one of the greatest of her sons. For ages yet to come it will bind the land of the Southern Cross to the old land of the North. Meantime, from the depths of many hearts the world over, and particularly from those of the sea-divided Gael, a united and earnest prayer will ascend to heaven that he may rest in peace.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

SUNDAYS AND HOLIDAYS OF OBLIGATION

THE *Motu Proprio* ' *De Diebus Festis* ' of Pius X. and the Decree *Urbis et Orbis* of the Sacred Congregation of Rites, which contain the present legislation of the Church in regard to Sundays and Holidays of obligation, were published in the September number of the I. E. RECORD. Moved by the facility of communication with countries where there are few holidays, by the growing commerce of the world which demands constant work, and by the present-day necessity of devoting as much time as possible to the task of providing the means of livelihood, the Holy Father has diminished the number of days to which the obligation of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile works is attached. For the Church at large the following rules are now in force :—

I. The ecclesiastical precept of hearing Mass and of abstaining from servile works binds on all Sundays of the year ; on the feasts of the Nativity, the Circumcision, the Epiphany, and the Ascension of our Lord ; on the feasts of the Immaculate Conception and Assumption of Our Blessed Lady ; on the feast of SS. Peter and Paul ; and on the feast of All Saints.

II. The feast of the Nativity of St. Joseph will be held, without the precept and without an Octave, on the 19th of March, as a double of the first class, under the title of ' The Solemn Commemoration of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Confessor.' The feast of the Patronage of St. Joseph will be held on the third Sunday after Easter, as a double of the first class with an Octave and as a primary feast, under the title of ' The Solemnity of St. Joseph, Spouse of the Blessed Virgin Mary, Confessor, Patron of the Universal

Church.' Within the Octave and on the Octave day of the Solemnity of St. Joseph the Office to be recited will be taken from the Appendix to the Roman *Octavarium*. The feast of the Most Holy Trinity, attached to the first Sunday after Pentecost, will be celebrated as a double of the first class. The feast of Corpus Christi will be held, without the precept, as a double of the first class with a privileged Octave, on the Thursday after Trinity Sunday, under the title of 'The Solemn Commemoration of the Most Holy Body of our Lord Jesus Christ.' On the Sunday within the Octave of the feast of Corpus Christi, in collegiate and cathedral churches, after the Office and the corresponding Mass of the Sunday, one Solemn Mass can be chanted as on the feast itself with the Gloria, one Prayer, the Sequence, the Credo, and the last Gospel of St. John. In places, however, where there is no conventual Mass of obligation, the Solemn Mass of the feast can be chanted with a commemoration of the Sunday under a distinct conclusion and with the last Gospel of the Sunday. On this Sunday also the Solemn Procession of the Blessed Sacrament, which is prescribed in the *Caeremoniale Episcoporum* (lib. ii. cap. xxxiii.), will take place. On the Friday after the Octave of Corpus Christi the feast of the Sacred Heart will be celebrated without the precept, as a double of the first class.

III. The feasts of local patrons will not in future be subject to the obligation of hearing Mass and abstaining from servile works, but the Bishop has authority to transfer the external solemnity to the Sunday immediately following the feast.

IV. If any of the above-mentioned feasts has in any place been legitimately abolished or transferred, no change is to be introduced except after consultation with the Holy See; and if in any place the Ordinary wishes to have one of the suppressed feasts continued as a holiday of obligation he must submit the matter to the Holy See.

V. If any of the feasts which remain as holidays of obligation falls on a day of fast or abstinence, the Holy See grants a dispensation from the fast and abstinence.

The same holds of the feasts of local patrons if they are celebrated with solemnity and by a great concourse of people.

Finally, the Holy See desires that the faithful should continue to show special devotion on the days which are now suppressed as holidays of obligation ; and a decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, 8th August, 1911, has declared that those in charge of souls will continue to be bound by the obligation of offering the Mass *pro populo* on these suppressed holidays, unless they obtain a dispensation.

We have spoken of the new regulations in so far as they regard the Church at large. In Ireland these regulations imply that March 25th and Corpus Christi will no longer be holidays of obligation. They imply, too, that St. Patrick's Day is abolished as a holiday of obligation ; but we are sure that we voice the feelings of Irish Catholics when we express a hope that the Bishops will apply to the Holy See for permission to have the feast of our Patron Saint remain a holiday.

In this country the feast of the Immaculate Conception has not been a holiday, so the statement made in Section IV. of the *Motu Proprio* seems to apply to it, and consequently no change is to be made without consultation with the Holy See. A difficult question, however, arises in this connexion. If the feast of the Immaculate Conception continues as in the past, will it enjoy the privilege of the dispensation when it happens to fall on a day of fast or abstinence ? This is a point which is sure to come before the Holy See for decision. In the meantime we are of opinion that it will not enjoy the dispensation, because this seems to be attached to the holiday of obligation and not to the feast. This is the view which Boudinhon takes in the *Canoniste*¹ of similarly circumstanced feasts in France, and we believe that his opinion is correct, though the point is not beyond question.

¹ July-August, p. 406.

ANOINTING THE APPARENTLY DEAD

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the April number of the I. E. RECORD appears an interesting article entitled 'Death: Real and Apparent.' In his treatment of this subject Father Sheridan is not quite as accurate as one would expect in his interpretation of certain passages which he cites from certain authors. For example, he quotes Genicot as saying that 'the Sacraments *must* be administered if the priest arrives just after breath, pulse-beats, and heart-beats have ceased.' As a matter of fact the expression used by that author (ii. 422) is not *must* but 'it will be good,' *praestabit*, which is a very different thing.

But, certainly, two very important questions arise in connexion with the above subject, viz. (1) what is the obligation of a priest to anoint the apparently dead? and (2) what is considered a reasonable time limit?

As regards the first question, am I not right in saying that so far no Decree has been forthcoming which lays down that a priest *must* anoint the apparently dead, but that all that has been said as yet is that a priest *may* anoint? So that in the absence of definite legislation to the contrary, a priest is free to use his own discretion in the matter.

With reference to the second question, Villada's opinion that 'for six minutes after what seemed to be the moment of death, the Sacraments *may* be administered,' would appear to be very reasonable. For just as the State insists on burial within a limited period—despite the fact that many persons have been consigned to the grave in a cataleptic condition—so it is highly desirable that there should be uniformity of practice among priests as regards anointing the apparently dead in a given time, lest discrepancy give rise to scandal. An authoritative time limit there certainly should be. If signs of decomposition are the only certain proofs of actual death, then in some cases I fail to see why a priest should not be free to anoint up to the very last moment when the coffin lid is to be screwed down. Strangely enough, your contributor omits to quote the concluding words of Genicot in the reference he gives: '*Potissimum si nullus medicus mortuum esse testatus fuerit*,' words which serve admirably as a practical guide to common action, viz., if a doctor has pronounced life extinct, leave the case; if the person has apparently just died, and no doctor is at hand,

allow six minutes for the anointing. Villada cannot mean the sixth minute to be the *punctum physicum*, but surely *thereabouts*.

PAROCHUS.

In his admirable book on *Death: Real and Apparent*, Father Ferreres, S.J., holds that 'between the moment ordinarily held to be that of death and the actual moment at which death takes place, there is probably in every case a longer or shorter interval of latent life, during which the sacraments may be administered' (page 58). He also lays down that 'besides putrefaction and, perhaps, cadaveric rigidity, there is no symptom that is a positive indication of death' (page 67). He further maintains that 'in cases of sudden death the period of latent life probably continues until mortification begins to manifest itself' (page 81), that 'the probable period of latent life in those who die of a prolonged sickness lasts at least half an hour' (page 87), and that 'grave authorities claim for this period of latent life a duration considerably longer than half an hour' (page 96). Father Ferreres concludes that in cases of sudden death the priest should administer the sacraments *sub conditione* until putrefaction has set in, and that in cases of ordinary death after a prolonged illness the priest should administer the sacraments *sub conditione* at least during the first half hour after apparent death has occurred, and even until cadaveric rigidity has begun (pages 98, 104). In his *Medicina Pastoralis* (ii. page 559) Father Antonelli adheres to the opinion of Father Ferreres.

Genicot says that it is difficult, *especially* for those who are not medical experts, to know whether or not a person is really dead who a short time previously showed signs of life, and in whom, therefore, cadaveric rigidity or putrefaction has not set in. He concludes that it is *advisable* to anoint a person who has been apparently dead for only a short time, *more especially* if there is no doctor to testify that the person is really dead. Villada, Noldin, and Alberti say that latent life probably lasts for five or six minutes, and that the sacraments are to be administered during that time.

While such diversity of opinion lasts, a priest is justified in acting on the view of Fathers Ferreres and Antonelli. Since, however, there is not unanimity amongst theologians, and since no authoritative decision has emanated from the Holy See on the matter, no obligation can be imposed on a priest to administer the sacraments conditionally, except within five or six minutes after apparent death.

CONDITIONAL CONFERRING OF EXTREME UNCTION IN THE CASE OF A DYING PERSON

REV. DEAR SIR,—1. In the case of a person who is in danger of death and is unable to make a confession, even by sign, absolution is given conditionally. I assume that there is some time, and that the person is not actually dying. In that case, is Extreme Unction to be given conditionally, or absolutely?

2. If conditionally, must the form used for absolution, as far as concerns the condition, be adhered to in giving Extreme Unction?

As to the first query, I always followed a certain practice, and wondered that any other existed.

ROMANUS.

1. Extreme Unction is to be conferred absolutely in the circumstances mentioned in the letter of our correspondent. We presume that he is speaking of a dying person who was a more or less practical Catholic, and who, consequently, has sufficient intention, at least implicitly, for the valid reception of the last Sacrament. If there were doubt about this intention the Sacrament should be conferred conditionally: "*Si sufficientem intentionem habes.*" In either case it would be unjustifiable by the insertion of a condition regarding the dispositions for sanctification to deprive the dying person of the chances of the reviviscence of the Sacrament if at the present moment he happens not to have sufficient dispositions for its fruitful reception. At any moment before death he might elicit an act of at least attrition and thereby receive all the graces which flow from the sacrament of Extreme Unction.

2. When Extreme Unction is conferred conditionally in the above-mentioned case of doubt, the condition regards

the presence of the necessary intention. What condition ought to be inserted in the form of absolution which is given to a dying person who is deprived of the use of his senses and who is unable to make a confession? 'Si es dispositus' is the correct condition, but we fear that, owing to the prevalence of the Thomistic opinion about the matter of the Sacrament of Penance, it is often forgotten that the Scotistic view is not without its probability, that there is also some probability that the Sacrament of Penance can be validly received without being fruitful, and that Penance so received probably revives when the necessary dispositions for fruitfulness subsequently are present. Since the sacraments were instituted for the salvation of souls, no probability in favour of a dying person should be ignored, and the confessor should, in consequence, insert in the form of absolution only a condition which has reference to its validity. We believe, then, that the meaning to be attached to the above-mentioned condition is: 'if you are disposed for the valid reception of absolution.' If the condition is understood in this way, the penitent, as ought to be the case, gets every opportunity for the reception of grace which probable opinions concede to him.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

CONTEMPT OF THE ECCLESIASTICAL COURT: ITS EFFECT ON APPEALS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I have been summoned before an ecclesiastical court to answer certain charges which I need not specify. While having every confidence in the conscientious character of the men who are to decide the case, I doubt very much whether they have jurisdiction in the matter at all, and whether, moreover, they are quite in a position to give an entirely impartial decision. I have lodged a protest against the constitution of the tribunal, but no notice has been taken. Now, I am informed by some friends, whose opinion I respect, that if I refuse to appear I am liable to be treated as guilty of contempt, and perhaps be deprived of a right of appeal. I question very much whether my non-appearance could entail any such consequences, especially as I have made it clear that I am prepared to answer

the charges before a competent tribunal. But at the same time I am unwilling to take any unnecessary risks, and shall feel very much obliged for your opinion.

JUNIOR.

There is a noticeable tendency on the part of Canonists to regard 'contumacy' or 'contempt of court' in a less serious light than their predecessors did, and to mitigate as far as possible the pains and penalties to which those guilty of it are subjected by the strict letter of the law. According to the older authorities 'all laws cried out against the contumacious.'¹ The offence was taken by some authorities to embrace 'any act of disobedience to a judge committed either in court or outside it';² by others, more strictly and with reference to the more serious penalties involved, as 'an act of disobedience towards a judge by one legitimately summoned, and in connexion with matters pertaining to the trial.'³ Of the penalties attached to it, some of the authorities enumerate no less than twenty-four.⁴ Prominent among them is the refusal of a right to appeal. Cardinal Tuschi, for instance, states that 'one guilty of contempt of court cannot, generally speaking, appeal';⁵ and Lega asserts that 'according to Canon Law a contumacious litigant, whether plaintiff or defendant, cannot ordinarily appeal from a sentence passed against him.'⁶

From statements of this kind it may, however, be inferred that, while the ordinary rule is that the right to appeal is refused, there are possible cases contemplated in which the penalty would not, and should not, be enforced. And the more modern canonists, following the tendency I have mentioned, are fairly agreed in maintaining that the specific offence contemplated by the law is committed only when, by word or act, there is contempt shown for the ecclesiastical judge in his judicial capacity. They are not

¹ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, ann. ii. vol. ii. n. 19, p. 756.

² *Ibid.*, 757.

³ Hostiens, in *Summa, de contum.*, n. 1; Pirhing, *Jus. Can.*, l. ii. t. 14, s. 2, n. 20, etc.

⁴ E.g., Marant., *De Ord. Jud.*, p. 6, *de cont.* n. 9.

⁵ *Pract. con. Jur. con.*, 1025: 'contumax verus regulariter non potest appellare.'

⁶ *De Jud.*, i. tit. 17, n. 599: 'ordinarie appellare non posse.'

inclined to brand a litigant as contumacious if his refusal to appear can be explained as due to a different motive—to his conviction on reasonable grounds, for instance (as in the case before us), that the judge has no jurisdiction in the case or is likely, for one reason or another, to refuse him justice.

A few quotations will make this fairly clear. Lega, already quoted, defines 'contumacy' as consisting in 'contempt of judicial authority';¹ Pichler as 'nothing else than disobedience combined with contempt.'² Scaccia says that 'the shield of appeal should not be held to protect one who wants to oppress and despise the judge';³ and Ursaya explains 'contumacy as 'derived from *con* and *tumeo*, indicating the litigant is proud and inflated with his own importance.'⁴ And, indeed, the old Roman law, strict as it was in its treatment of the offence, supplied the basis for the interpretation by stating that 'a contumacious person is one who disdains to make his appearance.'⁵ There is no contempt shown, therefore, if a defendant refuses to appear because the judge does not duly discharge his functions: 'ut verificetur contumacia, iudex debet legitime iubere,' as Santi puts it.⁶ And, as exemplifying an instance in which the judge does not proceed duly, we may quote (again with reference to the present case) from Pignatelli: 'If a judge on legal grounds is rendered suspect, and, after the reasons for suspicion have been given, proceeds further, his acts are by law null and void.'⁷

Authors generally classify acts of contempt as 'true' or 'fictitious' ('presumea'), and confine the extreme penalties to the first-mentioned class. Unfortunately, they are not agreed as to the essential conditions for each. The more strict define 'true' contempt as that shown by a

¹ *Op. cit.*, i. tit. 17, n. 591.

² *Jus. Can.*, l. 2, t. 14, n. 11: 'inobedientiam cum contemptu.'

³ *De Appell.*, q. 17, l. 3, n. 2.

⁴ *Discip. Ecc.*, t. 5, l. 2, t. 1, nn. 88-9.

⁵ *D.* 42, 1, 53.

⁶ *Tom. ii.* t. 14, n. 5: 'contumax est qui . . . praesentiam sui facere contemnit.'

⁷ *Cons.*, t. 9, c. 151, n. 95: 'si iudex ex legitima causa detur suspectus et post allegatam suspicionem ad ulteriora procedat, gesta per eum sunt ipso iure nulla.'

person who has actually received a citation from the judge and fails to appear, and distinguish it from the 'presumed' contempt of a man who has not personally received the summons, or has not, perhaps, come to know that his presence is required;¹ others confine it to the case in which 'malice is evident and the refusal to appear certain.'² In harmony with the latter opinion Pichler states that a right of appeal is refused to 'those who are formally contumacious, namely, who, having been cited in a peremptory fashion, have openly stated that they will not come and so have shown formal contempt for the judge,' whereas 'it is different with those who have been contumacious merely in the sense that they have not put in an appearance, or have refused to take the oath or make restitution, inasmuch as they have not openly shown contempt for the judge but only a want of confidence in their own case.'³ And he goes further still, stating that 'a litigant who is truly contumacious is punished by a refusal of the right to appeal, but only, according to the more probable view, in case he has been 'notoriously contemptuous,' that is, has proclaimed in open court that he refuses to come for the future.'⁴ And therefore he maintains, in another portion of his work on Canon Law, that 'if a person appeals before a definitive sentence has been passed, and the judge refuses to listen to his appeal on the ground that it is frivolous or illegitimate, and, having cited him or not, passes a definitive sentence against him in his absence, the litigant may appeal within the due time unless the previous appeal was manifestly frivolous.'⁵ The case resembles very much the one before us.

It must be granted, as we have stated, that there are

¹ Reiff., *Jus. Can.*, l. 2, t. 14, s. 2, n. 57.

² Devoti, *Jus. Can.*, l. 2, t. 14, n. 1: 'vera dicitur quando evidens est dolus et certa voluntas non obediendi.'

³ *Jus Can.*, l. 2, t. 28, n. 10: 'tales non evidenter contemnere iudicem: sed potius diffidere iure suo.'

⁴ Ibid. n. 21: 'sed probabilius si simul sit notorie contumax, i.e., si in iudicio dixit se nolle venire amplius.'

⁵ Ibid. t. 14, s. 2, § 5, n. 4: 'Si ante definitivam sententiam a Iudice quis appellando recedat, et Iudex appellationi ejus non deferat (tamquam irivolae et illegitimae) sed, eo citato vel etiam non citato, contra ipsum etiam absentem sententiam etiam definitivam ferat, poterit is, qui prius appellavit, infra tempus debitum appellare, nisi prima ejus appellatio manifeste frivola esset.'

traces of a stricter tendency in some of the canonical authorities, especially among those of an earlier date, and it is difficult therefore to decide, from a mere study of the works on Canon Law, which principle is likely, at any given moment, to predominate in the ecclesiastical courts.

But, fortunately, we have independent evidence, in this connexion, in the records of a case decided in Rome last year. And the whole proceedings, as reported in the official bulletin,¹ make it clear that the milder principle is the one most in favour in the Roman Rota. A parish priest, named Joseph Schmelcher, of the Archdiocese of Cologne, was summoned by the Archbishop to account for, among other things, statements made against his ecclesiastical superiors. He refused to appear, and appealed, on the ground that some of the judges were the very men he had attacked and were, therefore, now trying their own case. His appeal was disregarded and sentence passed against him. He lodged a complaint of nullity (virtually an appeal) before the Bishop of Münster, who had been delegated by the Holy See as the judge of second instance. The Bishop modified the previous sentence, and the case was then transferred to Rome, one of the allegations for the plaintiffs being that the defendant had lost his right to appeal owing to the contempt of court committed in not appearing before the original tribunal. The Rota, however, decided the point in his favour, quoting numerous authorities. Of the writers we have mentioned above as supporting the more liberal view there is not one whose opinions are not mentioned with more or less approval in the official records of the case.

The Rota judges, in fact, go further than the authors quoted, for they state that, whatever the requirements of strict law, they are themselves guided by the principles of equity, and are prepared to admit an appeal even in a case of 'true' contempt. They quote, with approval, Cardinal de Luca's statement that 'according to strict law a contumacious defendant is not generally allowed to appeal, but according to canonical equity, which holds in the Curia, an appeal in the case of "true" contempt is accepted within ten days

¹ *Acta Apost. Sedis*, ann. ii. vol. ii. n. 19, pp. 747-768.

from the passing of the sentence, and in the case of "presumed" contempt, within ten days from its notification to the appellant';¹ and Scaccia's that 'the practice of the Rota is founded on canonical equity, according to which a person guilty of "true" contempt may appeal' and that 'this practice is maintained in the Roman Curia and in all the ecclesiastical courts.'² Therefore, they say, 'since it is not reasonable that we should repudiate our own law and cling tenaciously to the foreign and obsolete rigour of the (old) Roman, whatever has been accepted against the spirit of our own should not be urged to its ultimate consequences in our courts.'³

We think, therefore, that our correspondent will not be deprived of the right to appeal in case he refuses, for reasons which we presume are well founded, to accept the decision of the tribunal before which he is summoned to appear. Abstracting from equity altogether, it is at least doubtful, as we have seen, whether the law affects his case: and in doubtful matters, the right to appeal—one of the strongest and most legitimate methods of defence, and most necessary for the public welfare—should be freely granted to the defendant and given the most liberal interpretation consonant with the claims of justice. If the principles of equity be taken into account, as the Roman Rota and presumably every other ecclesiastical tribunal is prepared to take them, his right is unquestionable.

¹ *De Jud.*, P. i. l. 15, d. 10, n. 15: 'Regulariter contumax non admittitur ad appellandum de iuris rigore, sed de aequitate canonica, quae in curia est recepta, appellat, ubi sit contumax verus infra decem dies a die latae sententiae,' etc.

² *De Appell.*, q. 17, l. 3, n. 12: 'Observantia Rotae est fundata in aequitate canonica, secundum quam etiam verus contumax potest appellare . . . et ita servatur tam in curia Romana quam in toto statu ecclesiastico.'

³ 'Jamvero quemadmodum rationi non est consonum repudiare quod nostrum est veluti ius, ut ad alienum et obsoletum rigorem iuris romani recurramus, eique modicus inhaereamus, ita 'quod contra rationem iuris (nostri) receptum est, non est producendum ad consequentias, in foro nostro.'

CENSURES NOT MENTIONED BY NAME IN THE
CONSTITUTION 'APOSTOLICAE SEDIS'

REV. DEAR SIR,—Did the Constitution *Apostolicae Sedis* ever include all the general *ipso facto* censures in existence? And how many of them does it include now? Most of the Canonists give a long list of censures—old ones, too, apparently—of which I can find no trace in the Constitution. The whole subject is most perplexing to me, for I cannot find the principle—if there be any—that underlies the thing. You would do me a service by giving me a list of the censures that are independent of the *Apostolicae Sedis*, and by letting me know by what particular authority they have been enacted.

P. R.

'The principle that underlies the thing' is simple enough. All the general *latae sententiae* censures in force immediately after the publication of the *Apostolicae Sedis* are mentioned either explicitly or implicitly in the Constitution itself. Those imposed since are, of course, on a different footing and must be sought elsewhere.

Before the Constitution was issued the *latae sententiae* censures had become very numerous. Some of them, enacted a long time previously, had become unsuited to the times; as to the precise meaning and extent of others even experts were divided. The result was that both penitents and confessors were confronted with doubts and perplexities that admitted of no satisfactory solution.

All this the Pope tells us in the preamble to the Constitution itself. His purpose, therefore, was to reduce to as small a number as possible the correctional punishments imposed by his predecessors or by General Councils, and to remove all ground for further perplexity. 'Only those *latae sententiae* censures,' he says, 'which we insert in this Constitution itself are to have force for the future, and that only in the manner in which we insert them.' It is clear, therefore, that the Constitution gives a full list of the *ipso facto* censures in force at the time of its publication.

But the censures are inserted in different ways. Some are given by name, others included in three general classes. Of these classes the first comprises all those previously

passed and still in force regarding the election of the Sovereign Pontiff; the second those affecting the internal government of religious Orders, congregations and 'pious places'; and the third those passed by the Council of Trent. So the Constitution states:—

Praeter hos hactenus recensitos, eos quoque, quos sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum . . . excommunicavit, nos pariter excommunicatos esse declaramus.¹ . . . Deinde quoscunque alios sacrosanctum Concilium Tridentinum suspensos aut interdictos ipso jure esse decrevit, nos pari modo suspensioni vel interdicto eosdem obnoxios esse volumus et declaramus.² . . . Quas vero censuras sive excommunicationis, sive suspensionis, sive interdicti nostris aut praedecessorum nostrorum constitutionibus, aut sacris canonibus, praeter eas quas recensuimus, latae sunt atque hactenus in suo vigore perstiterunt, sive pro R. Pontificis electione, sive pro interno regimine quorumcunque ordinum, etc., eas omnes firmas esse et in suo robore permanere volumus et declaramus.³

If our correspondent had compared these paragraphs with the censures of long standing supplied him by the Canonists he would hardly state that he could 'find no trace of them in the Constitution.'

With the first two of these three classes our correspondent is probably not concerned: they have no particular interest except for those who are privileged to take part in the election of the Pope, or who belong to the Orders, etc., concerned. We need not therefore give a detailed list of the censures they include.⁴ With regard to the last, theologians are generally agreed that it includes only those directly passed by the Council, not those merely confirmed or reaffirmed. When the Council states, for instance, that certain persons incur the penalties decreed by law or by some particular Constitution, the censures in question are not regarded as strictly 'decreed by the Council.' Accepting this principle,

¹ § 4, iv. It has modified the Excommunication *de ed. et usu S. Scrip.* (cf. Sess. 4 and § 4, iv.)

² § 6, ii.

³ § 6, ii.

⁴ Vide Gury-Ballerini, ii. 979, and the Constitutions *Commissum Nobis* (Jan. 20, 1904), and *Vacante Sede Apostolica* (Dec. 25, 1904) of Pius X.

we find that the Tridentine censures now in force as such include :—

I. An excommunication (simply reserved to the Pope) affecting all violators of ecclesiastical property (Trent, Sess. 22, c. 11, *de Ref.*), and much more extensive than those classified in the *Apostolicae Sedis* as specially reserved (§ 1, nn. 11 and 12).

II. Excommunications (non-reserved) affecting : 1°, Abductors of women and those who help them (Sess. 24, c. 6) ; 2°, those who violate the liberty of contracting marriage (Sess. 24, c. 9) ; 3°, those who compel a woman to enter religion or prevent her from entering (Sess. 25, c. 18) ; 4°, magistrates who refuse assistance in preserving the enclosure (Sess. 25, c. 5)—it is now practically obsolete ; 5°, those who deny the necessity of Confession before Communion in certain circumstances (Sess. 13, can. 11, *de Euch.*)—they may be affected by other censures as well ; 6°, those who hold certain doctrines regarding clandestine marriages and marriage without consent of parents (Sess. 24, c. 1, *de Ref. matr.*).

III. Suspensions affecting 1°, Bishops performing pontifical functions outside their own dioceses without the consent of the Ordinary (Sess. 6, c. 5) ; 2°, titular Bishops ordaining without consent of Ordinary of ordinand (Sess. 14, c. 2) ; 3°, persons ordained by extern Bishops without necessary letters (Sess. 23, c. 8), or, 4°, ordained in extern diocese without permission of Ordinary (Sess. 6, c. 5) ; or, 5°, ordained by titular Bishop without due permission (Sess. 14, c. 2), or, 6°, ordained with dimissorial letters wrongly given (Sess. 7, 10 ; 23, 10)—these last four, however, are not censures, strictly speaking, being imposed *ad beneplacitum* ; 7°, authorities wrongly granting dimissorials (Sess. 23, c. 10) ; 8°, bishops convicted by provincial council (Sess. 25, n. 14). Whether the prohibition against ministering in an Order received *per saltum* (Sess. 23, c. 14) is a censure or not is doubtful.¹ That affecting those who assist at a marriage

¹ Vide Wernz, *Jus. Decret.*, ii. 73, n. 89 ; Suarez, *De Cens.*, d. 31, s. 1, n. 44, etc. There are also some doubtful points regarding persons taking part in duels or violating the enclosure : cf. Lehmkühl, *T. M.*, ii. 701, 705.

without permission of the parish priest of the parties (Sess. 24, c. 1) has ceased to bind since the *Ne Temere* Decree came into force.

IV. Interdicts affecting 1°, chapters illegitimately granting dimissorial letters (Sess. 7, c. 10); 2°, metropolitans, etc., failing to report non-resident Bishops (Sess. 6, c. 1).

Besides all these, which may be said in a more or less strict sense to be contained in the Constitution, there are a few that have been passed since 1869, and are, of course, not contained in it in any sense. They include:—

I. Excommunications, specially reserved, affecting 1°, dignitaries handing over to persons nominated by lay authorities the administration of a diocese before the presentation of apostolic letters (*Rom. Pont.*, August 28, 1873); 2°, certain persons so taking over the administration, and their supporters (*ibid.*); 3°, certain societies claiming rights in connexion with the election of the Pope (August 4, 1876).

II. An excommunication, reserved to the Ordinary in case of clerics, a suspension reserved to the Pope, directed against traffickers in Mass stipends (Decree *Vigilanti*, May 25, 1893).

III. An unreserved excommunication affecting 1°, missionaries in America and the East; 2°, superiors who neglect to punish them (Holy Office, December 4, 1872).

IV. Suspensions (specially reserved), against 1°, clerics taking part in civil warfare (S.C.C., July 12, 1900); 2°, intruded Bishops (August 28, 1873); 3°, in certain circumstances, those dismissed from religious Orders (*Auctis Admodum*, November 4, 1892).

V. An interdict affecting intruded Bishops (same date).

Our correspondent will probably find the censures that trouble him somewhere in the above list. If he does not, he may take it for granted that they are long since obsolete. He will find a detailed account of each of the above in any of the ordinary manuals of Moral Theology or Canon Law.

M. J. O'DONNELL.

LITURGY

EXEQUIAL MASS 'ABSENTE CADAVERE'

REV. DEAR SIR,—In a neighbouring parish a man died on the Friday before Pentecost, and, after the usual wake, he was buried on Pentecost Sunday. On the following day, Monday after Pentecost and a double of the first class, a Solemn Requiem Mass, *absente cadavere*, was sung for the repose of his soul. Do the rubrics permit a Requiem Mass under the circumstances? Could the parish priest have had the Requiem Mass on Wednesday, a semi-double, or should he have waited until the Monday after Trinity Sunday? A solution of these rubrical difficulties will oblige.

A PERPLEXED PAROCHUS.

A general Decree,¹ from which the answer to our correspondent's difficulties may be deduced, was issued by the Congregation of Rites in the year 1891. The first part of the Decree declares that a Solemn Requiem Mass or a *missa cum cantu* may be celebrated 'in die et pro die obitus,' except on certain specified days. It is expressly stated, however, that the *feriae 2^a et 3^a* of Easter and Pentecost, although doubles of the first class, are available for such a Mass, i.e., *praesente cadavere*.

The second part of the Decree is as follows :—

Quod si ex civili vetito, aut morbo contagioso, *aut alia gravi causa*,² cadaver in ecclesia praesens esse nequeat, imo etsi jam terrae mandatum fuerit, praefata missa celebrari quoque poterit in altero ex immediate sequentibus duobus ab obitu diebus, eodem prorsus modo ac si cadaver esset praesens.

It is scarcely necessary to point out that the two days *ab obitu* may be counted either from the day of death or from the day of burial. The question, then, is : Can the privilege granted by this Decree be availed of in this particular case? In other words, may the liturgical impediment itself, which excluded the Exequial Mass on Pentecost

¹ *Decreta Authentica*, 3755.

² The italics are in the original.

Sunday, be regarded as a *gravis causa*? The point has not been definitely decided by the Congregation, as far as we are aware; but many commentators¹ of repute maintain that among the *graves causae* may be enumerated the liturgical prohibition mentioned. Hence they would conclude that, as it would be permissible to celebrate the Exequial Mass *praesente cadavere* on the day in question, so by virtue of this Decree it may be celebrated *absente cadavere*. We believe, therefore, that the parish priest had sufficient authority in his favour when he decided to hold the Mass on that day.

Van der Stappen,² who discusses a similar case, points out a curious anomaly which results if this opinion is correct. If A dies on Wednesday of Holy Week and can be buried at latest on Good Friday, the Exequial Mass cannot be celebrated until after Low Sunday; whereas, if B is buried on Saturday the Mass may be sung on Easter Monday. It is a case of the last being first and the first last! He expresses, however, the hope that provision will be made for such a state of things.

If the opinion we have given be correct the further questions of our correspondent need not be discussed. But if we suppose for the moment that the Mass could not have been lawfully celebrated on that day, then it should have been transferred not to the Wednesday of that week, but to the Monday after Trinity Sunday; for the octave of Pentecost does not admit a Requiem Mass except the corpse is present and in the cases covered by the Decree; and therefore the first *dies non impeditus* is the Monday after Trinity Sunday.³

T. O'DOHERTY.

¹ Vide *Ephemerides Liturgicae*, xiv., 1900, p. 166.

² Tom. ii. p. 337.

³ Cf. *ibid.* p. 536.

DOCUMENTS

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
BISHOPS OF BAVARIA

AD RR. PP. DD. BAVARIAE ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS, FRISINGAE CONGREGATIS AD CONSILIA DE GRAVIBUS REBUS SIMUL CAPIENDA, AC PRAESERTIM DE CHRISTIANA PUERORUM IN SCHOLIS INSTITUTIONE.

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Diligentia ipsa quae, elapsis vix paucis mensibus ab ultima congressione, vos nuper congregavit iterum, ostendit palam optimum vos de hisce episcopalibus coetibus iudicium facere. Et recte sane ac merito. Congressiones enim huiusmodi, dummodo rite habeantur, haud parum prodesse possunt ad salutaria studia excitanda, ad paranda invalescenti impietati apta ac tempestiva remedia et ad eam nectendam mentium atque actionum concordiam quam praesens aetas arctissimam requirit.

Quam vero nuntiastis susceptam a vobis curam maximam de christiana institutione puerorum scholas celebrantium libenter admodum accepimus et gratulamur vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, propositum quod si, uti confidimus, constanti navitate urseritis, haud exiguos paroeciis vestris afferet fructus. Qui quidem in maiorem profecto amplioremque pubescent ubertatem si pueri iidem, progrediente aetate, Curionum caritatis providentiaeque subsidia minime desiderent. Aetatis enim lapsu ac vitae usu crescunt et pericula hinc a iuvenilibus cupiditatibus inde a pravorum exemplo accepta. Ab iis mature ac prudenter sunt hi quidem arcendi: secus enim periculum suberit ne lugenda nimis pruina diuturnarum vigiliarum fructus subito decoquat atque absumat.

Vix demum dictu opus est, Venerabiles Fratres, pergratam Nos habuisse pietatis significationem, qua vobis libuit coetum ipsum auspicari. Est profecto vobis in laude ponendum si convento vix inito, ad Nos omnium vestrum tunc provolavit animus, idemque eo promptiore effusioresque caritate, quo tristiores Nobis decurrunt dies. Studiis vestris delectati admodum sumus, eaque pari rependimus studiorum vice, Apostolicam Benedictionem, caelestium auspicem bonorum, vobis omnibus, Venerabiles

Fratres, et cuiusque vestrum Clero populoque peramanter impertiendo.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die xxx Aprilis MDCCCXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

RECENT LEGISLATION ON FEAST DAYS—SOME DOUBTS
RESOLVED

S. CONGREGATIO CONSILII

ROMANA ET ALIARUM

DUBIA CIRCA DIES FESTOS

RECENTI MOTU PROPRIO ' SUPREMI DISCIPLINAE ' SUPPRESSOS

Sacrae Congregationi Concilii circa interpretationem eorum quae nuperrimo Motu Proprio *De diebus festis* a Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papa X. die 11 mensis Iulii hoc anno 1911 edito constituta sunt, dubia quae sequuntur enodanda proposita fuerunt :

I. An in festis nuperrimo Motu Proprio suppressis quoad forum, nempe SSⁿⁱ Corporis Christi, Purificationis, Annuntiationis et Nativitatis B. M. V., S. Ioseph Sponsi eiusdem B. M. V., S. Ioannis Apostoli et Evang., et Patroni cuiusque loci vel dioecesis, obligatio remaneat Sacrum faciendi pro populo.

II. An in Ecclesiis Cathedralibus et Collegiatis omnia in praedictis festis suppressis servanda sint prout in praesenti sive quoad officiaturam choralem, sive quoad solemnitatem tum Missarum tum Vesperarum.

III. An festa ex voto vel constituto, auctoritate etiam ecclesiastica firmato sancita, a numero festorum cum obligatione sacrum audiendi vigore novissimae huius legis expungantur.

IV. An eadem lex novissima de diebus festis servandis immediate vigeat.

S. C. Concilii omnibus mature perpensis, ex speciali facultate a SS^{mo} D. N. Pio PP. X. tributa, ad omnia haec dubia respondendum censuit : *Affirmative*.

Datum Romae ex Secretaria S. C. Concilii, die 8 Augusti 1911.

C. CARD. GENNARI, *Praefectus*.

B. POMILI, *Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

**RECENT LEGISLATION ON FEAST DAYS—FURTHER
DOUBTS RESOLVED**

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

DUBIUM

Quum ex *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X. die 2 elapsi mensis Iulii, Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae, a die 24 Iunii perpetuo translatum, assignatum fuerit Dominicæ ante Solemnia SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tamquam in sede propria, nonnulli Rm̃i Episcopi, paragraphum quartum eiusdem *Motus Proprii* perpendentes, quo cautum est in locis peculiari Indulto Apostolico utentibus nihil esse innovandum inconsulta Sede Apostolica, huic dispositioni obtemperantes, ipsam Sanctam Sedem adierunt, reverenter postulantes a Sacra Rituum Congregatione :

Utrum Dioeceses ubi hucusque Festum Nativitatis S. Ioannis Baptistae quotannis celebratum est die 24 Iunii cum Apostolica dispensatione a Feriatione, possint hunc diem retinere, vel potius debeant sumere præfatam Dominicam in Calendario Universali nuper assignatam Nativitati Sancti Praecursoris Domini ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, attento novissimo *Motu Proprio* 'De diebus festis' una cum subsequentibus declarationibus, propositae quaestioni rescribendum censuit : *Negative ad primam partem ; affirmative ad secundam.*

Hanc vero resolutionem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X. ratam habuit, probavit atque servari mandavit.

Die 7 Augusti 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus.*

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Ep. Charystien., Secretarius.*

L. ✠ S.

**BEATIFICATION AND CANONIZATION OF FATHER
DOMINICK, PASSIONIST**

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

ROMANA SEU WESTMONASTERIEN.

BEATIFICATIONIS ET CANONIZATIONIS SERVI DEI P. DOMINICI A
MATRE DEI SACERDOTIS PROFESSI E. CONGREGATIONE CLER.
REGUL. EXCALCEATORUM SANCTISSIMAE CRUCIS ET PASSIONIS
D. N. I. C.

Anno 1849, die 21 Augusti, Reading in Britannia, magna cum fama sanctitatis, diem supremum obiit P Dominicus a Matre

Dei, qui Viterbii anno 1792 ortus ex Ioseph Barberi et Antonia Pacelli, agrorum cultui addictus est. Postea vero inter Sodales a Cruce et Passione, Deo vocante, cooptatus et sacerdotio auctus, Sancti Pauli a Cruce votis obsecundans, se impendit et superimpendit pro animabus, praesertim Anglorum. Multis et praeclaris muneribus functus apud suos sodales, anno 1840, quum in Belgicas regiones iussu Moderatorum Sodalitatis se contulisset, Tornaci primam sodalitatis ipsius domum excitavit, pluribus et magnis obstaculis virili prorsus animo superatis. Biennio post in Angliam veniens incredibile dictu est qua animi alacritate per integrum septennium adlaboraverit, tum erectis suae Congregationis novis recessibus, tum missionibus et scholis institutis, ut Christi Domini votum impleretur : ' Ut omnes unum sint, sicut tu, Pater, in me et ego in te, ut et ipsi in nobis unum sint ' (Ioan. xvii. 21). Plures quidem tunc temporis nec leves contumelias pro Christi nomine passus est ; sed Qui servos suos in omni tribulatione consolatur, consolatus est et Dominicum, qui, flens prae gaudio, multis ex Anglis Sanctae Ecclesiae nomine pacis osculum dedit : quos inter et clarissimo viro Ioanni Newman, qui postea, ob eius praeclara merita, amplissimo Sacrosanctae Catholicae Ecclesiae PP. Cardinalium Coetui adlectus est. Post eius mortem, quum fama sanctitatis eius in dies invalesceret, ordinariis inquisitionibus super eadem fama rite peractis et ad Sacrorum Rituum Congregationem transmissis, instante R. P. Gregorio a Virgine Perdolente e Congregatione Crucis et Passionis D. N. I. C., attentisque litteris postulatoriis plurium Revmorum Archiepiscoporum et Episcoporum, necnon Revmorum Praepositorum Generalium Ordinum et Congregationum, infrascriptus Cardinalis Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectus et eiusdem Causae Relator, in ordinariis comitiis subsignata die ad Vaticanum habitis, sequens dubium discutiendum proposuit : ' An signanda sit Commissio introductionis Causae in casu et ad effectum de quo agitur ? ' Et Eñi ac Rñi Patres Sacris tuendis Ritibus praepositi, post relationem ipsius Cardinalis Ponentis, audito voce et scripto R. P. D. Alexandro Verde Sanctae Fidei Promotore, omnibus accurate perpensis, rescribendum censuerunt : ' Signandam esse Commissionem si Sanctissimo placuerit.' Die 30 Maii 1911.

Facta postmodum de his Sanctissimo Domino Nostro Pio Papae X. per ipsum infrascriptum Cardinalem Sacrae Rituum Congregationi Praefectum relatione, Sanctitatis Sua Rescriptum Sacrae eiusdem Congregationis ratum habuit et probavit, simulque

propria manu signare dignata est Commissionem Introductionis Causae Beatificationis et Canonizationis Ven. Servi Dei Dominici a Matre Dei, Sacerdotis Professi e Congregatione Clericorum Regularium Ssmae Crucis et Passionis D. N. I. C. Die 14 Iunii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

ELECTRIC LAMPS IN THE CIBORIUM

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

DUBIUM

Expostulatum est a Sacrorum Rituum Congregatione : Utrum liceat, iuxta prudens Ordinarii iudicium, tempore expositionis privatae vel publicae, interiorem partem Ciborii cum lampadibus electricis in ea collocatis illuminare, ut Sacrae Pixis cum Sanctissimo Sacramento melius a fidelibus conspici possit ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, audito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, praepositae quaestioni respondendum censuit : *Negative*.

Atque ita rescipsit, die 28 Iulii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

SOME PRACTICAL DOUBTS RESOLVED

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

BAIONEN.

NOVA DUBIA

Ab hodierno Kalendarista Dioecesis Baionensis, praehabito consensu Revmi Episcopi eiusdem Dioeceseos, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi nova quaedam dubia pro opportuna solutione reverenter exposita sunt ; videlicet ;

I. Ubi Festum Titularis ex longaeva consuetudine celebratur ad instar Patronorum, Dominica infra Octavam eiusdem cum concursu populi, per unam Missam solemnem de Festo cum commemoratione Dominicae, utrum solemnitas S. Ioannis Baptistae Titularis in eandem Dominicam incidens ac solemnitas Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Galliis praeceptiva,

debeat huic praeferri, vel in aliam subsequentem Dominicam reponi, utpote non praeceptiva, sed tantum permissa ?

II. Utrum laico Missae inservienti ministrari possit Sacra Communio intra Presbyterium et in ora suppedanei Altaris, etiamsi non sit indutus habitu clericali ?

III. Utrum preces post Missam privatam iussu Leonis XIII. dicendae, omitti debeant post Missam votivam lectam de SS. Corde Iesu, prima cuiusque mensis feria VI celebratum cum privilegiis Missae votivae solemnibus pro re gravi ?

IV. Quando celebrans ad Vesperas coram Ssño Sacramento exposito Officium facit ad scamnum, debetne, cum accedit ante medium Altaris ad Magnificat, genuflectere unico genu super infimum gradum, vel utroque genu in plano ?

V. Quum cantantur Vesperae coram Ssño Sacramento exposito, utrum celebrans possit a principio amictu, alba, stola et pluviali indutus Officium facere, eique Diaconus et Subdiaconus alba, dalmatica et tunica induti assistere a principio Vesperarum, ratione Processionis immediate post Vesperas instituendae, praesertim in Ecclesiis quae pluribus carent pluvialibus pro assistentibus ?

VI. Utrum in Quadragesima, quando Vesperae immediatae post Missam solemnem cantantur, celebrans possit pluviali super albam et stolam indutus Officium facere cum assistentia Diaconi et Subdiaconi dalmatica et tunica indutorum ?

VII. Utrum iuxta Decreta 23 Novembris 1906, *Dubia* ad XI., et 1 Februarii 1907, Eremitarum Camaldulensium Montis Coronae ad X., Oratio *Deus cuius misericordiae non est numerus* in Functione Tridui vel Octidui intra annum post Beatificationem vel Canonizationem, cantari debeat ante *Tantum ergo*, vel in hoc casu servari debeat specialis dispositio Decreti 16 Decembris 1902, ad VI., super privilegiis Octidui vel Tridui concedi solitis ?

VIII. Utrum Novendialis supplicatio quae, ex Litteris Encyclicis Leonis PP. XIII., *Divinum illud munus*, diei 9 Maii 1897, Festum Pentecostes praecedere debet, incipi debeat feria VI infra Octavam Ascensionis Domini, ut terminetur in ipsa Vigilia Pentecostes, vel possit iuxta praxim huius Dioeceseos incipi tantum Sabbato, ita ut finem habeat novendialis supplicatio ipso die Festo Pentecostes ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, audita Commissionis Liturgicae sententia, omnibus sedulo perpensis, ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. In casu praeferatur solemnitas Ss. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli in Galliis praeceptiva.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Missa de qua in precibus habeatur uti solemniter, eique applicari potest Decretum num. 3697, *Ordinis Minorum Capucinatorum S. Francisci*, 7 Decembris 1888, ad VII.

Ad IV. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad V. Negative.

Ad VI. Negative.

Ad VII. Satis provisum in Decreto citato.

Ad VIII. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 8 Iunii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius*.
L. ✠ S.

THE 'IMPRIMATUR' IN PUBLICATIONS OF RELIGIOUS

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS

DUBIA DE MANUSCRIPTIS RELIGIOSORUM TYPIS EDENDIS

Quaesitum est ab hac Sacra Congregatione de Religiosis:

I. An Religiosi pertinentes ad Instituta votorum simplicium iisdem teneantur legibus ac Regulares votorum solemnium, quoad *Imprimatur* seu beneplacitum a suis Superioribus expostulandum, quoties aliquod suum manuscriptum in lucem edere cupiunt?

II. An Religiosi, quoties eis a suis Moderatoribus publicatio alicuius manuscripti fuerit interdicta, vel *Imprimatur* denegatum, possint idem manuscriptum alicui typographo tradere, qui illud publicet cum *Imprimatur* Ordinarii loci, suppresso auctoris nomine?

Em̃i autem Cardinales Sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, in plenario Coetu ad Vaticanum habito die 2 mensis Iunii 1911, suprascriptis Dubiis responderunt:

Ad I. Affirmative.

Ad II. Negative.

Quam Em̃orum Patrum responsionem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa Decimus, referente infrascripto Sacrae Congregationis Secretario, ratam habuit et confirmavit, die 11 Iunii 1911.

Datum Romae, ex Secretaria Sacrae Congregationis de Religiosis, die 15 Iunii 1911.

FR. I. C. CARD. VIVES, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ DONATUS, *Archiep. Ephesinus, Secretarius*.

**ABSOLUTION 'PRO DEFUNCTIS' ON SUNDAYS AND
FEAST DAYS**

QUINQUE ECCLESiarUM

SUPER CONSUEtUDINE ABSOLUTIONEM PRO DEFUNCTIS AD TUMULUM
PERAGENDI DIEBUS DOMINICIS ET FESTIS, FINITA MISSA DE
DIE

Hodiernus Episcopus Dioeceseos Quinque Ecclesiarum, in Hungaria, Sacrae Rituum Congregationi ea quae sequuntur humillime exposuit; nimirum:

Pluribus abhinc annis, inscio Episcopo, viget in nonnullis Ecclesiis Filialibus Dioeceseos Quinque Ecclesiarum consuetudo Anniversaria fundata, cum *Libera me Domine*, diebus Dominicis et Festis peragendi, prout sequitur. Primo quidem celebratur Missa cantata de Dominica aut Festo in colore. Finita Missa, celebrans accedit Sacristiam, depositaque casula et induto pluviali nigri coloris, illico ingreditur Ecclesiam pro Absolutione facienda ante tumulum seu castrum doloris, quod tantum post finem Missae in Ecclesia construitur. Quaeritur: An in casu consuetudo retineri possit, quum dicta Anniversaria diebus Dominicis et Festis ex fundatione sint affixa et, propter distantiam ab Ecclesia Matre et alia officia Sacerdotum, vel etiam ob defectum competentis dotis, in dies feriales vix transferri possint?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae suffragio, omnibusque sedulo perpensis, rescribendum censuit: Pro gratia, attenta consuetudine; exceptis tamen duplicibus primae classis et dummodo Absolutio et Responsorium locum habeant omnino independenter a Missa de die, iuxta Decretum num. 3870, *Romana*, 12 Iulii 1892, ad VIII.

Atque ita rescripsit atque indulsit, die 31 Maii 1911.

FR. S. CARD. MARTINELLI, *Praefectus*.

✠ PETRUS LA FONTAINE, *Episc. Charystien., Secretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

INDULGENCED INVOCATIONS

INVOCATIONEM 'GESÙ MIO, MISERICORDIA' VEL ALIAM 'O IESU
IN SANCTISSIMO SACRAMENTO, MISERERE NOBIS,' DEVOTE
RECITANTIBUS AMPLIOR INDULGENTIA CONCEDITUR

PIUS PP. X.

Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.—Nihil Nobis ex divinitus commisso Supremi Apostolatus munere acceptum magis gratumque

est, quam ut in Christiano populo pia ac frugifera promoveatur consuetudo fundendi Summo bonorum omnium datori Deo crebras atque iteratas ex imo corde invocationes, ad praesens illius patrocinium suppliciter impetrandum. Hoc quidem consilio ductus Pius PP. IX. rec. mem. Decessor Noster, die xxiv mensis Septembris anno MDCCCXXXVI fidelibus assuetis invocationi *Gesù mio, misericordia*, toties lucranda quoties ipsam invocationem emisissent, centum dierum indulgentiam largitus est; Nosque ipsi, datis sub piscatoris annulo Literis die vi mensis Iulii anno MDCCCIX fidelibus aliam invocationem *O Iesu in Ssmo Sacramento, miserere nobis* devote recitantibus, similem centum dierum remissionem benigne in Dño concessimus. Nunc autem, ingruentibus in dies adversus Ecclesiam calamitatibus, opportunum consilium videtur, fideles unanimi precum communione coelestem opem instanter efflagitare, eosque iteratis piis invocationibus animum mentemque ad Deum excitare, divinique amoris Sacramentum potissimum recolere. Id summopere cupientes, ut ad haec pietatis officia implenda magis magisque iidem fideles alliantur, partiales superenunciatas indulgentias dictis invocationibus adnexas, Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate amplificandas censemus. Quae cum ita sint, de Omnipotentis Dei misericordia ac BB. Petri et Pauli Apostolorum Eius auctoritate confisi, praesentium tenore, singulis atque universis fidelibus ex utroque sexu, qui ubique terrarum et quolibet idiomate, dummodo versio fidelis sit, contrito saltem corde, ac devote recitent vel iaculatoriam precem quae italice audit *Gesù mio, misericordia*, vel aliam iaculatoriam *O Iesu in Ssmo Sacramento, miserere nobis*, quoties id agant, toties, in forma Ecclesiae consueta, de numero poenaliū dierum trecentos expungimus. Porro largimur fidelibus ipsis, si malint, liceat partialibus his indulgentiis functorum vita labes poenasque expiare. Praecipimus vero ut priorum concessionum Apostolicarum quas recensuimus tenor ita amplificetur sicuti illum per praesentes Auctoritate Nostra amplificamus. Praesentibus, perpetuis futuris temporibus valituris. Tandem mandamus ut praesentium Litterarum transumptis, seu exemplis, etiam impressis, manu alicuius Notarii publici subscriptis ac sigillo personae in ecclesiastica dignitate constitutae munitis, eadem prorsus fides adhibeatur quae adhiberetur ipsis praesentibus, si forent exhibitae vel ostensae.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum sub annulo Piscatoris, die xx Maii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL, a *Secretis Status*.

L. ✠ S.

FRONTIER OF THE VICARIATE OF THE UPPER CONGO

S. CONGREGATIO DE PROPAGANDA FIDE

DECRETUM

QUO LIMES VICARIATUS OPOSTOLICI CONGI SUPERIORIS, AD
ORIENTEM ET MERIDIEM VERSUS, INNOVATUR

Ut congruentius territoria ecclesiastica, quae ad maiores lacus Africae centralis iacent, distribuerentur, Eñi Patres S. Congregationis Christiano nomini propagando, in plenario concessu die III^a habito vertentis Aprilis statuerunt ut limes qui, ad orientem et meridiem versus, Vicariatum Apostolicum Congi superioris dividit a Missionibus utriusque Victoriae Nyanzae, de Unianembé, de Tanganika atque Nyassa, prout sequitur immutaretur : Ad orientem : Limes anglo-belgicus et germano-belgicus, hoc est, linea quae ab ora meridionali lacus Alberti Eduardi ducitur primo ad montem Sabinyo et exinde, per lacum Kivu, cursum sequitur fluminis Rusizi dividitque demum lacum Tanganika. Ad meridiem : Limes anglo-belgicus, nempe, linea decurrens a lacu Tanganika ad lacum Moero. Hanc vero Eñorum Patrum sententiam Ssño D. N. Pio div. prov. PP. X. ab infrascripto eiusdem S. Congregationis Secretario relatam, in Audientia diei IV^{ae}. vertentis Aprilis, Sanctitas Sua benigne probavit ac ratam habuit, praesensque ea de re Decretum fieri mandavit.

Datum Romae, ex aedibus S. Congregationis de Propaganda Fide, die 8 Aprilis, anno 1911.

Pro Eñmo Card. Praefecto

ALOISIUS VECCIA, *Secretarius*

Pro R. P. D. Secretario

CAMILLUS LAURENTI, *Subsecretarius*.

L. ✠ S.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MOTIVE-FORCE AND MOTIVATION-TRACKS; A RESEARCH IN WILL-PSYCHOLOGY. By E. Boyd-Barrett, S.J., D.Ph. (Louvain), B.A. (Hon.) National University of Ireland. Longmans, Green & Co.

IN this volume we have a highly technical essay embodying the results of two years' experimental research work in the Psychological Laboratory of the Philosophical Institute at Louvain University. The author presents it as his dissertation for the M.A. Degree of the National University of Ireland. The subject he has chosen to explore is difficult and complex, if interesting and important: the exact evaluation of the influence of motives, and the analysis of the whole motivation process, in Will-Activity (cf. p. 41). And though many doubt the possibility of throwing any light on these obscure topics by any process of experimentation, even introspective (cf. pp. 7, 8, 45), yet the hope expressed by the author is legitimate, that such researches may eventually repay the labour of them by what their results may contribute towards the great and important work of 'Character-Formation and Will-Education.'

In regard to complex mental states, accurate introspection is notoriously difficult; and if any useful results are to be derived from experimental introspection they will be reached only by the employment of reliable methods. The methods here are all-important; and from time to time experimenters have used methods which were perfectly worthless (cf. pp. 25, 26).

The author explains that his work being '*strictly empirical and experimental*,' and confined to 'analysing and classifying Volitional phenomena' (Preface), has nothing directly to do with 'the problem of the "Freedom of the Will."' Indirectly, however, it has: inasmuch as '*Experimental Psychology not only does not furnish one scrap of evidence for Determinism, but it shows clearly and undeniably the impossibility of ever proving this theory by recourse to Psychology*' (p. 12). The only other definite allusion to this point is at p. 16, n. 2, where the author quotes approvingly Professor Stout's inference from the fact that 'very frequently Hesitations end in abrupt, inexplicable choices.'

The inference is that because 'the transition from the state of indecision to that of decision is often obscure and . . . unaccountably abrupt,' therefore it is 'difficult or impossible to give a definite disproof of the libertarian hypothesis on psychological grounds.' But might not the same inference be directed against the possibility of disproving *determinism* on psychological grounds? Anyhow, if Experimental Psychology yields no evidence that would point to determinism, why assume 'a *provisional determinism*' as the standpoint from which its researches are to be made? It does not seem scientific to keep on assuming an hypothesis which is being persistently negated by our researches. What the author probably means is that we should approach the whole problem with an open mind, and be prepared to find, *as far as we can*, an explanation of will-phenomena in antecedent, *necessitating* influences and conditions, both mental and bodily. We know that determinism does hold sway in the material world and in the world of organic life; it is lawful therefore to suppose that it holds sway in human activities up to an unknown point which it is the duty of Will-Psychology to determine.

By way of introducing his own researches the author gives a brief but useful *exposé* (Ch. I.) of a number of modern theories of the Will: containing naturally many varieties of psychology, good, bad, and middling; containing also not a few confusing distinctions of terms which are really only verbal, while they purport to express distinctions in thought or in things. We do not by any means question the necessity for even subtle distinctions in abstruse researches; but we do believe that exuberance of terminology often impedes clear thought.

Chapter II. describes the exhaustive series of elaborate experiments conducted by the author with a view to amassing accurate data from which to study 'the strengthening of motives, the measurement of motive forces, and the evolution of motivation.' The experiments appear to have been well planned and carefully conducted. On the results attained the author bases his discussions of Motives, Motive-Force Measurement, Motivation-Tracks and Evolution of Motivation, Automatism, Hesitation, Hedonism, Relativity of Values, and Psychology of Character, in the subsequent chapters of his work. The analyses, comparisons, inferences, and speculations set forth in those chapters are all suggestive, and while varying in value some of them are decidedly instructive and useful. They represent a vast amount of laborious and diligent research, and form an

important contribution to Will-Psychology. They show, too, an intimate acquaintance with all the more recent investigations carried on in this department. They give us the results of what must certainly be regarded as a remarkable effort at scientific introspection. The occasional summaries (e.g., pp. 123, 124), especially those in the closing chapters, while strictly grounded on the experimental data accumulated, are of considerable practical value. Some remarks on 'automatism' and prevalence of the 'strongest motive' (e.g., pp. 85, 88, 90, and in chapter on Automatism) may be open to misinterpretation; but they do not really touch the question of freedom. The chapters devoted to the study of Hedonism and Hesitation are particularly interesting.

We do not like M. Paulham's description of the Will as 'a synthesis' (pp. 2, 194): it is a concession to the highly objectionable modern tendency to conceive almost everything as a *process* while eliminating the concepts of *substance*, *agent*, *faculty*, etc. The process of *willing* is a process of synthesizing; and this, of course, is what is meant; but why call the *will* itself a synthesis? We fail to attach any intelligible meaning to the statement that 'The kinæsthetic image of the *present condition* of a member about to be moved is . . . very important' (p. 25). Why adopt the ambiguous French term *conscience*, throughout the book, instead of the unambiguous term *consciousness*? (e.g., pp. 6, 23, 24, 27, 30, 32, 33, 119, 165, 168, 188). To 'pose' a question is perhaps allowable in English (pp. 25, 199). But 'tendence' for 'tendency' (p. 29), 'mouvement' for 'movement' (p. 106), 'concurrent' for 'rival' (p. 98), 'exposed' for 'set forth' (p. 23), reveal the French surroundings in which the author conducted his investigations. The punctuation throughout leaves much to be desired, sometimes quite obscuring the sense (e.g., p. 20, first sent.; p. 32, last sent.). Some grammatical slips and misspellings have escaped the proof-reading (e.g., pp. 28, last sent.; p. 32, last sent.; p. 34 'Theoresi'; p. 40, fourth last sent.; p. 54, 'rhythmn'; p. 56, 'thousands'; p. 58, 'ont'; p. 65, 'comflicts'; p. 90 'identically' for 'identical'; p. 92, 'form' for 'from'; p. 108, 'maintan'; p. 129, 'loked', for 'looked'; p. 191, 'desireable.' These are minor points, due to haste for which the author apologises in advance (Preface, iii.). But they are regrettable on account of the impression they are bound to make on the reader.

P. C.

POISONING THE WELLS. Eleventh Edition of the
Encyclopedia Britannica.

WE have received from New York some pamphlets with the above title, which subject the recent English publication to close scrutiny. The result is summed up in these concluding words: 'No Catholic should purchase the Eleventh Edition of the *Encyclopedia Britannica*. No purchaser of it is bound to keep or pay for a work which falls so far short of the representation of the editors and publishers. It should be debarred from our public libraries, schools, and other institutions. It should be denounced everywhere, in season and out of season, as a shameful attempt to perpetuate ignorance, bigotry, and fanaticism in matters of religion.'

Such a vigorous denunciation has aroused the jingo spirit of the *Tablet* which, in its best Chauvinist style, puts in a plea for the *Encyclopedia*. It throws cold water on the American outburst, and makes little of the whole business.

For our own part we are glad to see such an able and courageous criticism of this publication. Englishmen are fond of lecturing other peoples on their ignorance and superstition. The peasantry of Spain, Italy, Albania, and Ireland are the frequent objects of their commiseration or contempt. We doubt if there is any peasantry anywhere steeped in such gross superstition, ignorance, and prejudice in matters appertaining to the Christian religion as the writers of these articles, coming to us as they do with the stamp of Cambridge University on them. The spooks of British publicists, the mahatmas of their theosophists, the magicians of their Christian Science, their Agapist reformers might pass as the mere symptoms of corruption and decay in the masses; but that University men could make themselves responsible for the myths that are embodied in this *Encyclopedia* is indeed a portent.

J. F. H.

RELIGIOUS INTOLERANCE UNDER HOME RULE. Some opinions of leading Irish Protestants, compiled by Mr. Jeremiah MacVeagh, M.P. The Irish Press Agency 2 Great Smith Street, Westminster.

MR. MACVEAGH is one of the best Catholics in the Irish Parliamentary Party, and one of its most useful members in every sense. Not the least of his services to his party and

country is the production of this pamphlet. Mr. MacVeagh is essentially a practical man. He knows what is needed in England and he has supplied it. Nobody who reads this pamphlet can attach any importance to the Orange cry of intolerance against Catholics. Mr. MacVeagh has exploded it, or rather he has supplied the fuse which the supposed victims have ignited.

J. F. H.

THE CATECHIST. By Rev. George Edward Howe. Two Volumes. Sixth Edition. London : R. & T. Washbourne, Ltd. 1911.

THAT this work has gone a long way towards supplying the proverbial 'long-felt want' is evidenced by its wide circulation. Since its first publication in 1898 six editions have been printed. The sixth does not differ materially from its predecessors. A few more points have been added here and there, and there is a more frequent use of the varied type used as an aid to clearness in presenting the subject-matter.

For the benefit of those who are not already acquainted with it, we may state, without any hesitation, that this is an admirable compilation which will be found extremely useful, not merely as an aid to the catechist, but also to priests who require headings and references for doctrinal or moral discourses. A list of standard works is given under each heading, forming a bibliography of the subject. Scriptural quotations and allusions are numerous and apposite, while a special feature is the number of anecdotes—nearly a thousand—collected from various sources to illustrate the various subjects discussed. The convenience and utility of this feature need not be emphasized. Enough, indeed, has been said to show that this work will be a valuable addition to any priest's library.

THE CATHOLIC ENCYCLOPEDIA. Vol. XI. London : The Caxton Publishing Co. ; New York : Robert Appleton Co.

THE eleventh volume of the *Catholic Encyclopedia* brings us from 'New Mexico' to 'Philip,' and embraces articles on a great variety of subjects, many of them of special interest to Irish

readers, as they cover the letter 'O' in its entirety. There are valuable articles on Palæography and Palæontology by competent writers. Pantheism is also ably treated. Parish and Pastor are dealt with by the Abbé Boudinhon and Father Papi, S.J. Mrs. Meynell contributes a portrait of Coventry Patmore, and Cardinal Moran a valuable sketch of St. Patrick. Mgr. Parkinson deals with Patron Saints, and Father Prat, S.J., writes a valuable article on St. Paul. We should not omit to mention Dr. Hanna's valuable contribution on Penance.

It will thus be seen that this volume of the *Encyclopædia* deals with most practical questions, and, we are glad to see, is free, as far as we could see, from the sort of defects to which we ventured to call attention in the case of some of the other volumes.

J. F. H.

SUMMULA PHILOSOPHIAE SCHOLASTICAE. Vol. II. Cosmologia et Psychologia, a J. S. Hickey, O.Cist. Editio Altera, aucta, emendata, indicibus locupletata; Vol. III. (Pars Prior), Theologia Naturalis, Editio Altera, aucta, etc. Dublin: Browne et Nolan. 1910, 1911.

WE are glad to note that Father Hickey's work is passing so rapidly through a second edition. The volumes of the new edition are made more useful by the addition of careful indexes; they are also improved and brought up to date by the addition of further notes from the most recent authorities; and the text has been amended in many ways without any substantial alterations. They form an excellent *Cursus* for students of scholastic philosophy: and a monument of patient, painstaking industry on the completion of which we offer our sincere congratulations to the reverend author.

P. C.

SOME NEW NOVELS

DURING some lonely hours spent in Maynooth College in the month of August, when our squares and corridors were deserted, we betook ourselves to the company of various personages who had been 'created' for our entertainment by the thoughtful

masters of fiction. It is always interesting, if not invariably exciting, to watch the struggles of an author or an authoress with the problem they have set themselves to solve, to witness the play of their fancy, the psychological development of their genius, the strange conceptions and unexpected thoughts that give such stamp of originality to their works as differentiates them from the unimaginative effusions of the ordinary prose writer.

THE QUEEN'S FILLET. By the Very Rev. P. A. Canon Sheehan, D.D. London: Longmans, Green & Co. 1911.

THE first volume to attract us was *The Queen's Fillet*, the latest contribution of Canon Sheehan to the vast accumulation of modern fiction. The work is based on the great convulsion of the French Revolution, and gives a very vivid picture indeed of some of the awful scenes of that gigantic tragedy. There is a thread of fiction running through the realities, and some approach to a plot, although the author's main object evidently was to present a realistic picture of a cataclysm which is in reality little more than a name to the vast majority of his countrymen. In this he has well succeeded. The story is well told. The devices of the skilled narrator enable us to face the horrors and gaze upon them with comparative steadiness of nerve. The good old Abbé Jager, Sicard, the *Moniteur*, even Carlyle, are more crude, more matter-of-fact, but not, on the whole, more close to the truth than the author of *The Queen's Fillet*. This is decidedly one of the best of Canon Sheehan's works, perhaps the one that will do most lasting good among the youth of Ireland.

FLORA'S CHOICE. By E. Sheppard. London: The Angelus Company, Norwood.

From *The Queen's Fillet* we passed on to *Flora's Choice*, one of the best books of its kind that has ever fallen into our hands. We could not, in a brief notice like this, give the reader even a faint idea of the skill, the ability, the grace, the versatility displayed by the author of this charming and most successful story. A thorough knowledge of the world she describes and of the problem she faces in all its aspects and intricacies, has enabled her to write a book of deep and lasting value. It is impossible to

lay it aside for more than a few hours until one has got to the end of it. In style, matter, tone, diction, and spirit it is a thoroughly good book, and will prove most helpful to converts or to people on the way to conversion. Lady Fullerton has at last a worthy successor.

THE INSEPARABLES. By Rev. John J. Kennedy. Melbourne : W. P. Linehan. 1910.

FROM the graceful style and keen analysis of *Flora's Choice* it was at first a rather abrupt transition to *The Inseparables*, a novel of Australian life and surroundings, by the Rev. John J. Kennedy. Father Kennedy has been unjust to himself in the early chapters of this work. In form and method they are crudity and inexperience in the concrete. They are badly edited and poorly written, showing a want of skill in the method of narration which is absolutely primitive. As we advance, however, the style improves, and we become deeply interested in the story. Father Kennedy has an undoubted power of influencing the reader and winning his sympathy. He has in him the elements of a first class writer. All he wants is a better method and a closer acquaintance with the masters of this particular kind of literature. He has the rest himself. And if he should proceed to develop his native mine we see no reason why he should not soon accede to the front rank. Even as it is the work is deeply interesting and will be found not only beneficial but most attractive by young men, for whom it is mainly intended.

THE MILL ON THE WITHROSE. By Rev. Henry Spalding, S.J. New York : Benziger Brothers. 1910.

ANOTHER book, chiefly for young men, through which we made our way was *The Mill on the Withrose*, by Father Spalding, S.J. This is an American tale. American Catholics are producing a very remarkable series of books of this kind. Fathers Finn and Copus led the way, and Rev. T. H. Bryson and Father Spalding are now well in the front rank with several stories to their credit. This particular one is most entertaining, full of life and humour, and good emotional reflections. It must prove a fascinating book for boys. There is a fresh, healthy breeze blowing through its pages. The sports and

amusements of youth, their interest in the habits of fish, birds, bees, rabbits, squirrels, coons, badgers, dogs, and horses are turned to good account. Moonshiners and nightriders, excise men and niggers, planters and missionaries, supply plenty of exciting material for a story told with great spirit and the best of good humour. Those engaged in this kind of literature are doing excellent work, and Father Spalding deserves to be warmly congratulated on his success. His book is calculated to arouse in the breast of the youthful reader the noblest and manliest emotions, and to implant the spirit that awakens them in their hearts for ever.

J. F. H.



THE CATHOLIC RECORD SOCIETY OF IRELAND¹

THAT the nineteenth century has witnessed a remarkable development in historical studies more especially in historical criticism is evident to every careful student. In proof of this statement, if proof were needed, it would be enough to point to the place assigned to history at present in the curriculum of the leading universities in the world, to the multitude of learned societies, denominational and secular, which have been founded to promote inquiry in special departments of historical research, and the numerous reviews established for publishing and preserving the fruits of those inquiries, to the valuable critical editions of the great sources of ecclesiastical and civil history and the publication in the Papal Registers and State Papers of the secrets long guarded so jealously in the archives of the Popes and of the Governments, to the serious attention that is being paid to the auxiliary and kindred subjects, such as Paleography, Diplomatics, Epigraphy, Numismatics, Geography and Philology, and finally to the large number of well-compiled bibliographies dealing with the sources and literature in different sections of history that have been published to aid and direct the student in his historical

¹ The first portion of this article is reproduced from a paper read at the Annual Meeting of the Maynooth Union, June, 1910.

researches. In all this revival and in every single department of historical investigation it is satisfactory for us to note that Catholic scholars lay and clerical have played an honourable and important part. They have shown that the Catholic Church has no reason to fear honest history and honest criticism. By keeping faithfully to the instructions laid down by Leo XIII. in his celebrated Brief on Historical Studies (1883) that the first law for the historian is not to dare to say what is false, the second not to be ashamed to say what is true, and the third to avoid in his writing all suspicion of partiality or hatred, they have rendered an invaluable service not alone to the cause of history, but also to the cause of religion.

Naturally enough in this revival scholars pay special attention to the history of their own country. In the German universities and the historical *Seminars* carried on in connexion with the university lectures it is the history of Germany that is kept principally in view, and though other countries must come in for treatment still it is upon the relation of these countries to Germany and their influences upon the historical development of the modern empire that the greatest emphasis is laid. What is true of Germany is true of Austria, Belgium, France, Italy—in a word, of all really cultured and progressive nations. Nor is the study of the national records in these countries abandoned entirely to private exertions and private generosity. The Governments understanding in most cases the value of such studies in promoting the patriotism of the citizens, and national pride and self-respect—two most important guarantees for the advancement and stability of any country—have generously contributed to the assistance of scholars and have provided funds to ensure that the national records are catalogued, edited, and criticized by men who know their value and are competent to interpret them.

Here in Ireland we have a country with a history of which all classes of Irishmen may feel justly proud. It is a small country from the point of view of material boundaries, but yet small as it is its influence has proved at

certain critical stages of European civilization the decisive factor. In recent times thanks largely to the researches of Continental scholars, people are beginning to appreciate not only the history of Ireland itself but also the part which it has played in the spiritual and intellectual progress of Western Europe, notably in the spread of the Gospel and the development of certain distinctive religious organizations and practices, as well as in the progress of the classical studies, the rise of the national literatures, the script and illumination of manuscripts, law, art, science and music. Ireland's history is not the untarnished page of which some authors so eloquently boast, nor yet again is it the black chapter which ignorant critics tell us we should gladly seal. It has its lights and its shades like the history of any other country but whether it makes us blush with shame or hold our heads erect with honest pride, the history of Ireland ought to have an interest for us higher far than that which can be created in us by the story of the fortunes of any other nation. Ireland is our own land and it does not cease to be such for us because we have become ecclesiastics. Nay, more, I might go further and say with confidence that because we are ecclesiastics we have a special interest in Ireland above all others, and that the history of our country proves that though the clergy, like the laymen could be mistaken at times about policies and methods, the progress and the betterment of Ireland were always dear to their hearts.

Nor are the sources wanting for the scientific study of the civil and ecclesiastical history of Ireland. The written records, historical, hagiological, and literary, the monuments of all kinds—Pagan and Christian—the names of the provinces, the counties, the baronies, the townlands, of the mountains, lakes, rivers and streams, the tradition and language of the people—all are ready to help us in our historical researches, if only we had the desire and the capacity to interpret them. Yet with such a history and such an abundance of sources to draw upon, how comparatively little progress has been made in the scientific and scholarly study of Irish history.

Many of our most valuable manuscripts which if belonging to any other country would long since have been published at the expense of the Government are still buried in libraries not even properly catalogued, or if they have been edited, the editors are in some cases so uncritical that they are deprived of much of their value. In Ireland itself an immense mass of material invaluable for the ecclesiastical and general history of Ireland is to be found in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, in the Royal Irish Academy, in the Public Record Office, Dublin, in the Library of the Franciscan Fathers, Merchants' Quay, in Marsh's Library, and in the libraries and archives of many other public institutions in Dublin and throughout the country. The archives, too, of the various dioceses in Ireland contain much that is of the greatest importance for the history of the Catholic Church in Ireland, especially during the eighteenth and the beginning of the nineteenth centuries. But in addition to these very important collections are in the hands of private individuals, as can be seen by a glance at the Reports of the Historical Manuscripts Commissioners in the case of those which have been examined.

Outside Ireland the archives of the Irish institutions on the Continent, such as the Irish Colleges in Rome, Paris, and Salamanca, are rich in material for Irish ecclesiastical history. In Rome, especially in the archives of the Vatican and of the Propaganda, is to be found a collection of documents and reports indispensable for the proper study of the medieval and modern history of Ireland; and yet while nearly every nation in Europe has scholars supported by public resources or by private societies at work in the Vatican, Ireland is practically speaking unrepresented. In the British Museum, the Bodleian Library, Oxford, the Bibliothèque National, Paris, the Burgundian Library, Brussels, and in the various centres on the Continent with which Ireland was closely connected in former days precious materials await the attention of scholars.

In the past the Irish Catholic clergy took a leading part in the advancement of Irish historical studies. Passing over the work they did in compiling, transcribing, or pre-

serving many of our most highly-treasured manuscripts, we might direct attention to the labours they willingly undertook for the elucidation of our country's history, even during the worst days of the religious persecution. We might point with pride to the spirit and courage that prompted the exertions of the compilers of the *Annals of Ireland* to leave behind them this monument of their country's glory at a time when their race and religion seemed marked out for destruction and when less unselfish men might reasonably have felt dismayed. We might recall to our critics the labours and sacrifices of men like Colgan and Ward, Wadding and Keating, Roth and French, Lynch, Porter, and De Burgo. These are only a few of the ecclesiastics who struggled manfully to keep the story of Ireland before the eyes of Irishmen and foreigners; but the list is sufficient to justify the statement that even in the darkest days of persecution the study of Irish history and Irish records was not neglected by the Irish Catholic clergy. These men had great difficulties to overcome in the absence of libraries and of everything which is required to make smooth the path of the historian. Their books are not without their limitations and imperfections, yet, admitting all that, it is confessed by scholars that much of their work is of striking and permanent value. Nor have the clergy in modern times proved themselves unworthy of such noble traditions, though it must be conceded that the obstacles that were to be overcome were of a peculiarly serious character.

Somehow or another, the break with the old traditional native schools—hedge schools if you will—was ruinous to the proper study of Irish history. The teachers in these schools were not universal specialists like some of the products of the Intermediate and the Royal University, but they were heirs to the teaching methods that had been perfected by centuries of usage, and in their knowledge of the traditions, the history, the poetry, the manuscripts of their country, above all, in the thoroughly national spirit which permeated their entire instruction, they possessed an educational system which was likely

to develop enthusiastic scholars where more modern methods might inspire disgust. In their knowledge of the language, of the consecrated technical words and formulas, of the paleography of Irish script they held the key to the correct interpretation of our national records; and just as in France when the Benedictines, the great masters of paleography and of manuscript lore, were dispersed by the storms of the Revolution, it seemed for a time as if the key to the literary treasures of the past had been lost for ever, so, too, in Ireland the disappearance of the old native schools and all that they represented dealt an irreparable blow to the study of Irish history.

The young candidates for the priesthood educated like their lay companions along the lines of the newer but from the point of view of Irish history far less satisfactory methods, approached the investigation of the history of Ireland in later life with hardly any of the equipments required for the successful historian. They had not a knowledge of the Irish language, or if they had their knowledge was confined to the language of the day without any appreciation of historical grammar or philology. They could not decipher the contractions of the manuscripts and they had no dictionary at their hands that could throw light upon the technical expressions and ancient forms, which would have been intelligible only by the living tradition. Nor were there any means of acquiring the proper methods of historical criticism or historical investigation in Ireland. History was regarded as a purely literary department, where a knowledge of dates and names was supposed to be the acme of perfection, and where nothing higher was aimed at than an acquaintance with the facts as set forth in some out-of-date manual. An examination of the sources and a criticism of their value, or any attempt at original research, were not supposed to form any portion of the work of the history class, and as a result students completed their historical training with the impression that if Lanigan or Macaulay stated any proposition as true there was no escape from it. It rarely occurred to them to ask where did these authors get their information,

and what reliance could be placed upon the value of their sources.

Had there been a university in Ireland with a proper appreciation of its responsibilities towards the country from which it derived most of its resources such a condition of affairs would have been well-nigh impossible. But unfortunately Dublin University held aloof from the current of Irish life, remaining and boasting of remaining a foreign institution hostile to everything native. Not that I wish to say for a moment that many men connected with Trinity College have not done excellent work for Irish history; but they did so not through any exertions of their college but rather in spite of it, and they owe nothing of their success to their university. The Queen's Colleges and the Royal University were probably worse in their treatment of Irish history but for a different reason with which we are not called upon to deal at present. Maynooth was hampered in its progress by almost insuperable difficulties. Its first staff, excellent men though they undoubtedly were, were either foreigners themselves or Irishmen educated in foreign colleges at a time when history had almost completely disappeared from the curriculum of most of the seats of ecclesiastical learning. For two reasons therefore they had no special inclination to promote Irish historical studies, but even had they felt inclined it was impossible for them to do so. The miserable pittance grudgingly doled out to the college was hardly sufficient to provide professors even in the indispensable professorial departments, and consequently the duties imposed upon the small group of professors were too onerous to permit them to cultivate other branches of ecclesiastical science. There were no funds to buy in manuscripts or costly books for the library or to procure the really valuable antiquarian treasures that might then have been acquired for a national museum; in a word, the trustees were powerless to provide materials and the implements required for successful historical work.

Had Maynooth been equipped from the beginning with a library containing a valuable collection of national manu-

scripts and literature, had it had its museum stocked with a good proportion of the treasures and monuments of national art, as other institutions in Ireland were equipped, the pent-up natural patriotism of our professors and students would long since have been turned into the channel of national historical research, and our religious records would not be in the sad plight in which they are to-day. Yet, in spite of these drawbacks, Maynooth, as we shall see, has done valuable work for Irish ecclesiastical history in the past, and, please God, it shall render a better account of itself in the future.

Again, when the young priests left Maynooth and went out to labour amongst the people at home, or abroad, the duties of their sacred office left them little time for serious study. The Catholic Church in Ireland depending upon the voluntary offerings of the people could not afford like certain richly-endowed religious institutions to set aside rich sinecures in order to reward and encourage scholarship. The clergy had no libraries at their disposal nor had they the means of purchasing the costly scientific books necessary for original work. Even if they succeeded in exceptional circumstances or by dint of extraordinary perseverance in overcoming these obstacles and in collecting the materials for a book they had not the means of publishing. Whilst by the assistance of certain learned bodies which it is unnecessary to designate others were acquiring fame not unfrequently through the work of underpaid Irish scholars and scribes whose brains and abilities they utilized, the Catholic clergy received the cold shoulder and were left without any encouragement to do valuable literary work. Finally, I might add that even by their own class such labours were not always sufficiently appreciated or rewarded. Yet in spite of these serious obstacles the Irish Catholic clergy have done much for Irish historical studies.

The publication of the *Ecclesiastical History of Ireland* by Dr. Lanigan, in 1822, marked a new era in the study of Irish history. It was the first serious attempt to apply the principles of modern criticism to the sources of the history

of Ireland and in many respects the learned author was far in advance of his times. Though he made many mistakes principally in regard to the relative value and dates of his materials, and though his work shows evident signs of the sad disease which in his later years dimmed his great intellectual powers, yet Dr. Lanigan pointed the way and made it less difficult for others to follow. We might point, too, to the great work done by Cardinal Moran, who not to speak of his other books has given us, in the *Spicilegium Ossoriense* and his *Life of Oliver Plunkett*, a collection of original documents indispensable for the study of the penal days in Ireland. Nor can we forget the services rendered to Irish history by men connected with our own College, such as the Archbishop of Tuam, Professor Carew, Drs. Russell, Renehan, Kelly, and M'Carthy, by Dr. M'Carthy, of Cloyne, one of the most accomplished students of our native records, by the Jesuits, Murphy and Hogan, by Father Meehan, Canon O'Hanlon, and Canon O'Rourke. If we turn to diocesan histories, we find that much has been done by Father Cogan, in his *History of Meath*, by Monsignor Laverty, in his *History of Down and Connor*, by Dr. Carrigan, in his monumental work on the *Diocese of Ossory*, by Father Begley, in his *History of Limerick*, by Dr. Comerford, in his *Notes on the Diocese of Kildare and Leighlin*, by Dean Monahan, in his *History of Ardagh and Clonmacnois*, by Monsignor Fahy, in his *History of Kilmacduagh*, by Father Coleman, in his re-edition of Stuart's *History of Armagh*, by Cardinal Moran's *History of the Archbishops of Dublin*, by Dr. Donnelly's *Histories of Dublin Parishes*, and by Father M'Loughlin, in his *History of the Bishops of Derry*. Valuable studies have been published, dealing with particular places, such as Father M'Kenna's works on *Devenish Island and the Shrines of Lough Erne*, Canon O'Connor's *History of St. Patrick's Purgatory in Lough Derg*, Father Hogan's *History of Glendalough*, etc.; while on the history of the religious orders and congregations in Ireland we have a mine of information in the works published by Fathers Hogan, Coleman, Boyle, and Rushe.

Again, if we turn to the pages of the journals published by the various archæological societies, notably the Ossory Archæological Society founded by Cardinal Moran when Bishop of Ossory, the Waterford Society, the Cork Society, and the Louth Archæological Society, and to works such as the *History of Sligo* by Canon O'Rourke, of *Queen's County* by Canon O'Hanlon and Father O'Leary, of the *Dalcassian Clans* by Dean White, of *Clonmel* by Father Bourke, of the *Place Names in the Déisi* by Father Power, and lastly, but not least, to the *History of Ireland* by Dr. D'Alton, which is the best general history of Ireland yet published, we can see that the clergy have not been neglectful of either the ecclesiastical or civil history of Ireland. Nor is this summary of names and of books anything like complete. In a paper like this I could only pick out a few individuals here and there as they occurred to me, but I have mentioned enough to prove my main contention.

Still, though much has been done, much remains to be accomplished. Some people complain of the fact that there is no good up-to-date ecclesiastical history of Ireland, and wonder is expressed that somebody does not undertake such a work ; but until the manuscripts and various records and documents which serve to throw light upon the religious history of the country are thoroughly examined no man who understands the elements of historical method would care to undertake such a responsibility. Without the proper materials such a complete and accurate generalization as is demanded in an ecclesiastical history of Ireland would prove too much for the most gifted individual. Hence the date of the appearance of a reliable history of the Catholic Church in Ireland is dependent entirely upon the examination and publication of the sources of our ecclesiastical history.

How, then, is this work to be accomplished ? The work of editing and of re-editing cannot be left to individual initiative and enterprise for few Irish Catholic scholars whether lay or cleric are blessed with the superfluity of wealth required for such an undertaking. Even though an

individual might be willing to give his labour gratis, yet the expense of procuring photographs and copies of documents from libraries and the cost of publication would be so high, while the chances of a rapid or general sale would be so infinitesimal, that he would soon find himself in the bankruptcy courts as the results of his studies. Nor would it be fair at the present time to expect any Irish publisher no matter how well disposed and enterprising he might be to undertake such serious financial responsibility.

The only hope of success in this direction lies in the establishment of an Irish Catholic Record Society. Similar societies have been organized, with happy results, in Germany, Austria, France, Belgium, England, and the United States. The English Catholic Record Society was founded in 1904, with the object of publishing the documents that were of importance for the history of the Catholic Church in England, especially since the Reformation. It was in no sense aggressive or polemical, but aimed merely at giving the records to the public in a correct and scholarly form. Several volumes have appeared since then, all of them deeply interesting to Catholics and to non-Catholics, while many others are in course of preparation. This example will serve to show us the value of such organizations and the advantage that we may hope to derive from a similar body in Ireland.

This subject was discussed at the Annual Meeting of the Maynooth Union in June, 1910, and, as might be expected from a body which has given its patronage and support to every project which promises to make for the religious literary and social improvement of the country, the idea of founding a Catholic Record Society in Ireland was unanimously approved. The work of arranging the necessary preliminaries was handed over to the Publication Committee of the Union. This body presented its report in June, 1911, and it was decided to proceed at once with the organization of the Society.

The following have consented to act on the Committee :—

Patron : HIS EMINENCE CARDINAL LOGUE, Archbishop of Armagh.

President : MOST REV. DR. HEALY, Archbishop of Tuam.

Vice-Presidents : MOST REV. DR. DONNELLY, Bishop of Canea, MOST REV. DR. O'DOHERTY, Bishop of Zamboanga.

Committee : Canon O'Mahony, President, Maynooth Union, Canon Murphy, Ex-President, Maynooth Union, The Rector of the Irish College, Rome, The Rector of the Irish College, Paris, The Rector of the Irish College, Salamanca, Dr. Windle, President, University College, Cork, Right Hon. M. F. Cox, M.D., Rev. John Begley, C.C., Dr. Joyce, Rev. Dr. Carrigan, Professor John MacNeill, Rev. A. Coleman, O.P., Dr. Sigerson, Rev. Dr. D'Alton, Barry O'Brien, Esq., Rev. Dr. Henebry, Professor Stockley, Rev. E. B. Fitzmaurice, O.F.M., Professor O'Maille, Rev. Thomas Gogarty, Professor O'Sullivan, Rev. A. Kelleher, Professor Merriman, Rev. John MacErlain, S.J., Dr. Grattan Flood, Rev. Patrick Power, M. J. M'Enery, Esq., Rev. Reginald Walsh, O.P., M. J. Kenny, Esq., Rev. Paul Walsh.

Editor : Rev. James MacCaffrey, Maynooth.

It has been arranged that in the beginning, at any rate, the Society should confine its attention principally to unpublished documents. Articles, except in so far as they may serve as an introduction to or an explanation of some text, will be excluded. In some cases translations will accompany the documents; in other cases it is hoped that a concise and accurate summary of the contents may suffice. All kinds of manuscripts, records, letters, etc., in Irish, Latin, English, etc., which serve to help the ecclesiastical historian of Ireland, will fall within the scope of the Society's operations.

It is hoped to publish these documents in the Journal of the Society. In the beginning the Journal will appear at irregular intervals, but at least once a year. Later on, if the funds of the Society permit, the Journal may appear twice or three times a year. The size of each number will depend entirely on the amount of the membership subscription; but it is intended that each issue will constitute a good-sized volume, provided with a complete and accurate

index. The Journal of the Society will be sent to members free of cost.

The annual subscription of members has been fixed at 10s. Owing to the cost of printing a journal of the kind contemplated a smaller subscription would not suffice. If any person is inclined to think that the amount is too high let him remember that those who have undertaken to work for the Society have done so without hope of any payment or reward except the satisfaction of knowing that they have done something for their religion and country. Intending members may help the project not alone by their subscriptions but also by forwarding documents or letters which they may have in their possession and which they consider might fall within the scope of the Society. Such documents shall be returned as soon as copies of them have been made.

The Committee of the Catholic Record Society earnestly appeals especially to the priests of Ireland and to Irish priests in all parts of the world to aid them in carrying to a successful issue the difficult work which it has undertaken.

All communications to be addressed: The Secretary, Catholic Record Society of Ireland, St. Patrick's College, Maynooth.

JAMES MACCAFFREY.

MORAL CONDUCT

I.

IT is a mistake to think that our duties can become known to us simply by looking up to God as our last end, or that virtue has no immediate value of its own, being reducible simply to a means towards a final consummation whether of perfection or of happiness in God. It was one of Luther's earliest and deadliest errors to scorn human works so as to deny them all worth, even when done under grace. There is, however, one moral virtue which has a near reference to God, not indeed as direct as have the theological virtues of faith, hope, and charity proper to the theological system of grace, still in a sense truly direct. This is the virtue of religion. It is not formally or specifically described in the text so often misinterpreted: 'Religion pure and undefiled before God and the Father is this, to visit the fatherless and widows in their affliction, and to keep oneself unspotted from the world.'¹ In its specific sense religion is worship of God, honour paid to Him as Supreme Lord, the homage or *homagium* whereby the creature takes up his quasi-feudal attitude as God's 'man,' or vassal. So it is a cult or worship under the highest term of service, hyperdulia. Whence it is understood that the passage quoted from St. James is misapplied when it is taken on some such principle as that of Kant, by whom only a positively revealed cult of God is regarded as acceptable to the divinity, whom otherwise it would be impertinent to salute with direct praise: so that in the absence of any such expressed wish for ritual observance, religion is simply moral action performed as if in obedience to God's law, instead of to the autonomous imperative of man's own conscience. We must call very defective also Matthew Arnold's saying that religion is 'morality tinged with

¹ James i. 27.

emotion' and helped out by a useful *Aberglaube* or belief beyond the provable in the unverifiable. 'The object of religion is conduct, and if man helps himself to religion by an object of hope and presentiment (*Aberglaube*) he may gain thereby.'¹ Religion has a higher value of its own which refuses to be subordinated as a mere means to conduct regulated according to other moral virtues. All these last, it is true, must bear at least an implicit reference to God as Sovereign Legislator. Even Vasquez, who is supposed to be rather lax on this point, admits that there is not strictly a moral law settled solely by reasonable requirements apart from all relation to the Sovereign Law-giver.²

II.

Having now got as our presupposition to be retained throughout our investigation the need in Ethics of a religion worshipping God directly, and of at least an implied connexion with Him in all other virtues, we are left free to consider apart what is the constitution of the moral code as this is settled by the fitnesses and the unfitnesses of objects, considered from the aspect of their own immediate worthiness or unworthiness in the moral order.

The Stoic principle is right if it is rightly explained,

¹ *Literature and Dogma*, pp. 107, 108.

² Suarez, *De Leg.*, ii. 5.

Fichte was charged with Atheism for saying that man makes God by making the moral order in opposition to nature or the material universe: then he swung round and said that men are but organs of the Absolute. In his lecture before the Congress of Free Religions at Berlin, 1910, Dr. August Dorner, who regards Fichte as a valuable contributor to modern religion, says: 'If the religious content is to be expressed in doctrines, these are always inadequate: the principle, then, is to suit them to the taste of the age.' 'Fichte distinguished the individual empiric ego from the absolute Ego. The individual egos are the active organs of the Absolute Reason.' In the irrational barrier, matter, there is opposed to freedom a stumbling-block, a contradictory term, a non-Ego or Nature. Nature is the *given*, and this given furnishes the material for duty to the free Ego. The finite Egos are the organs through which the Absolute Ego works. The totality of the given has to be transformed by Freedom. History is the History of Freedom so working. Thus Fichte abolished Kant's dualism, and instead of the practical postulate of God has set up a free Ego that uses relatively free egos, each with an individual apprehension of his individual task; so we become imbued with the Divine Spirit, as whose organs we function. It is always open to a critic to say that this or any other report of Fichte's doctrine is not correct, because his many changes, confusions, and contradictions make him unreportable in any single way.

namely, that life is to be regulated in conformity with nature. This is the morally good life.

(1) If we start from physical nature considered as such this of itself is not moral, but affords to man occasions of morality, which have been variously viewed. Right order in physical things is not *per se* moral, and cannot *per se* lay a duty on man to observe its requirements. As the Germans say, material perfection is good in itself (*an sich*), but not for itself (*für sich*), since it can have no conscious enjoyment of its own perfection. We are not allowed on the plea of impartiality to imitate nature's indiscriminating treatment of the meritorious and the demeritorious, nor its blindly destructive agencies, such as earthquake, sea-storm, hurricane, or lightning-artillery. On the other side nature may suggest good lessons. Matthew Arnold has a poem commending to the imitation of restlessly inquisitive men the calm looking-down of the stars on earthly events. The Psalmist sings the daily course of the sun as a glorification of the Maker by our chief luminary in the heavens. St. Theresa, who much valued a spiritual book, says 'It was a help to me to look on fields, water, and flowers, in which I saw traces of the Creator: these things were as a book to me.' Also, she greatly loved to consider her soul as a garden planted with God's flowers. To Newman matter had a sacramental aspect. There are others whom bad philosophy diverts from a proper interpretation of natural objects, to which they assign too much of a quasi-mechanical power to decide the shape of their own souls. The school of Locke and Hume, looking upon the material impressions as furnishing the raw material to human mind and as constituting radically the mentality of individuals, assign to the action of outward circumstances on man's receptivities the formation of his character in a degree which goes far to destroy the moral idea. Such a writer was Buckle in his *History of Civilization*: he traced the shaping of national characteristics to climatic forces, as others have traced them to economic conditions, in a very exaggerated way. There are also some who look upon nature chiefly as the provoker of that resistance by which the human morality

of conquest is called forth in contrast to the holiness of God, which is a spontaneous outflow, without opposition. So God is called *holy*, for His actions are necessarily such, while man is called *moral*, for he freely chooses between good and evil under difficulties. Kant is of this school in a remarkable manner. So also is Fichte, though for him the material world is not a substantial reality but a dream-image. Bergson agrees with Kant and Fichte in subordinating nature to the position of an instrument calling forth the reaction of human freedom.

There is some truth in the shaping power of nature on human character. No doubt a condition of physical nature such as the Englishman has to deal with is a better education in the ethical virtues of hopeful industry, carried on under much struggling and with several disappointments, than is a climate of extremes varying between torrential rains and parching droughts, between luxuriant fertility and arid infertility, or between temperatures unbearably hot and unbearably cold. Some lands seem to teach their inhabitants fatalism and despair. Nevertheless, it is not the imitation of physical nature nor the inclinations in us which it is calculated to impress that we must principally look to when we want to interpret 'the life conformable to nature.' Man is not meant to be blithe in Greece merely because earth, air, and water urge upon him a joyous spirit, while he is pessimistic in India because there climatic influences are often terribly depressing and provocative of hopeless self-surrender. He must take from his physical surroundings whatever morally good influence they foster either by positive encouragement or by negative challenge to the exertion of conquering will: he must not simply yield himself a passive substance to be moulded by outer incidences of natural forces.

(2) If we pass over the vegetable world as part of the physical and climatic environment we come next to the animal creation, of which we are told sometimes to learn. The bee is put before us as a type of industry, the dove of gentleness, the lamb of cheerful frolic, the dog of fidelity, the horse of serviceableness, the camel of patient

endurance, the eagle of high soaring, and gregarious animals of mutual helpfulness. On the contrary, the beasts of prey are warning instances of cruelties not to be practised by us. At best we can study in the animal kingdom only analogies instructive for moral conduct in man: what outwardly appears there most like virtue lacks its informing spirit, and what seems most like vice cannot be so counted for absence of known purpose which would make the act vicious in the moral sense. As creatures of God, all the lower beings may be made morally helpful, as they were by St. Catherine of Genoa, who was most compassionate to all creatures: so that if an animal were killed, or a tree cut down, she could hardly bear to see it lose the being which God had given to it. Addressing the plants and the trees in the garden she would say: 'Are you not also creatures of my God, obedient to Him?'

(3) It is left to us now to consider our own rational nature, and ask how we are to adapt our conduct to its behests and live the life of moral conformity with it, using the lower creation as part of our material for self-formation, but measuring its worth always in relation to human ends. As between digestion and its food, so between moral faculty and its food—both sides have to be considered to secure a conformity. Some persons are needlessly jealous of the description of morality from its side of right order. Here we are obliged to assume, as we assume in logic, psychology, and physiology, a certain constancy in man's nature, but not one that does not allow for the indisputable facts of variation, in altered times, circumstances, and places. St. Thomas was aware of a certain departure from uniformity, recognizing that man is liable to changeability, so that what is natural to his nature properly developed may sometimes be lacking in individuals. He gives as an instance the occasional absence of that aliveness to the voice of natural justice which would call upon the holder of a deposit to surrender it when it was due.¹ But it would be a distraction from our present purpose to enter upon the

¹ 1^a 2^{da}, q. 57, A^m ad. 1.

sharp controversies that gather round the evolution of the moral man : rather let us take for granted the recognition of the Ten Commandments as law, and see how men of duly developed mind should perceive herein the substance of the rules derivable from the ethical criterion of conformity to rational nature in its exigencies, which are not simply human customs as such in the positivist sense.¹

On this subject it is mischievous to start the old battle for pre-eminence between intellect and will. As St. Thomas says, the two must inevitably work together in the discernment of truth and in the execution of its requirements : ' Will and intellect mutually include one another² ' ; ' Will is in the reason.'³ It would scarcely be to the point here to mention the mystics, if it were not for the fact that modern writers often claim for the subconscious region in man natural aspects similar to those of mysticism. Suarez⁴ raises the question whether mystic contemplation can be in the will alone, without any act of intellect. This last phrase just upsets the debate, for those who speak of affective visions are generally found not to exclude the intellect : they say love results in greater intelligence of its object, and is in itself an intelligent love ; otherwise it would not be rational. At most a rapture of love may in part take off from intelligence. A purely blind love would be no rational love. The Cartesian philosophers who deny the real distinction of faculties from the soul itself, and from one another will say that the soul which understands and loves intensely is also the soul which understands and hates intensely. At any rate love in moral action is intelligent, and we must not be beguiled by such a doctrine as Paulsen propounds at the opening of his *Ethics*, that ' mere intellect ' gives the true and the untrue, but does not give values, the value-judgment being a special deliverance. Hence arise endless and confusing devices to account for

¹ Anatole France writes too much in the style of Comte : ' On appelle bonnes mœurs les mœurs habituelles ; mauvaises mœurs les mœurs aux quelles on n'est pas habitué.'

² 1^a 2^{de}, q. 16, a. 4, ad 1.

³ 1^a 2^{de}, q. 9, a. 5.

⁴ *De Orat. Mental.*, lib. c. 13.

these judgments concerning values, or to make the passage for *what is* to *what ought to be*, from the *ontological* to the *deontological*. As a matter of fact, though Herbart and others assert independence of ethical obligation from the science of the real, yet what-ought-to-be rests upon what-is : and the same intelligence is able to be judge of both, and to give the genesis of the ideas involved. If in these judgments, which are truly judgments, and not simply affective adhesions, certain English authors with a tone characteristic of the English national church in the sixteenth century, and of its abhorrence for 'enthusiasm,'¹ lay stress, after Butler's example, on 'a calm moment of reflexion,' or with Adam Smith, on 'a cool philosophic light,' we must not take them as insisting on 'the mere intellect,' which Paulsen says cannot estimate values : they were aware that in practice there is no mere intellect, though there are some persons who approach too nearly to that wrong process of abstraction, as there are some on the other side who go too near to the mere sentiment. In some the isolation of aspect seems due to a diseased organism. The true moralist cannot be voluntarist, or emotionalist, or pragmatist in a one-sided way.

* We take, then, our human nature, and with all our moral powers we seek out what objects in relation to it bear ethical relations. What are the matters of conduct which befit us as normally constituted and what the matters which misfit us? What we are thus obliged or urged to do, and what we are obliged or urged not to do. In settling these points our composite nature forbids us to calculate as for angels in regard to whom many of what to us are precepts

¹ Coleridge, in his *Table Talk*, speaking of the National Church, says: 'For a long time this Church seems to me to have been blighted with "prudence," as it is called. I wish with all my heart we had a little zealous imprudence.' Wesley, the enthusiast, prayed to be delivered from prudence: he was widely suspected of being a Papist, and even a Jesuit in disguise. Suarez teaches: 'Amorem posse multum juvare ad perfectionem cognitionis Dei, eumque quodammodo habere primarias partes in theologia mystica, ejusque ardorem posse multum impediri si perfectio cognitiones extra ipsum quaeritur' (*De Orat. Mental.*, ii. 8). It is an out-of-the-way event when love seems to dim intellect or intellect love. The acceptance of the simple doctrine that love and understanding unite will save us from many needlessly introduced distractions or difficulties.

would simply have no reference, because angels have no bodies, and have no material world for their field of exercise ; therefore they have no fourth, sixth, or seventh commandments, such as we have. Upon us these several precepts manifestly are imposed by perceived congruities and incongruities as regards our rational activities. A difficulty, however, arises to settle at what point fitness and unfitness become important enough to determine a moral value. The fit matching in colour between the lining of a coat and its main material does not seem in itself to be a moral exigence. Discussing the question, Mr. Fite, in his *Introductory Study of Ethics* (page 4), argues that ' the distinction between the moral and the useful is ultimately one of degree only,¹ and depends on how far consequences are far-reaching and important. The insignificant act of tying my shoe-string may become a subject for moral judgment whereon may depend a struggle for life and death,' if in the contest of life a loose shoe-string might trip up the contender. There is a legal maxim, ' de minimis non curat lex,' or ' parvum pro nihilo reputatur.' If trifles of the fitting or the misfitting are to be brought under the moral estimate, it must be by a reflex law, through which a man can always be either meriting or demeriting : often the saving of time for more important interests justifies the passing by of ' unconsidered trifles.'

Many authors hold that no deliberate act can be neutral as to desert. Man's fundamental act should be to orient himself aright towards his last end by consecrating himself to God and to duty, in all its amplitude, and wishing never to do anything² that is not at least allowable. Afterwards when he does something not quite reasonable in itself, at least he has for his justification the support of the reason that he acts within the bounds of his permissions, which always suppose at least some indirect good to be gained. He may stand on his head, and because he may, he does.

¹ Scholastics make a threefold division of good into *utile*, *delectabile*, *honestum*, after Aristotle's *χρήσιμον*, *ἡδύ* *καλόν*.

² St. Thomas views the first moral act or choice of the maturing child as a submission to or a rebellion from God, and regards the issue as grave in responsibility.

He may talk a little nonsense or tell an obviously jocose lie, and so he does. But always with permission, and because of permission in deference to authority. Aristotle enumerates a special virtue for the regulation of the jocose : it is eutrapelia, a term, which, with a changed significance, St. Paul¹ places in a category of sins, as if it were Aristotle's βωμολοχία, scurrility.² Jokes help to make life go on ; for a large part they are founded on the incongruous, but they have a congruity when duly regulated. So a grave man may decorously play the fool in *nomine Domini*, if he knows how to keep within the divine measure ; but we should not trust a philosopher like Horace for the correct application of his indulgence granted to mortals : ' Dulce est dissipere in loco.'

III.

What we have just sketched is the way of deciding what is morally right by its first criterion, which the schoolmen say is *ex objecto* according to the universal rule, 'actus ab objectis specificantur.' They add as further determinants of the morality the considerations derivable 'ex fine et circumsustantiis.' The end here mentioned is what is called the *finis operantis*, as distinct from the *finis operis* which goes along, or is identified with, the object. The purpose of the agent over and above his will to do this or that thing enters into the moral estimate. For example, a man gives alms to a poor person, of which alms-giving the additional purpose might be to encourage other contributors, or to make a vain ostentation of himself. Both these by-ends are beyond mere alms-giving as an object in itself. The Stoics required a rightness of purpose (κατόρθωμα) to complete the goodness of an act (καθήκον).³ According to Zeller's interpretation their doctrine is this : 'That action alone can be called good which is not only good in itself, but proceeds from a wish to do good by a morally perfect character.'⁴

Such distinctions in terms are not always observed, but

¹ Eph. v. 4.

² Nich., Eth., ii. 7.

³ Aristotle insists on the good motive, τοῦ καλοῦ ἔνεκα.

⁴ *Stoics and Epicureans*, p. 248.

they have their explanatory force. Kant exceeds in making one of the elements, the 'pure good will,' the only source of moral worth. A pure good will about no good object is too much of an abstraction; and Kant fails in his attempt to glorify the pure good will by arguing that it gives worth even when it is not put into execution. He forgets that in such a case there must be the desire or will for the execution, and for the execution of something objectively good: if these two fail, the good will not only does not count but cannot exist for want of a term to which it may direct itself. Now Kant's tests of his good will are quite ineffectual unless they are referred to the objects of the will. The tests are two, one negative, which is the self-contradiction betrayed in professing a maxim which at the same time repudiates itself—for instance, when the suicide for love of self kills self—and the other positive, which is the ability to wish with good results that the maxim of the individual should become a law for all intelligent beings—for instance, truth-telling and not lying. Neither of these criteria will work except in reference to objects of good will, judged on their own merits.

When we go beyond the individual motive of the moment to fixed habits, to personally settled springs of action, or to character, then we come across such sayings as these: 'Rather *be* this, than *do* this'; 'Do not ask what is done, but who does it'; 'Look rather to the disposition or the impulses than to the outer conduct.' Kant, on this head, despised personal inclinations as empirical, *a posteriori*, subjective, and non-moral. His exclusion of self-love was such that in regard to friendship, for example, he so insisted on its disinterestedness as to suppose that no proper friendship has ever existed among men. He said the like, too, of any other virtue. Paulsen, on the other hand, makes the impulses primary in moral worth, which choice is characteristic of his whole philosophy.

Impulses form the natural basis of virtues (p. 475). They cannot, as many moralists are prone to assume, that they can, be supplemented by rational reflexion. A being like Spinoza's sage, who is determined to action, not by impulse, but by reason

alone, does not exist, and cannot exist ; and the same is true of Kant's dutiful man whose will is governed solely by respect for the moral law without impulse and inclination. Such a being would not be a human being, but a phantom (p. 476).

With Paulsen, Martineau has some agreement when he finds morality on preferences between 'springs of action.'

At least impulses have to be submitted to the discrimination of reason, otherwise we shall often have the triumph of the animal inclinations, so shamefully urged at the Renaissance by Valla and Beccadelli, and championed to some extent against St. Augustine by Julian of Eclana, according to whom concupiscence could not be original sin, because it was good as being *vigor naturae*—a statement not in itself beyond the possibility of a correct meaning in a theory of the passions.

So much for the *finis operantis*, the moral disposition or purpose of the agent over and above the moral elements that are to be found in the object which gives substantially the name to his action ; next as to the *circumstances* that gather about the object as details round a main centre. Manifestly in several cases the distinctions are not so clear as to (1) what is object, and (2) what is *finis operantis*, over and above the object as an end in itself, and (3) what is circumstance. Some pictures distinguish clearly their chief representation from its accessories : so also in cases that come before law-courts, there are often main issues and side issues. Not unfrequently, however, we call the whole details of a case its *circumstances*, without distinction of principal and incidental. Hence, when we speak of a moral action being qualified by its *circumstances*, we must be on the alert against confusion from the ambiguity of terms. Sometimes what is a circumstance from other points of view is the leading character as regards moral estimate : intense malice may secretly discriminate as grave a moral affront which would be light if judged by its outward exhibition. So in a matter like the present we are left to estimate, as well as the facts permit, what are strictly circumstances subordinate to a principal event and what is the event itself. Accurate distinction is less important

because, after all, what determines the moral worth of the *finis operantis* and the moral worth of the circumstances is found in their objects ; so that, universally, the moral determinant is an object embraced by a subject. What are called subjective dispositions or impulses really have to be judged by the terms to which they tend, not on grounds exclusively or purely subjective. The conscious emotions, of course, enter into the estimate as constituent parts, and especially the effort made by the will ; but these cannot be valued wholly on their own isolated account. In the analysis even of the objective side we cannot, as a rule, have those 'clear and distinct ideas' which Descartes wanted in all science, or that quasi-mathematical precision which Clarke sought to give to ethics. Often we must be content with that total conviction which we cannot completely analyse ; and as to inevitable mistakes in judgment those will not be counted against the goodness of our will or the accuracy of our general discrimination. It is hard to know what under unfavourable up-bringing is possible in the way of invincible ignorance and error. Some kings of Egypt and Incas of Peru had it as a duty to marry their sisters ; some religious rites of the pagans mingled with their worship elements of scurrility or of obscenity. How far such things could have been honestly made mistakes it is not for us to consider at present when our purpose is only to say how in our commonly-accepted morality we explain our rules of conduct as action conformable to reasonable nature. Sidgwick thinks that our received code is fairly well devised, but rather in general prescriptions than in particular adaptations. The assigned reasons for our conclusion he thinks so poorly rendered that it would be even dangerous to let common folk know the weakness of the logic. Here his ideas of the right sort of logic for moral cases seem at fault. On the whole, for normal life intelligent reflexion on the three criteria, *object*, *end of the agent*, and *circumstances*, give us results rationally satisfactory, and not open to Sidgwick's objections.

IV.

A despairing note may be introduced from the side of what is called 'preferential morality,' which is taught by Paul Janet, Martineau, and several others. It denies the region commonly asserted for the exercise of works of supererogation or of mere counsel: it says that persons differ indeed in their moral capacities, but that each one is absolutely bound to do the best that lies in his power individually.¹ Most women are not bound to become Sisters of Charity because they are not by character devoted enough; but a few have the self-sufficiency and energy, along with the freedom and the call to use it in this direction, and therefore they are under the obligation. Janet says a man here and there may even find himself bound to go in search of the earth's pole. This is not the common doctrine, and it is not true as it is enunciated, though it is true that to some extent, *noblesse oblige*² and, so to speak, an extra good person pays the penalty for his higher character by having a widened sphere of obligation. According to Thackeray, he who meanly admires mean things is a snob. He who nobly admires noble things is a noble man. How far nobility of character widens obligations we cannot exactly say; but at least we must not pretend that every man of fine character is morally tied at all points to live up to the ideal of his best self. He may, at least, without sin, follow out not all his possibly realizable aspirations after the most excellent ways

The contrary of this doctrine would make duty a despair. It would introduce that perpetual fear and trembling and that darkness which the meticulous Jansenists desired to cultivate. The world is very ready to assume, from dislike of Jesuits, that the Jansenists were always right in opposition to them, but in the present difference anti-Jesuits have no

¹ G. Moore (*Principia Ethica*) defines *duty* to be what *hic et nunc* is 'the uniquely best thing to be done for the good of the universe.' He admits such duty to be indeterminable with precision. Mr. Bertrand Russell follows in the same wake: 'The objectively right act is that one of all acts that are possible which will probably produce the best results' (*Philosophical Essays*, p. 57).

² 'Oportet perfectionem declarat officii quo et semper utendum est et omnibus: *decere quasi aptum esse et personae*' (Cicero, *De Orat.*, 22).

idea of what a burden and a calamity they would be bringing upon themselves by yielding to all that Jansenists taught in the pride of their hearts about human perfection. 'Pure as angels, but proud as demons,' was the description made of the nuns at Port Royal. The extravagances of Jansenistic rigour are so utterly given up that they are nearly forgotten : partisans praise in the lump the doctrines which they would not for the world acknowledge in detail to be binding, after realizing what they meant. Practically they admit a large use of Probabilism and of the less perfect courses as necessary for the on-going of the world according to workable and enforcible principles. While we do not recommend a less heroic and more self-indulgent course, we can maintain that at least it is not positively wrong, and so may be advantageously proposed to one who will not do better and is ready to do positive evil if harder terms are imposed. Always let us remember that a solid reason is required by the Probabilist for declining an act as not imperative on the conscience. Duty as prescribed by those who are not rigoristic Jansenists, or preferentialists, but ' Jesuits ' with or without disguise, remains a hard task for the conscience, harder than most men are ready to perform. Its morality is no narrow code, not '*la morale de mesure*': in some instances it rises to '*la morale de la folie et de l'amour et du desir infini*,' Many a scorner of Jesuit Probabilism would be astounded at the restrictions which it would place upon his customary liberty. A plain comparison of its claim and of his would bring him down from his stilts or from the high horse which he makes pretence to ride with vast credit to himself.

V.

In the preceding pages an attempt has been made to include in the sketch a sufficient account of the theistic element in ethics, and of the manner in which in a truly natural system the Author of nature must inevitably find a place of supreme dominance. It is not right at one extreme to say, with Fichte, that man by his proper conduct makes the moral order, and that this order is God, who can-

not be a substance, or a being apart, but only a moral order in which man's love of God is God's love of Himself. Nor, on the other hand, can we with Frederic Harrison call God a metaphysical irrelevance in ethical practice.

Why need a Theist as such be one who has a religion? All that he does *qua* Theist is to answer certain cosmical problems in a certain way—problems in metaphysics. Whereas the first and last business of religion is to inspire men and women with a desire to do their duty, and to hold out to them a common end which harmonises and sanctifies their efforts.

Religion here simply means the morality of humanism or of utility in furtherance of the greatest good of the race on earth. To discuss this point and to make necessary additions to what has already been said on the criteria of morality, a further examination will have to be made upon the question raised by the larger system of Utilitarianism. At present it is enough to remark that while much of the higher aspect of human utility enters as a constituent into theistic ethics, we never can leave out, even in the smallest instance, God and His Will—at least, His inviting when not His commanding will. Kant thought that he had raised to its true elevation the conception of human liberty in morals by putting for God's precept the autonomous consequence as sole law-giver; but others still considered this increase of liberty not enough because it left a stern commandment, over against rebellious impulse of a sensuous nature, which by reason of its wrong inclinations might be said to be fallen and to need regeneration. Schiller sought, as far as he could, admitting the insufficiency of the motive in some cases to replace the constraint of externally imposed law, to put in place of law a sweet, harmonious, spontaneous working of the *schöne Seele*; the beautiful soul, the *anima naturaliter moralis*, a soul going forth into virtuous deeds by sheer goodness of inclination without external compulsion. Certainly we should all try to cultivate a fine disposition, but always so as to retain God as moral law-giver. The freedom that comes of self-culture does not suffice for the liberty proper to the sons of God who fear,

honour, and love their God in a happy combination of awe and familiarity, suitable to a probationary state of existence. We cannot refine ourselves into self-sufficing saints. The danger of exaggerating the side of personal initiative in moral life, and of making inwardness to be all in all—of setting *Be this* over *Do this*; of saying with Abelard, 'Opera sunt indifferentia in se nec bona nec mala nisi secundum radicem intentionis,'¹ is lest a man come to justify under plea of natural goodness and fine art all sort of wrong conduct; whereas good intention cannot justify anything wrong and cannot be good intention where the object is wrong, except in the case of invincible error which mistakes evil for good. There exist an objective law and a Law-giver prescribing what is obligatory, and we cannot free ourselves from this constraint, which comes of a source not identical with ourselves, however distasteful it may be to certain temperaments which cannot bear the idea of compulsion, but love the action of 'beautiful souls.' Rousseau was one of these, saying in his Sixth Reverie that pleasure in good action is inconsistent with the restriction of duty; that his heart became dead under an imposed task of morality and could not obey; that for him what was not agreeable to his feelings was an impossible command and an outrage on natural goodness. Rousseau did not take the step—but it was from his position an early step to take—which would have placed him, with Nietzsche, 'beyond good and evil,' where 'thou ought' is a dragon to be slain by 'I will,' the task assigned to the *Uebermensch*, for whom his own Ego is creator of all new values and destroyer of all old values—that is, the destroyer of all excellence

¹ Lib. ii. c. 5, *In Ep. ad Rom.*, lib. i. c. 3. Cf. 5: 'Moraliter bonum a malo discernere non possumus, nisi quod Dei consentaneum est voluntati et in placito ejus consistit. Unde ea quae per se videntur pessima, cum fiant per praecepta Dominica, nullus culpae presumat. Constat itaque totam boni et mali discretionem in divinae dispensationis placito consistere.' Thus to call moral good a matter of free choice on God's part opens the way to the denial of all absolute Good and to the claims made by positivists in terms like these: 'Ce qu'est le bien en soi, s'il y a un, je n'en sais rien: je sais seulement que je cherche le bonheur et que vous le cherchez sous ce rapport—Nôtres consciences peuvent se concevoir mutuellement. Cherchons donc ensemble sans que l'on prétend imposer à l'autre ses modes de penser quand il y aura divergence.'

in submission to God's law as the limit on human caprice or passion, and the creator of what is dictated by man's claim to have an independent personality which must be respected simply on its own rights. 'God is not an acceptor of persons' on their own valuation, as St. Paul tells us in a place where he brings together three well-contrived terms to signify ideals of conduct that are immoral and utterly rejected by God: *προσωποληψία*, regard for the mere person; *ὀφθαλμοδοουλία*, eye-service which has no heart in it; and *ἀθροωπαρέσκεια*, man-pleasing, which is human respect against respect due to God.¹ All these criteria of mere humanism must give way before the calculation of conduct formed according to object, end, and circumstances when these are considered in their conformity to man's rational nature, and to God who insists on that conformity as His appointed law of morality.

JOHN RICKABY.

¹ Eph. vi. 6-9.

CONCERNING HUGH PETERS IN IRELAND :

CARLYLE AND SOME HISTORIANS

IN a paper printed in this REVIEW in July, 1911, entitled 'London Newsbooks on the Storm of Drogheda,' the Rev. Thomas Gogarty, C.C., drew attention, in very kind terms, to my discovery that all the licensed newsbooks of London, that is, the whole newspaper press of the three kingdoms, were suppressed directly the news of the fall of Drogheda, on September 12, 1649, became known in London on September 28. I, however, have only to thank my own lack of precision and clearness in setting out my facts—due, of course, to the gradual manner in which historical data are collected and piece themselves together—in that Father Gogarty has considerably underestimated the cause of this suppression by thinking that the licensed press was crushed out by the new and most oppressive licensing 'Act' of September 20, that came into force on October 1, 1649.

Therefore I hasten to point out that the suppression of the press had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the new 'Act,' but was caused simply and solely by the desire to hide what it was that Cromwell had been doing at Drogheda, to hush up Cromwell's treacherous butchery of the inhabitants of the town, and to set before the public his own despatches as containing the whole truth and all the facts.

At the date of the 'Act' of September 20, the licensers of the press were Henry Whaley, Advocate-General of the Army, who was too busy to act, and Theodore Jennings, who was merely a messenger to the 'Council of State,' and incompetent. The Act against 'unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets,' therefore, provided that all *newsbooks* were to be 'first approved of and licensed under the hand of the clerk of the Parliament' (Henry Scobell), 'or of such person as shall be authorized by the Council

of State for the time being, or (for so much as may concern the affairs of the Army) under the hand of the Secretary of the Army' (Richard Hatter). Thus, instead of suppressing the press, the 'Act' actually provided for its continuance, appointing no less than three persons for no other purpose than to licence news. Under it all newsbooks (except, of course, the hunted Royalist press, that the ruling oligarchy were impotent to crush out until 1650) were licensed right up to the return of Charles II. in 1660.

When, therefore, it is added that in face of this 'Act,' at a day's notice, and by dint of asserting that Richard Hatter was not Secretary to the Army—a wilful lie, which Hatter disputed by licensing for a whole fortnight—the 'Council of State' suppressed all the licensed newsbooks while Cromwell was in Ireland, that is, up to July, 1650, and for no longer period; substituting for them two official newsbooks—*Severall Proceedings* (No. 1, October 9), written by Scobell, and *A Brief Relation* (No. 1, October 2), entirely from the pen of Walter Frost, the Council's own Secretary, neither of whom had ever written a newsbook before—it is evident that we are confronted with new facts which, I venture to assert, are of first-rate importance in Irish history. For these facts cut at the root of all the modern apologies for, and explanations of, Cromwell's conduct at Drogheda. There is no concealment without something to hide.

And in ascertaining what it was that Cromwell kept back from the public, the newsbooks licensed by Hatter are of paramount importance to the Irish historian. They contain a number of letters. Lingard quoted a passage from one with telling effect; but writers such as S. R. Gardiner and Bagwell have been conspicuous by the manner in which they have ignored them. Gardiner mentions three and quotes none.

The art of a newsbook licenser was the art of making the newsbooks publish only such matter as was agreeable to those in power, *suppressio veri* and *suggestio falsi* for this purpose being condoned even when not counselled. Practical experience was necessary for the licenser's post, and,

above all, he had to be in touch with his masters. Hatter was a novice, both to writing and to licensing, whom the Council of State repudiated. It is important, therefore, that the newsbooks to which his *imprimatur* is affixed should be minutely examined side by side with the despatch to the Speaker dated (falsely) by Cromwell, September 17, 1649. I have elsewhere attempted to do this, and the object of the present paper is partly to urge the importance of discarding all second-hand authorities in favour of the well-nigh complete collection of pamphlets, etc. (newsbooks were pamphlets), some 22,000 in number, extending from 1641 to 1660, made by the contemporary bookseller George Thomason. Only recently has this been made really accessible. In 1908 the Trustees of the British Museum printed a catalogue of this enormous mass of literature, and the student of the times is now no longer liable to fall into the mistakes that have been made.

Nor is it any longer necessary to trust to *Cromwelliana* and to Whitelocke's *Memorials*. The first-named collection of newsbook cuttings is now fit only for the waste-paper basket; and the second, owing to its mistakes, omissions, and the antecedents of its writer, is unreliable. No apology is needed for thus summarily dismissing compilations of the kind; but it will, no doubt, be considered somewhat rash to include Thomas Carlyle's *Cromwell* in the same gallery of exploded books without assigning very strong reasons for so doing.

Samuel Rawson Gardiner, in the preface to his history of the Great Rebellion, which, in a clumsy attempt to revise Clarendon, he terms a 'Great Civil War,' wrote: 'No writer of the history of the Civil War can avoid the difficult task of forming a judgment on the character and aims of Cromwell. If this is to be done with even an approximation to success, it is absolutely necessary to take Carlyle's monumental work as a starting point.' And, in order to show the result upon himself of the prescribed course, he sums Cromwell up as 'a brave honourable man, striving, according to his lights, to lead his countrymen into the paths of peace and godliness,' adding that he 'was not a hypocrite.'

Perhaps the flattest possible contradiction of this estimate was the old oft-repeated tale of Cromwell's atrocious deeds at Drogheda; passionately denied by Carlyle, and therefore the subject of a scientific and, I am sorry that I must add, not honest reconstruction by Gardiner, now restored in its old traditional horror by the story of the suppression of the press.¹ It is one of the crucial points in any estimate of Cromwell. Gardiner's words were published in 1886; it happened that that year saw also the beginning of a proof of the 'monumental' character of Carlyle's work, in a sense quite other than that intended by Gardiner.

Two years after Carlyle had published his *Cromwell* he received a letter from Yarmouth, written by one Squire, and enclosing a number of *copies* of letters purporting to be by Cromwell and others, together with extracts from a manuscript diary of an ancestor which, so Squire asserted, was in his possession. Some of the expressions used in the supposed diary, such as that 'young Oliver got killed to death,' were such as no seventeenth-century writer would

¹ The Historical MSS. Commission discovered the following letter in 1879. Lest my accusation of want of honesty against Gardiner should be thought too harsh, I subjoin to the letter his account of it. He suppresses the letter itself:—

'Your brother and my dear friend, Sir Edmond Verney, who behaved himself with the greatest gallantry that could be, he was slain at Drogheda *three days after quarter was given him*, as he was walking with Cromwell by way of protection. One Ropier, who is brother to the Lord Ropier, called him aside in a pretence to speak with him being formerly of acquaintance, and instead of some friendly office which Sir Edmond might expect from him he barbarously ran him through with a tuck, but I am confident to see this act once highly revenged. The next day after one Lt.-Col. Boyle, who had quarter likewise given him, as he was at dinner with my lady More, sister to the Earl of Sunderland, in the same town, one of Cromwell's soldiers came and whispered him in the ear, to tell him he must presently be put to death; who, rising from the table, the lady asked him whither he was going, he answered, "Madam, to die," who no sooner stepped out of the room but he was shot to death. These are cruelties of these traitors; who, no doubt, will find the like mercy when they are in need of it' (James Buck to Sir Ralph Verney of Claydon, Bucks. Sent from Caen, November 18, 1649). I have modernized the spelling.

'Verney . . . was enticed, even from the presence of Cromwell by a certain Roper' (Gardiner's *History of the Commonwealth and Protectorate*, ed. 1903, i. p. 121); and: 'For that which appears now to have been the blackest part of his conduct, the killing of Verney and his companions in cold blood *twenty-four hours* [!] after the general massacre was ended, Cromwell made no excuse' (ibid. p. 125).

Verney was in command of the Mill Mount. Cromwell actually asserted that he killed all the defenders there on the night of Tuesday, the 11th (i.e., on the day before Drogheda really surrendered).

have employed ; but perhaps the gems of the collection were two letters professing to have been sent by Cavaliers in answer to a summons to surrender. These were couched in such foul language that they could not possibly have deceived anyone but a blind partisan.¹ Carlyle, nevertheless, was much impressed, particularly by the 'killed to death' remark. 'A strange old genius' wrote he, of Squire, to Fitzgerald, asking him to follow the matter up for him. Carlyle ultimately saw Squire, had some documents produced to him (but not the diary) which, as Squire had been guilty of similar hoaxes before, it is unnecessary to state were forgeries, and at last published the 'Squire Papers' as a forty-page supplement in his *Oliver Cromwell*. If it must be added that Carlyle had the grace to admit that the documents were doubtful, it was only as a concession to the criticisms they had received. Modern editors of Carlyle's book have thought it best to omit the 'Squire Papers.'

With this story before us, and reminiscent of Carlyle's Græco-Teutonic 'lingo' (as Mr. Gosse calls it), we may very justly apply to him the satirical exclamation of the poet Cleiveland: 'A Scotch historian! Now, a Scotchman's tongue runs high fullams [false dice]. There is a cheat in his idiom, for the sense flows from his bold expression like a citizen's gallon, which the drawer interprets half a pint.'²

There are plenty of other 'high fullams' in Carlyle's book. At the very beginning he growled in contemptuous terms of 'carrion Heath' and others who chronicled the fact that Cromwell's cousin, Robert, was executed for poisoning his master. In 1881 an unkind Historical Manuscripts Commission published its report on the manuscripts of the College of Physicians, from which it appears that the cousin was tried for poisoning his master, Mr. Lane,

¹ The whole Carlyle, Squire, Fitzgerald correspondence was set out in 1886 in the *English Historical Review*, Vol. i. pp. 311-348. The amazing thing is that a discussion followed in which an advocate for the genuineness of documents that never were produced was found.

² False dice were made at Fulham, near London, and called 'high' or 'low fullams.' Shakespeare uses the expression. The quotation is from *A Character of a Diurnall Maker*.

an attorney, in May, 1632, sentenced to death, reprieved for the College to investigate the matter, and finally executed at Tyburn. Father Gogarty has trounced Carlyle's characteristically positive assertion that the garrison of Drogheda were Englishmen ; but the coping stone of Carlyle's ' monument ' is contained in the last chapter of his book—the chapter in which he describes his hero's end.

In the Thomason collection Carlyle hit upon a lengthy pamphlet that gave an account of Cromwell's last hours, with such a plentiful quotation of texts that it might have been written by Cromwell himself. It professed to be written ' by one that was *then* groom of his chamber,' and was published by Robert Ibbitson in 1659. The *bonne bouche* of the pamphlet was Cromwell's last prayer. I do not wish to gibe at this prayer, more particularly as part of it was genuine, but it was too long, too connected in idea for a dying man, and contained one sentence which, since it undoubtedly is false, I will quote : ' Pardon such as would trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are Thy people too.' ' *So stirbt ein Held !* ' cried Carlyle in delight, abandoning English and betaking himself to Schiller, and the whole of his chapter, except, of course, a quotation from Fox the Quaker, is based upon this tract. Desirous of giving a name to the writer of the tract, and noting that Fox had stated that Charles Harvey was a groom of Cromwell's chamber, Carlyle then fathered the tract upon ' the pious Harvey.'¹

Carlyle's followers, one and all, have swallowed both pamphlet and ascription, and in all good faith quoted it (from Carlyle's book, of course) and set out the prayer. It has been literally thrown in lumps at the heads of their readers. It is the climax of his work. And yet if any one of these writers had examined the pamphlet in any other spirit than that of a blind, unreasoning partisan, they would have noticed that the old collector dated it ' 9 June,' fully nine months after Crom-

¹ For an analysis of this tract see the series of articles entitled ' Cromwelliana,' in *Notes and Queries* for the present year.

well's death (it was entered into the Stationers' Register on June 7), that it contained one bitter attack on the Quakers and another on the Rump (restored in May), and then, if they had noticed that the newsbooks of the previous weeks record the facts that the Rump voted Cromwell a tyrant and a traitor, and—a thing which writers still persist in asserting was done at the Restoration—demolished his very monument in the Abbey (thereby effectually trampling upon the dust of the 'poor worm'), they might have had their suspicions aroused, might have remembered that no one had ever quoted the pamphlet before, and that the late seventeenth-century writer, Neal, in his history of the Puritans, had set out a much more exiguous prayer on the authority of one who was present at Cromwell's death, Major-General Butler.

The pamphlet was a fraud: an attack upon the Rump by Henry Walker, the ironmonger, who was notorious for his fraudulent productions from 1641 onwards,¹ and who, according to Fox, was Oliver's 'priest,' 'newsmonger,' and a 'forger of lies.' In sum, Carlyle's last chapter contains 'high fullams' once more, and we certainly do not gain from it the full measure of truth that is required. His 'monumental' work is no more history than is his *French Revolution*.

I now come to the second object of my paper. This is to narrate the story of Colonel Hugh Peters' connexion with Ireland. Peters sometimes signs himself 'your loving friend' in his letters to that unutterable scamp Walker, and as a letter from Peters to this 'select preacher' of Cromwell's (Walker was the herald of Dunbar as well as of Drogheda) was the cause of the suppression of the newsbooks in 1649, it is important for Irish historians to know who and what Peters was.

To Samuel Rawson Gardiner, Peters, as the constant associate of Cromwell (Gardiner knew nothing about the infinitely more important Walker), was the 'prince of army

¹For the biography of Walker the reader is referred to the chapter on the 'Beginnings of Journalism,' by the present writer, in the *Cambridge History of English Literature*, Vol. vii. (1911).

chaplains,' and to the writer of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, whose immense knowledge of the period I am describing is beyond question, Peters was 'an honest, upright and genial man.' Lesser writers in England and America, whose utter incompetence vies only with the absurdity of their statements, have depicted Peters as a 'martyr' and a 'saint.' Not one of his modern biographers can be acquitted of the charge of rejecting the Restoration evidence on scandalously insufficient grounds; not one of suppressing all facts which tell against Peters in the material that they use. The fact that my present sketch of Peters will mainly be based upon the collections of the Massachusetts Historical Society would alone prove this last assertion, apart from the circumstance that of all my quotations not one has ever been cited by the writers whose *dicta* I intend to dispute.¹

No one has ever stated that Peters was colonel of a foot regiment in Ireland.² Alone amongst all the modern writers of Peters' biography, the learned writer of his life in the *Dictionary of National Biography* touches upon the fact, and that in terms which show that he has utterly misunderstood the character of the man he was praising. 'Cromwell,' he says, 'even commissioned him (Peters) to raise a regiment of foot for service in Ireland, but that project seems to have fallen through owing to the illness of Peters himself and to some difficulties raised by the Council of State.' This is quite wrong; nor were any difficulties raised by the 'Council of State.'

In the year 1651, the German, Christoph Arnold, came to London, and wrote a letter to his friend Richter,

¹ I have in my mind Eleanor B. Peters' *Hugh Peter, Preacher, Patriot, Philanthropist, Fourth Pastor of the First Church in Salem, Massachusetts*, published in New York in 1902. Criticism is turned aside by the writer's name, sex, and evident political and religious convictions; but of the book itself no condemnation can be too severe.

² In the *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society is the following statement: 'Endecote to Winthrop on 28 Ap. 1650, Mr. Peters is colonel of a regiment of foot in Ireland' (Series iv., Vol. vi. p. 153). Again, in Series i. Vol. vi. p. 254: 'Col Lockhart, after a victory Mr. Peters gained in Ireland, said he was a fit minister for soldiers.'

at Nuremburg, from which I take the following passage :—

Dux Independentium, Hugo Petrus, aliiq. homines (ceu quidem videntur) sacri, centuriones et primipili fiunt et antesignani qui ordines Londini et alibi ducunt. Hugo iste cohortem in Hibernia habet, cujus fortitudinem ipse imperator Cromwellus in tantum praedicat ut vel solum hunc concionatorem militibus centum potioem ducat. Hunc enim semper in aggere occupando premium reliqui é vestigio insequuntur, ita ut jam aliquot in Hibernia urbes hac ipsa alacritate ceperit.¹

I shall attempt to show the towns captured by Peters.

Nothing, I submit, can justify English historians in describing the fellow who, as colonel of a regiment of foot, took part in the slaughter of Drogheda and Wexford as a 'prince of army chaplains'; or a notorious adulterer, subject to fits of lunacy, as either an 'honest,' 'genial,' or 'upright' man. Ignorance, no doubt, largely condones the false statements of Peters' American biographers, coupled with their own Puritan descent; but in England Peters has been whitewashed because of his intimacy with Cromwell—on the principle, as Gardiner aptly puts it, of *noscitur a sociis*.

Hugh Peter (as he signs himself) was the son of one Thomas Dyckwoode, of Fowey, Cornwall, who assumed the common Devon and Cornwall name of Peters or Peter. Peters is also a very common name in both Germany and Holland, and in this fact we have an explanation of the initial falsehood that Peters was descended from a Protestant refugee from the Low Countries, contained in the abominable trash entitled *A Dying Father's Last Legacy to an only Child*, written and published by Giles Calvert, the bookseller, in 1660, after Peters' execution, and one of the first of a series of fraudulent fifth-monarchy tracts, published by Calvert and his friends, to pave the way for the insurrections against Charles II.²

¹ Georg Richter, *Epistolae Selectiores*, 1662, pp. 482-494.

² Except that it is not genuine, the tract does not otherwise call for remark. The preface to it is initialled G. F., N. B., in an obvious attempt to father it upon Fox and Broad, the Quaker in whose house Peters was captured. Calvert fled and died in hiding. His widow was afterwards frequently imprisoned for publishing similarly seditious tracts, one of the

Pamphlets from 1643 to 1660 continually draw attention to the fact that Peters was 'expelled' (i.e., rusticated) from a Cambridge college, and that during this period of his existence he joined 'Shakespear's Company of the Revels,' but nowhere is anything so absurd hinted as that he was a contemporary of Shakespeare. Nor is it denied that afterwards he returned to the University and took his degrees. What is definite and unmistakable is that Peters, except in general terms, never denied the scandalous stories told of him. There is, as I shall show, even reason to believe that he admitted their truth—on at least one occasion.

After Peters became a clergyman he himself witnessed that, whatever his sympathies, he did not refuse to conform to the Anglican service book and ceremonies.¹ Once he was punished for insulting the Queen (a Catholic), but his flight from England to Holland in 1631,² was occasioned by a thrashing he received from a butcher called Neal, who lived at Smithfield Bars, in London, for refusing to pay for the joints and money which the man's wife had bestowed upon him. Neal had also graver cause for resentment against Peters, it is said. In Holland Peters was at home. The English churches, of which there were six with salaried pastors, who received 500 guilders (about £50 a year) from the Dutch States, did not conform at all, and devised their own form of worship. When William Ames, pastor at Rotterdam, died in November, 1633, Peters succeeded him, receiving the same salary of 500 (not 5,000) guilders, and was 'reordained.' Dr. Stephen Goffe, chaplain to the English General, Vere, has left an amusing account of Peters' pulpit antics in preaching Ames's funeral sermon,

most important being one that contained an accusation against the Catholics of having wilfully caused the fire of London in 1666. It is to this we owe Pope's lines about London's Monument:—

'Where London's column, pointing to the skies,
Like a tall bully, lifts its head, and lies.'

¹ Prynne's *Fresh Discovery of Prodigious . . . Stars* sets out Peters' declaration to the Bishop of London. He had never even been accused of nonconformity.

² The date is fixed by *Digitus Dei*; or, *Good Newes from Holland*, by H. P. This, Peters' first tract, is in the British Museum. Up to the present it has been unnoticed.

clad in Ames's cloak, when he compared Ames and himself to Elijah and Elisha.¹

In 1635 Peters was accused of incestuous adultery,² and fled from Holland to New England, where he arrived in October, 1635. He had abandoned his wife, who was left behind alone in Holland until at least March, 1637. She may have joined him in America after this latter date.³ In New England Peters became and remained a successful trader, principally with the Dutch plantations. This trade he continued even after his return to England in 1641.⁴

While he was in New England, Peters married again at some uncertain date, taking as his second wife Deliverance Sheffield, with whom (from the tone of his letters about her) he seems to have become entangled in some way. In one letter he states of his fiancée: 'If I had much money I would part with it to her free. . . . I would not come off with dishonour nor on with grief.' His letters reveal that he entered upon this second marriage with the greatest reluctance.⁵ In the end he ran away from his second wife also, leaving her in New England (where she remained until 1648), and arriving in time for the Great Rebellion in 1641. In the following year he went as 'chaplain' to a Scotch expedition to Ireland, and published an account of the expedition. Nowhere in this document does he tell his readers that he was a fighting man, nor was this fact known until 1649. Archbishop Laud records in his autobiography the unfeeling insults offered to himself by this brutal fellow at the time of his trial.

¹ Dr. Goffe afterwards became a priest and the Superior of the Paris Oratory founded by Cardinal Berulle. See his letter of Nov. 27, 1633 (S. P. Dom. Car. I., Vol. 250, No. 28). Sir William Brereton remarks that the church had formerly been a playhouse.

² James Howell's *A Letter to the Earl of Pembroke concerning the times*.

³ Reade wrote to Winthrop on March 5, 1636: 'We wonder we have not certain information whether my father Peters intendeth to stay with you or to return. It is necessary it should be speedily determined of that his church may know how to dispose of themselves'; and Lucy Downing wrote to Winthrop on March 6, 1637: 'Mrs. Peters is yet in Holland and James Downing with her' (*Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series v. Vol. i. p. 217 and p. 21).

⁴ Peters 'sailed for England on 3 Aug. 1641 . . . He continued to trade with Salem, and, in 1642, he had a joint stock of £500 on which he made eighty per cent. profit' (ibid., Series i. Vol. vi. p. 253).

⁵ *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series iv. Vol. vi. pp. 100-200. An extraordinary series of letters.

After this, according to Prynne, Peters became an 'ubiquitary perturber of, solicitor and stickler at most of our elections . . . for his own private lucre and the advancing the designs of his party.'¹ He was instrumental, in this way, in procuring the elections of most of the members (twenty-six in all) who formed the 'majority' of the 'House of Parliament' (fifty-one members) that decided to 'try' the King in January, 1649. Of Peters' pulpit performances ('since the Red Bull playhouse was closed, we have had nothing like it,' remarked one observer), and of the leading part he took in urging on the King's death, the newsbooks of the time are full. In 1647 Peters reluctantly consented to allow his wife to follow him to England, and in 1648, accordingly, she arrived, bringing with her her maid.² It was not long before accusations against Peters were made with regard to this maid; but before the end of the year she married a sailor.

When Cromwell went to Ireland in the following year he did not select Peters for his chaplain, nor did Peters accompany him when he set out from London. A divine of a totally different stamp, Dr. John Owen, who, oddly enough, is never again mentioned in connexion with the expedition, went as Cromwell's chaplain.

For some months previous to Cromwell's departure from London, regiments had, as they could be spared from their task of keeping down the people of England, been sent towards Milford and Bristol. We can gain an idea of the tone and temper of these men from a proclamation by Fairfax, dated March 17. It runs:—

Whereas it is credibly reported that divers soldiers, in their march through several counties towards Ireland, have and still do, harass, plunder, and act great violences and insolencies in the country, to the great injury of the people, notwithstanding the power by a former proclamation given to the country to suppress and secure them doing so. I do hereby require all

¹ *Minors no Senators*, p. 29. Cf. Edwards' *Gangraena*, i. 100.

² On May 5, 1647, Peters wrote to Winthrop: 'I pray, sir, have an eye to my wife. If she will come hither I hinder not, but I thought she might be better there' (*Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series iv. Vol. vi. p. 111).

officers and soldiers of the army under my command that do quarter in or near such places to be aiding and assisting to the people of the country for their relief against the outrages and violences of any such soldiers in their march or otherwise.

This was in England, it must be remembered.

'On Tuesday, 10 July, about six a clock in the evening, Cromwell started from his house in Kings Street Westminster,' states Walker. A paragraph which all the news-books were ordered to insert added that his 'life guard consisted of eighty gallant men, the meanest whereof a Commander or Esquire, in stately habit.' Unfortunately for the makers of this veracious account, the Royalist *Mercuries* do not quite agree, averring that the 'squires' were 'all of the new edition,' 'broom-men, tinkers, channel-rakers,' etc. *Mercurius Elencticus* goes so far as to say that 'the very women and boys in the streets cursed the solemnity, to their faces.' Of course it was the business of one side to run down the other, but a little reflection will bring conviction that there was a good deal of truth in it. As the officers, so the men; and if Pride, swineherd and drayman; Hewson, the cobbler; Harrison, butcher's son, ex-clerk to Hulker, the attorney, and the rest were samples, the 'esquires' must have been of the same rank. We need not call them all 'tinkers,' but Cromwell with a body-guard of English gentlemen is unthinkable. That *Mercurius Elencticus* was accurate in its interpretation of the sentiments of the crowd is proved by the tracts immediately published.¹

After Cromwell's departure Henry Walker, in his *Perfect Occurrences*, takes up the tale of Cromwell's Irish expedition. Walker had just been appointed a preacher at Somerset House, and on Sunday, July 15, was selected to preach the sermon in the King's Chapel at Whitehall to the soldiers

¹ E.g., *The Loyall subjects Jubilee, or, Cromwell's farewell to England* (July 11); *The Earl of Pembroke's speech to Nol Cromwell, Lord Deputy of Ireland* (July 12); Pembroke was notorious for his foul language; *Balaam's Asse; or, the City Fast for cursing the King and blessing Oliver* (July 13); *A sad sigh with some heart cracking groanes sent after the Lord Governor and his whole host of myrmidons* (July 16); and *A Hue and Cry after Cromwell* (July 24). Do what they would the regicides could not suppress the Royalist literature. The people protected the hawkers and printers.

following Cromwell. The sermon was afterwards printed, and Walker had the undeniably happy thought of printing a very apt text on the title-page in conspicuous letters. The text had nothing to do with the sermon itself, and was simply 'Beware of false prophets,' a fitting preparation for the inside of the pamphlet :—

It hath pleased the Lord to manifest his love to this army, and he hath honoured them, and he hath set a mark of his love on them. But it may be objected that they [the Irish] are the stronger. . . . 'But all the congregation bade stone them with stones and the glory of the Lord appeared in the tabernacle of the congregation before all the children of Israel.' How much more have we had God's love appeared to us and how much more should we go cheerfully to destroy Idolaters and Rebels.

Royalist journalists soon had their attention attracted from Walker by a fresh escapade of Peters. Peters suddenly disappeared, and they at once set to work to find out the cause. That he had run away from his wife once more was obvious ; but why ? The *Man in the Moon* for August 1-8 published a 'Hue and Cry' after him, stigmatizing him as 'a fat corpulent knave with a voice like a town bull,' and a great many other things not polite to mention, who had 'run away from his wife about a fortnight ago.' Finally, in the number for August 23-30, the *Man in the Moon* told his readers why Peters had taken to his heels once more. Briefly, the seaman to whom Peters had married his wife's maid had had reason to suspect that the relations between the two were not what they should have been, and instead of quitting the house one evening had hidden himself. Noting that his wife placed the house key on the threshold of the door the man then substituted for it a 'wire mouse trap.' Peters appeared, groped under the door for the key, was caught by the fingers, and the sailor then cudgelled him to his heart's content. All that we are concerned with in this unpleasant story is to know whether it was true or false. That it was afterwards continually cast in Peters' face does not matter ; Peters' subsequent actions and the curious manœuvres of his friend Walker

who, strange to say, never denied it, as he frequently did deny Royalist tales, are the really important things. Corroboration of some sort is needed, and the first piece of evidence comes from America: 'Oh, that I never left New England or had never had this wife so sent to me,' wrote Peters to Winthrop on August 17. 'Oh, dear sir, my days are gone and I look to my end apace.'¹

That Walker knew of the stories about Peters' flight is proved by his printing a letter from 'Mr. Peters, Minister, to the lord president of the Council of State' (Bradshaw), on the same day (August 30) as that on which the *Man in the Moon* appeared. In this Peters stated that Cromwell had set sail from Milford (on Monday, August 13) 'leaving me here to bring away the rest' of the ships, 'which will be about twenty saile.' To this letter Walker appended a gratuitous falsehood intended to make his readers think that Peters had intended going to Ireland from the first: 'Other letters of a later date say the last vessels mentioned went from Milford Haven, the 16th of August instant.' Obviously, if so, Peters had not run away from his wife at all, and must have intended going from the first. But Peters had not set sail—did not, as a matter of fact, arrive at Dublin until September 11. What was he staying at Milford for, then? Cromwell had given him a commission, and Peters was trying to get together the nucleus of a regiment. That is why he remained behind.

On September 14 Walker gave his readers 'an extract out of a letter from Mr. Peters at Milford,' dated September 1. It was known, therefore, that Peters was still there, but the truth about his military appointment had not leaked out, in the press at any rate. In the same number of Walker's *Perfect Occurrences* (September 7-14) another letter from Milford furnishes the interesting fact that the defenders of Drogheda had 'turned out thence all the protestants which were in the towne.' If so, that is why the inhabitants were killed as well as the garrison. Finally, in *Perfect Occurrences*

¹ *Collections* Massachusetts Historical Society, Series iv. Vol. vi. p. 113. Peters' wife was said to be 'distracted,' but there is not a word of this in the letter. She was 'excommunicated' in New England, which does not seem to be appropriate treatment for a 'distracted' person.

for September 21-28, Walker sets out a letter from Dublin, dated September 12, stating that Peters had arrived there on the 11th 'with the last part of the forces from Milford,' and that 'on Sept. 12 being this day news is come hither that their guns have been heard to play hard and it is said that we are entered Tredah.' Peters, then, was in time!

Now two of the licensed newsbooks were written by loyal Puritans. Dillingham the tailor's views about regicide may be gathered from the fact that towards the end of 1648 he had written: 'Dieu nous donne les Parlyaments breife, Rois de vie longue,' and had been punished for it. So Dillingham was the first cautiously to hint that Peters' present occupation was not exactly that of a minister of the Gospel, by telling his readers, on September 20, that Peters had once commanded a brigade in Munster in 1642.¹ R. C., a strong Presbyterian, to whom Independency was worse than Prelacy, and who also had been punished for loyalty to his King, told the whole truth on October 9, saying: 'Master Peters is a colonel of foot and commands a regiment of new levied men.'² The cause of this belated exposure was a fresh falsehood by Walker.

When Peters wrote his letter to Walker announcing the capture of Drogheda, and the letter was read in the House of Commons on September 28, and published on the same day by Walker as a separate pamphlet, Walker (who must have been thoroughly well aware of what Peters was doing) made a slight addition to the letter in the shape of a title. The pamphlet is very short, and the letter important, so I set out the whole:—

A Letter from Ireland. Read in the House of Commons on Friday, Septemb. 28 1649. From Mr Hugh Peters, minister

¹ The *Moderate Intelligencer* for September 13-20, 1649. This is the origin of the similar statement in Whitelocke.

² The *Kingdom's Weekly Intelligencer* for October 2-9, 1649 (last page). The *Man in the Moon's* comment, on October 17, was: 'Hugh Peters, that shame to his coat, is now made a Colonell of foot in Ireland. Sure the Devil wants commanders when they make such Dotterils their leaders. The butcher sure beat him into this valour when he cudgelled him black and blue for juggling with his wife's purse, or the seaman, when he caught his fingers in a wire mouse trap as he was groping under the door for the key, etc. . . .

'Peters hath left the keys and ta'en the sword
And all he kills are "killed by the Lawrd."'

of God's word and *Chaplain to the Lord-Lieutenant Cromwell*. Of the taking of Tredagh in Ireland. Also the taking of Trimme and Dundalke. Sir. The truth is Tredagh is taken. Three thousand five hundred fifty and two of the enemies slaine and sixty foure of ours. Colonell Castles and Captaine Simmons of note. Ashton the Governor killed none spared. Wee have also Trimme and Dundalke and are marching to Kilkenny. I came now from giving thanks in the great church. We have all our army well landed. I am yours, Hugh Peters. Dublin Sept. 15, 1649.

Peters was *not* Cromwell's chaplain; Walker can only have asserted that he was in order to stop the mouths of the *Man in the Moon* and his friends. That is why R. C., a regular journalist with a proper correspondence, who knew the truth, stepped into the breach. As Peters' letter states, Colonel Castles was killed, it is legitimate to infer that Peters himself led that regiment afterwards, more especially as his own could not have been complete, and, moreover, Castles' regiment is expressly stated to have helped to capture Trim and Dundalk. If this is correct, it is to Peters' activity in capturing these towns that Cromwell's praise of him as a soldier referred, and they are the *urbes Hiberniae* referred to by the German, Arnold.

The last newsbook licensed by Mr. Hatter appeared on October 12. Henceforward we have only the *Brief Relation* of Frost, and the *Severall Proceedings* of Scobell. Scobell soon found that he could not do without help, and at once engaged Walker to assist him. Thus, though *Severall Proceedings* is a very dull periodical compared to Walker's extinct *Perfect Occurrences*, yet from time to time traces of Walker's hand appear. From the first he seems to have handed over to Scobell Peters' letters to himself.

In *Severall Proceedings*, No. 4, for October 19-26, appears 'A letter written by Mr. Peters from the siege before Wexford in Ireland':—

Sir. Yesterday we took in the fort here before Wexford, which commanded their harbour, which is now become ours. They fled into a frigot which lay by their fort, which our ships had chased in. They also took the frigot, a new vessel of the

Lord of Antrim with 14 guns in her. The fort had seaven guns. There be other ships above at the towne, which if God give, the towne will fall in. I have sent you the answer to our summons and the lord lieutenant's reply. They have put 1500 men into the towne where there were but 2000 before. And for my lord Ormond and Inchequeene, they meane to stop us at Posse (which is the passage) and to that purpose are strengthening the same.

Here is a very good country, we want nothing but more men to possess it. I wish our soldiers in England were here to become landed men. If we overcome but two months more difficultie this worke is done.

Colonell Venables is very successfull in the North; where, after he had taken in Carlingford and the Newry, other places invited him into them. Hee had from us his desires, being £1500 in mony and some bread. All our soldiers are well paid, viz., a horseman two shilling three pence a day, and the foot four shillings and tenpence weekly. Many country gentlemen come in daily for protection. We have a fleet of about twenty saile before the harbour.

I have commission for a foot regiment, I pray you get me what men you can. Col Humphries the younger will be my factour. The Lord make us all humble and faithful. I am yours. Hugh Peters. October 3, 1649.¹

As we know, treachery and butchery at Wexford similar to that at Drogheda followed, but we no longer have any licensed newsbooks to reveal what happened. Peters was totally silent after the fall of the town, and, as appears from the evidence given at his trial in 1660, in the end returned ill to Milford. Another letter to Walker is dated from Milford, on December 1, 1649, and runs as follows:—

Sir: I had yours and heartily thank you. I have nothing to send you, but all goes well in Ireland even to limit the enemy,

¹ Walker published, on November 14, 1649, *Collections of Letters from Severall parts. Printed concerning the affairs of the armies in England and Ireland*. Page 3 has another letter from Peters, dated October 22, at Wexford, and stating: 'Sir, briefly the 11 of Sept. we took in Tredagh as I writ, the 11 of Oct. we took in Wexford where the hand of God wonderfully appeared,' etc., etc. On page 6 another letter from Ireland, dated Dublin, November 5, states: 'I pray let all men know that if any foot will come to Mr Peters at Milford, he is ready to carry them for Corke or Wexford and provide comfortably for them. Indeed I saw at Wexford the Hogs eat their Stayne and drink their blood and I am persuaded God will follow his vengeance home.'

plain bo peepe. They fly before us and will not fight, but pull up their bridges to hinder our forces pursuite after them. But more garrisons are coming in, we shall have Waterford and what not, etc., etc.

Peters, therefore, was well again by December, and since the butchery was over and only hedge-fighting remained, he sought for a new career. He could not face London for some time to come. What, then, was he to do? Just at this time Lord Cottington had received a refusal from the King of Spain to a request to help Charles II. regain his dominions. His Catholic Majesty had added that he 'could not take any cognizance of the rights of others outside his own territories,' nor would he 'meddle therein.' Evidently the King of Spain was 'well-disposed' and not 'malignant.' What if he, Peters, were to take him the benefits of the Gospel which had brought such 'marvellous great mercies' to Drogheda and Wexford? The idea so fascinated Peters that he asked the 'Council of State' to send him to Spain.

On December 22 the Council decided that they would consider his papers on the following Monday, and on January 2, 1650, they formally appointed Peters 'Consul at Andalusia,' and ordered him to attend 'Council to-morrow.' Peters was secretly in London. Two days later, perhaps on ascertaining the fate that assuredly awaited him in Spain, Peters withdrew, and the Council's note was 'vacated.'¹ Anthony Ascham was afterwards appointed agent in Spain, and was killed there by English royalists. Still unable to face a London crowd, Colonel Peters then was appointed Governor of Milford Haven,² and there, as appears from his weekly letters to Walker in *Severall Proceedings*, he remained until Cromwell returned to England in June, 1650.

It must not be supposed that Ireland's cause for remembering Peters ends with Drogheda and Wexford,¹

¹ *Calendar of State Papers (Domestic)*, 1649-1650, pp. 449, 466, and 468.

² Downing wrote to Winthrop, February 29, 1650: 'Your father Peters is a colonell and governor of Milford Haven' (*Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series iv. Vol. vi. p. 76).

Peters was a shrewd business man who, in the old days in New England, had been a keen slave-dealer. Children were the speciality that he traded in. When the Pequot Indians were defeated and captured, in 1637, he wrote to Winthrop : ' We have heard of a dividence of women and children in the bay and would be glad of a share, viz., a young woman or girle and a boy if you think good. I wrote to you for some boyes for Bermudas, which I think is considerable.'¹ It was, therefore, quite to be expected that this ' philanthropist ' should now originate the idea of dealing in Irish children.

American writers tell us that Peters was the originator of the ' spirits,' or kidnappers, who stole Irish children in order to sell them as slaves into New England. Many a poor Irish mother has wept for her lost children owing to this Satanic device of Peters to destroy their faith and to make a profit out of their bodies at the same time.²

Peters does not appear to have passed the few years remaining to him in peace of mind. I will only cite two of many Puritan authorities, but they are tolerably conclusive.

On April 5, 1656, Gilbert Mabbott wrote :—

Mr Peter is now againe growne so distracted that he had several persons watching with him night and day, who are sometimes necessitated to use all the strength they have to keep him in bed. He raves much of the Devil, his looks are very wild and his discourse ends many times with half sentences.³

And again, on September 28, 1659,⁴ the Rev. John Davenport wrote to Winthrop to tell him that he had received a letter from London from a Mr. Blinman, who told him that ' Mr. Hugh Peters is distracted and under sore horrors of conscience, crying out of himself as damned and confessing haynous actings. He concludes : for the truth hereof, *Sit fides penes auctorem.*'

¹ *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series iv. Vol. vi. p. 95.

² The ' spirits ' were suppressed by Charles II. See *Calendar of State Papers* (Domestic), 1663-1664, pp. 274 and 639.

³ The *Clarke Paper* (ed. C. H. Firth), iii. p. 66.

⁴ *Collections Massachusetts Historical Society*, Series iii. Vol. x. p. 26.

Sit fides penes auctorem! Was that an expression to use of an 'honest, upright, genial man,' who had confessed heinous deeds?

After a fair legal trial, Hugh Peters, whose treason had been of the blackest, was awarded the extreme penalty of the law in 1660. He was drawn, hanged and quartered at Charing Cross, on the spot where a statue of Charles I. now stands. Several eye-witnesses have left accounts of his last end, and all agree in their testimony. *Not one* has ever been honestly cited by Peters' modern biographers, so startlingly are these accounts to Peters' discredit. William Winstanley's account runs:—

He was condemned together with Cook and, with him, October 16, drawn on two hurdles to execution, where the miserable wretch had not a word to say for himself or to God, of Whom he said he was abandoned. He that was so nimble and quick in all projects in this nature before, was now like a sot or a fool, playing and toying with the straws in the sledge as he went to execution—nay, so stupid was he, that the hangman was forced to use more than ordinary strength to throw him off the ladder, being almost hanged dead, he was cut down and quartered, his head set upon London bridge and his quarters exposed on the tops of some of the City gates.¹

¹ *The Loyall Martyrology . . . as also, The dregs of treachery*, etc. (ed. 1665). See also *A true and perfect relation of the Grand Traytors execution* (October, 1660), and compare Hist. MSS. Commission Fifth Report, Appendix, p. 174, and *Mercurius Publicus*.

Giles Calvert and others, in preparation for the rising of 1661, in which the Fifth Monarchy men's cry was 'Remember our masters' (quarters) 'on the gates,' issued a pamphlet varying in title, and with a little extraneous loyalist matter in two (abbreviated) instances, entitled (a) *Speeches and prayers of some of the King's judges*, etc.; (b) *A complete collection of the lives speeches and Prayers*, etc.; (c) *Rebels no Saints; or a collection of the Speeches*, etc.; and (d) *The speeches and prayers of Major General Harrison*, etc. The gross, circumstantial falsehoods of this anonymous, unlicensed and horribly blasphemous Fifth Monarchy production with no printer's or publisher's name attached to it, have actually been accepted by the writer of Peters' life in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, who tells his readers that this drunken and despairing criminal met his end 'with dignity and calmness,' rebuking both sheriff, executioner and spectators. That writer may not, of course, think much of Burnet, Winstanley, and the other eye-witnesses (all are unanimous), and it is to be supposed that he did not notice that on February 22, 1664, three printers, Dover, Brooks and Brewster, were convicted of printing this 'false, malicious, scandalous and seditious book.' In any case the *Dictionary* ought to state this fact, since the case is well known.

And, finally, Bishop Burnet wrote that

It was indeed remarkable that Peters, a sort of enthusiastically buffoon preacher, though a very vicious man, that had been of great use to Cromwell and had been outrageous in pressing the king's death with the cruelty and rudeness of an inquisitor, was the man of them all that was the most sunk in his spirit and could not in any sort bear his punishment. He had neither the honesty to repent of it nor the strength of mind to suffer as all the rest of them did. He was observed all the while to be drinking some cordials to keep him from fainting.¹

Even his fellow-criminal, Cook, took note of his behaviour, says the most famous and least partisan of all the old journalists, Henry Muddiman, in his *Mercurius Publicus*, and wished he might be reprieved because 'he was unfit to die.'

J. B. WILLIAMS.

¹ Burnet's *History of my own Time* (ed. O. Airy), i. pp. 281, 282.

'GADELICA MINORA'—IV.

THERE remain for consideration two kinds of sentence which were common in Old Irish, and which may have had some influence in fixing the form of type A¹ in Old, Middle, and Modern Irish. The first of these embraces those sentences in which the pronoun was retrospective, the material predicate having preceded the copula, either for rhetorical effect or because the predicate was too cumbersome to be put after the copula. In these cases, as in those dealt with in our last article,² the insertion of the pronoun was necessary in order to complete the essential form of the sentence. The following are the occurrences which I have noted :—

I.—'E' RETROSPECTIVE.

1°. *Examples from Würzburg Glosses.*

248. Fol. 3c 15—hore nad mair peccad diaforgensam cose is
heside dorarricc báas dunni.
249. „ 5d 27—nach gnim umal badhé dongneid.
250. „ 21a 15—sancti et justí ithé aschorp dosom.
251. „ 21c 5—ind noib ata ellachti hi Crist ithé cives.
252. „ 23a 25—a chomalnad et a precept íshé deimniugad
soscéli.
253. „ 27a 13—bás et adnacu^l ithésíde immafolnget imdibe
ódualchib.
254. „ 28b 1—indii adchobrasom dohícc ithé ronícc tantum.

2°. *Examples from Milan Glosses.*

[I have observed none, outside those containing 'insin,' or 'inso,'
to be dealt with afterwards.]

3°. *Turin Glosses and Scholia on St. Mark.*

255. p. 4, col. 1, 103—is tri fer robói intris diltud dosom .i. íshé
ingnim mad du rûin.
256. p. 4, „ 2, 123—in brosnæ dombert síde dia edbairt fesin
íshé crist cocrunn a chruche foir fesin.

¹ See first article, I. E. RECORD, July, 1911.

² I. E. RECORD, October, 1911.

4°. *Old Irish Fragment on the Psalter.*

257. Tintud Septin ém is é fil forsna salmu (Revised Text, p. 32).

II.—EXAMPLES OF 'SÍ' RETROSPECTIVE.

1°. *From the Würzburg Glosses.*

258. Fol. 21c 5—Crist didiu is sí inchathir.

259. „ 29d 17—banbuidich is sí ardagairle.

2°. *From the Milan Glosses.*

260. Fol. 2d 2—indrún ⁊ indetercert fil isuidib isí bed
(i)mmaircide frisannuiadnise.

261. „ 28c 19—indfithis tete inpeccad is sí tété in pian
innadiglae.

262. „ 36a 1—nicontarat athis forachomnesam is sí cetbaid
alanaile ant sin.

263. „ 74c 21—is frise dlutair ⁊ is sí ciall fil and.

264. „ 114b 1—.i. procureate issi inne fil hi cechtar de.

3°. *From Old Irish Fragment on the Psalter.*

265. Prophetia didiu is í gnúis fortá inna salmu.

III.—EXAMPLES OF 'ED' RETROSPECTIVE.

1°. *From the Würzburg Glosses.*

266. Fol. 4b 4—aní asmaith ladia doguidi ished tinfetsom
dianoibaib.

267. „ 5d 30—ná maith robé badhed dogneid.

268. „ 9a 6—torad a láam ished dodtoisged.

269. „ 11c 10—a mbith cenchorin ished anvelare (anon-
velare) asbeirsom.

270. „ 13a 35—aní itáa cuntubart libsi .i. esseirge ished
rorélus duib recachrét.

271. „ 14b 7—precamur ego et Timotheus multipliceter (sic)
is hed fodlína.

272. „ 14b 26—guide et tomoltód armbáis is hed dorigensam.

273. „ 14c 25—fír tantum ished file indiunni.

274. „ 14c 42—congiam fribsi octáirciud raith spirito duib
conid hed fodera fáilti duibsi et dúnni.

275. „ 15a 22—. . . is hed dosaig anuas óthá quodsi minis-
tratio rl.

276. „ 20c 10—andogena cách ished beschobuir do.

2°. *From the Milan Glosses.*

277. Fol. 17d 6—ar lín innalaithe is ed immefolngi eccintigi
dundaimsir.

278. Fol. 30c 17—airmidetu 7 lín 7 lane inna pian is ed dogair som hoanmairm chailich.
279. „ 36a 19—... is ed indas indfirseo beus átrebfea hita-bernacuil dé.
- (Here the predicate is the Latin sentence which is glossed : 'qui jurat proximo suo non decipit eum.')
280. „ 39b 2—ani durigni hitosuch int sailm is ed dugni hfc.
281. „ 46a 19—... ised rodaucaí dorad innam briathar sa.
282. „ 91b 10—ani asberinn cosse is ed asbaer beus.
283. „ 94b 15—... is ed a cornu asbeir riam on.
284. „ 102c 5—cuingid techta(e) adoinmigi hisoinmigi ised fil inderiud int sailm so.
285. „ 115a 14—digal formaccu israhel huile immalle ised fil isin cétnae chétbuid.
286. „ 116d 3—indigal dombeir som is ed inchosaig a frendarcus.

It will be noticed that in most of the above sentences, where the subject noun and the predicate are of different gender, the retrospective pronoun is assimilated to the gender of the *subject* noun. A notable example of this is No. 258—Wb. 21c 5, 'Crist didiu is sí inchathir.'

We have already referred to a class of sentence, very common in the Old Irish Glosses, in which—after the pronouns 'é,' 'sí,' or 'ed,' whether proleptic or retrospective—the word 'inso' (or 'insin') is introduced. This took place, it would appear, when the material predicate was felt to be rather far away. The usage resulted in the collocation 'é insin,' 'sí insin,' 'ed insin,' with occasionally a word or two like 'dano,' 'didiu,' 'aem,' or sometimes the subject, or part of the subject, of the copula intervening. In any case such sentences must have facilitated the transition from types B, C, D, in which the pronoun ('é,' 'sí,' or 'ed') was formally necessary, to type A, in which at first it was not essential. The study of these sentences is, therefore, most important from the point of view of the history of the language. The examples fall naturally under two main headings according as 'insin,' 'inso,' are 1°. proleptic, or 2°. retrospective.

I.—'INSIN,' 'INSO,' PROLEPTIC.

(a) *Würzburg Glosses.*

287. Fol. 8d 14—*ithé omnia inso asmbearsom sís* (sive vita sive mors, etc.). Here 'é' anticipates 'inso,' and 'inso' refers to the real, material predicate: 'sive vita, sive mors, sive præséntia sive futura.'
288. „ 9c 10—*ishé cruth inso aem nosmessamar .i. amal beté som in impudiu inna brithemnachtæ bemmini dano* (ut dicit).
289. „ 13d 16—*issí inso indrún inso .i. esséirge innanuile marb.*
290. „ 23c 11—*is hed inso sís rochlos et adchess inna besaib et a gnimaib.*
291. „ 23c 11—*issí mo failte inso¹ si qua rl. in cristo. . .*
292. „ 30d 13—*ished arthá inso buaid et indocbál domsa pro meo labore.*

(b) *Milan Glosses.*

293. Fol. 20d 2—*ised trede insin as toisechem do diuniu i. bairgen rl.* (frumenti vini et olei).
294. „ 36a 33—*ishé incetnae síans inso.* (Here 'inso' stands for the words 'quod neque condemnaverit acceptis muneribus innocentem,' which constitute the real predicate.)
295. „ 44b 10-11—*is ed tra inso a(l)lathar aill .i. quare me dereliquisiti.*
296. „ 50c 1—*issi inso sís a chiall.*
297. „ 51d 6c—*issi so sís a chiall.*
298. „ 53a 11—*issi a chiall inso sís.*
299. „ 53a 18—*ishé inso innertad coitchen dochách .i. ecce oculi domini super tímentes eum.*
300. „ 53c 14—*ishe athuasulcud inso cupit .i. qui cupit rl.*
301. „ 63d 4—*ished inso fil lasuide.*
302. „ 65a 3—*is sí so a chiall.*
303. „ 83c 5—*ishe dia insin.*
304. „ 88d 6—*issí so sís a chiall.*
305. „ 90c 23—*issí inso canóin fil lasuide.*

¹ This is pretty much the same, as regards the collocation of words, as type G (*vide* I. E. RECORD, July, 1911): 'SÍ CAINNT AN tSLÁNUIGTEORA réin í rin.' They are entirely different types, nevertheless, because in Canon O'Leary's sentence 'írin' is clearly the *subject*, whereas in 291 above 'inso' is just as clearly the predicate (temporary).

306. Fol. 90c 24—issí inso chiall fil and.
 307. „ 91a 18—issi inne inso fil and.
 308. „ 97b 4—is ed inso dorigensat .i. conversi sunt 7 rl.
 309. „ 121d 1—ishé aem inso in rét diant torbach in ipsa
 pertransibunt rl.
 310. „ 135c —issí inso int fechtne comét timnae ndae.
 311. „ 136c 2—ba hae a ordd coir inso síis manipad taschi-
 detaid indmetir.

(c) *Turin Glosses.*

312. p. 2, col. 1, 29—ished inso tosach preceptae iohain.

II.—‘INSIN,’ ‘INSO,’ RETROSPECTIVE.

(a) *Würzburg Glosses.*

313. Fol. 5a 17—ished fornainm insin (‘ed’ refers proleptically
 to ‘insin,’ while both refer retrospectively
 to the glossed words ‘populum non cre-
 dentem’).
 314. „ 7b 23—nihed insin rolegsíd in evangelio (dissensiones
 et offendicula faciunt).
 315. „ 7d 13—ithe cosnimi inso file libsi (ego quidem sum
 Pauli, etc., in text).
 316. „ 7d 17—qui se non dicunt in nomine meo baptizatos
 .i. nihed for nindassi insin.
 317. „ 8c 9—ished insodogní colindi díib (cum sint inter
 vos zelus et contentio).
 318. „ 8c 10—ithé inso contentiones et emulationes (ego
 quidem sum Pauli . . .).
 319. „ 8d 20—ised insin condegar ann.
 320. „ 9d 15—ished inso anaithesc noberid uaimm (Bonum
 est homini mulierem non tangere).
 321. „ 9d 30—ished inso forchongrimm.
 322. „ 10a 12—ishé inso titul indligid archinn.
 323. „ 10a 13—ished insin forchun dochách (unumquemque
 sicut vocavit Deus ita ambulet).
 324. „ 11d 1—ished inso nochairgur i tossuch.
 325. „ 12b 35—ished andemonstrabo inso.
 326. „ 14b 15—méit donindnagar fornni fochith issí méit
 insin donindnagar indithnad.
 327. „ 19d 23—issí inso méit inna failte.
 328. „ 20b 14—issí inso mo chomairle.
 329. „ 25b 2—ishé inso innóibad.
 330. „ 25b 14—ished inso a frecre donaib eriteccaib.

331. Fol. 27b 8—ithé inso boill indsenduini (et ishé in senduine fessin .i. uilidetu nan dualche).¹
332. „ 28c 15—ished inso nodascara frie.
333. „ 28d 24—is si inso fedb as uisse dogoiri inaeclis archuit oisa et bésa ('vidua eligatur non minus sexaginta annorum').
334. „ 28d 26—itháe inso bési nodaberat inaeclis ('si filios educavit' 7 rl.).
335. „ 29a 3—itae inso bésse inna fedb asluat hiris ('cum luxuriatae fuerint,' etc.).
336. „ 29b 19—ished insin allín ingaib diabul peccatores.
337. „ 29d 25—ishé mort inso ('praedicator et apostolus et magister gentium).
338. „ 30c 24—ished a pie vivere inso (persecutionem patientur).
339. „ 33c 9—ised inso a indas ind fir.
340. „ 33c 14—ised inso farnindas.

(b) *Milan Glosses.*

341. Fol. 14c 1—ised inso indalanai.
342. „ 14c 3—ised inso anaill.
343. „ 24d 9—arnaib damdabchaib, huare is sí aimser sin indentae estosc inna fine in damdabchaib.
344. „ 27d 2—ised inso tosach indalasaim dugnither dunt salmso laebreo.
345. „ 30b 3—ithae insin atá recti corde.
346. „ 33c 13—issi ecmailte inchoscair insin.
347. „ 35a 8—nísi accuis insin arinrogab duaid.
348. „ 35d 3—ished inso anaithesc dorat dia doduaid (MS. dodauid).
349. „ 36a 35—ishe in sians tanisse inso.
350. „ 44b 10-11—innded insin furuar duit?
351. „ 45b 11—ishe inso indalammod.
352. „ 46c 14—is ed insin namma dichanoín forsatractha á qui fructus usque meliores.
353. „ 55d 11—ised insin fodera innerigim.
354. „ 56b 31—issi indala chiall less isindi as emulari insin.
355. „ 68a 15—aris ed insin immefolngi asonartnugudsi.
356. „ 73a 10—airis ed insin as tech latsu adopar dait.
357. „ „ 17—issi inso in tochoisgem.

¹ Here 'inso' refers back to the glossed words, 'fornicationem, inmunditiam, libidinem,' etc.

358. Fol. 77d 11—ishae inso indolud asmbersom.
 359. „ 80c 3—issi inso ind insce.
 360. „ 85b 11—cenided insin as reid duthabairt as intrachtad.
 361. „ 86c 3—it he inse indfochainn inso (cf. Würzburg, 13d 16).
 362. „ 88b 11—issi inso chiall fil and.
 363. „ 97d 10—issi dano insin ind frescissiu co fochaid.
 364. „ 98b 8—issi indigal insin (rogiuil ambiad innambragait 7 atbatha samlid).
 365. „ 104a 4—ithae inso anman nacoic cathrach.
 366. „ 100d 18—issi inne fil and inso.
 367. „ 111b 2—issi indaccuis inso.
 368. „ 114d 13—issi inso briathar in popail.¹
 369. „ 121c 8—issi chiall inso fil and.
 370. „ 122c 9—ithe inso innacechtardai.
 371. „ 130a 16—it he inso inna anman.
 372. „ 136b 4—ni ed aem insin dorigensat (conepertis ón nadmbu choir do digal forru huare atà fireín).
 373. „ 137b 5—tairngire flatho diachlaind som 7 a tindnaccul ade hision intsainriud it hae insin indatairngire.
 374. „ 138a 2—cumgabal inna lam hicrosfigill is sí briathar lam insin.
 375. „ 138a 8—in se inso infochunn.

(c) *Turin Glosses.*

376. p. 1, col. 2, 4—issí dias insin oingther leusom (rex et sacerdos)
 377. „ „ 24—issí ind remaisndis inso.
 378. p. 2, col. 1, 39—ised inso tra tosach ind libuir.

To sum up the results of our investigation. We have found that in Old Irish instances of type A²—with the pronoun present—are comparatively rare. In the Würzburg Glosses the cases where the pronoun is absent are much more numerous than those where it is present, the ratio being more than 4 : 1. In the Milan Glosses, which are later, the proportion of sentences wanting the pronoun to those with it is only 3 : 2 ; while the cases where the pronoun is found

¹ It is possible that 'inso' should here be regarded as subject.

² See first article, I. E. RECORD, July, 1911.

are one and a half times as numerous as those in Würzburg, and the cases where it is absent are only half as numerous. When we remember that there are about four times as many folia in Milan as there are in Würzburg, we are practically compelled to conclude that before the period of the Glosses there was no pronoun in what we have called the A type ; that the influence of other types (B, C, D) made itself felt even as early as the period of the Würzburg Glosses ; that there is evidence from the Milan Glosses of the growing strength of this influence ; and that, finally, the presence of the pronoun in the A type became quite as essential as it was—at all stages in the history of the language—in the B, C, and D types. This conclusion, while clearing up a somewhat remarkable question, emphasizes, at the same time, the principle of linguistic development, which the purist in all ages seems fated to ignore.

Seapóro Ó Nualláin.

GLIMPSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—XIV.

IN some proposed course of action there is, now and then, a great difference between theory and practice.

And it is not to be regretted. It may be an anomaly, but in the cases we contemplate, for most of the persons concerned it turns out to have been a very fortunate occurrence. History, ecclesiastical especially, is full of these happy inconsistencies, some of which affected prominent personages or a multitude of people, and when we reflect on these welcome surprises we cannot help exclaiming: 'Man proposes but God disposes'!

As regards Ireland, a remarkable instance of this overruling providence is seen in the occasional non-enforcement of the penal laws. In respect of certain individuals or in certain localities or during certain periods they remained inoperative, notwithstanding all the resolutions of councils and committees. No doubt the system itself was perfect, and complete down to the minutest detail. On paper it looked satisfactory. Those who designed it thought that in consequence of its numerous statutes and proclamations being put together so closely as to shut and bar every loophole of escape, it would necessarily prove effectual. Legislators could not see how Catholics were any longer to exist. And judges, magistrates, soldiers, yeomen, archbishops, bishops and parsons, excisemen and tax-gatherers, etc.—in a word, officials of every degree and denomination—were bound to see to the application of this penal code. Every one of them had taken the Test Oath. We may also be sure, though perhaps it was not publicly stated by the spiritual or the temporal authorities, that promotion depended in great measure on the zeal shown for what was considered the holiest and best of causes. And all other loyal Protestants, as well as the officials, were induced to perform the work by the offer of considerable sums of money. Hence we can easily understand how those who made these

all-comprehensive laws and added these tempting rewards were confident that the object of the well-planned penal system would be attained.

Fervent Protestants believed it. On one memorable occasion a high functionary, talking at a civic banquet—it was, we think, in an after-dinner speech—declared his conviction that before that day twelvemonth the brood of Irish Papists would be extinct. His announcement was warmly applauded, and his sentiments met with unanimous approval. But when the anniversary came round again the obnoxious species had not been exterminated. Owing to a power which the orator had not taken into consideration, in the interval between the anniversaries, as at some other times, Catholics had been treated with mercy and compassion. Despite the roseate views and the ardent desires and expectations of the would-be prophet and his enthusiastic audience, the barbarous legislation had not been rigorously enforced and invariably applied. This is not a solitary exception, for at least towards the end of the penal period instances of justice occasionally appear. Several magistrates acted humanely and did not put the statutes into execution. Other local magnates tacitly declined to avail themselves of laws which in their hearts they disapproved of. Some even went further: as nominal proprietors they preserved estates and farms belonging to their Catholic neighbours, or they sheltered priests. In all this we can perceive the supernatural and direct intervention of omnipotence. *The finger of God is here.* That Catholics are found in Ireland to-day is owing to a miracle, and the greatness of that miracle is understood in proportion to the knowledge one has of Ireland's sufferings for the faith and of Ireland's place in the kingdom of God.

At the particular time we are speaking of, viz., the early years of the eighteenth century, it was obvious to all unprejudiced men, and was admitted by all honest Protestants, that the government had nothing to fear from Catholics. The oft-alleged alarm was nothing more than a pretence, a mere pretext for further spoliation. For nearly two centuries Catholics had by law been forbidden

to live ; again and again the country had been deluged with their blood. All the resources of a powerful administration were available for their destruction, and the animosity of innumerable fanatics took every advantage of the opportunity thus offered to do away with them. If through the goodness of Almighty God they survived this relentless persecution, they never afterwards became so powerful as to constitute a source of danger to their oppressors. Though they had not lost the right to fight for the true religion, humanly speaking there was no longer any chance of doing so with success. As regarded their fellow-men, they did not return evil for evil nor disobey the powers that were. Their calumniators, the English Protestants and the Scotch Presbyterians, were guilty of both these crimes of aggressiveness and disloyalty ; they had persecuted the Catholics and had rebelled against James II. If now they accused the Catholics of treason, etc., to unbigoted men the peaceful, virtuous lives led by Catholics formed a complete refutation of the charges brought against them.

The severer enactments in the penal code were therefore viewed with increasing disfavour from the accession of George I. In Hanover he himself had got ample opportunity of knowing how Catholic subjects acted. We know that the amelioration of their lot was but partial and was painfully slow. We know that the light was then only beginning to break through the clouds of prejudice ; we know that to the minds of Protestants always the Head of the State is the Head of the Church, and therefore the distinction between difference from their religion and disloyalty, either imperfectly understood or not apprehended at all ; nevertheless, the fact remains that, owing to the causes here indicated and similar ones, instances of the penal laws being allowed to remain in abeyance as regards certain individuals are to be met with in the history of this reign. To appreciate them fully, or to understand what they meant to the Catholics of those times, we should know all the doings in Ireland of the Williamites after the treaty of Limerick, and also all that was committed in the

days of Queen Anne. These sporadic acts of clemency are, as was observed above, in respect of men, happy inconsistencies, but are ultimately the work of him in Whose hands are the hearts of kings and of all others, so that He does with them as He wills.

In the beginning of George's reign a change in public opinion was visible. De Burgo (born in 1710) tells us that even in his youth no one was more despised and detested by many Protestants than the priest-catcher. His very life was in danger. As a boy, De Burgo saw men of this class pursued through the streets of Dublin, his native city, by crowds of Catholics and non-Catholics armed alike with sticks and stones. Love of filthy lucre did frequently impel these wretches to surround themselves with soldiers and to sally forth, but even among Protestants popular feeling was against them. Their day was over. The successful priest-hunter still got his money in the Castle, but he was hooted in the streets. He wanted the soldiers now for his own protection. To the people of Dublin it did not matter that Parliament had declared his occupation to be a useful and honourable one, or that the Lord Lieutenant and Privy Council had shown their approbation of his services by granting a reward.

And the same writer proceeds to mention a case which incidentally shows that better dispositions gradually prevailed even in the hearts of those who were invested with authority. In 1718 a Jew, named Garzia, who, according to De Burgo, was a Portuguese, pretended to be a priest, and in this way succeeded in deceiving seven priests in Dublin and in getting them arrested,¹ viz., the Dominican Pro-

¹ Either two impostors played the same game, or this impostor is the individual to whom allusion is made in the following extract from a letter about Ireland :—

'Tutti i Cattolici di quel Regno alcune settimane avanti erano stati in gravissima consternazione per aver veduto incarcerare Mons. Arcivescovo di Dublino con alcuni sacerdoti e religiosi per malignità di un Ebreo Spagnuolo quale fingendosi Prete Cattolico e ingannato con ciò quel Prelato l'aveva di poi dinanzi al governo. Erano già tutti stati rilasciati sotto sicurtà di comparire ad ogni nuova istanza. Dura pero ancora il timore che sia ordine di far nuove ricerche, onde a cagione di esse Mons. Arcivescovo era stato obligato di terminare piu sollecitamente qualche visita che aveva interpresa nella Diocesi.'—(From a letter of the Inter-

vincial, Father Maguire, three secular, a Franciscan, and two Jesuit. (These secular priests must either not have been registered, or not have observed the laws binding those registered.) All were convicted and transported, it having, as usual, been declared in court that if any one of them ever came back he would be deemed guilty of high treason. Nevertheless, after a time all seven returned. As De Burgo remarks in concluding his narrative: 'Singuli nihilominus regressi sunt, ficta assumentes nomina, et quidem impune.' His explanation of the phenomenon why they were not molested after their reappearance is the only possible one—it was due to leniency. We cannot think that they escaped notice, and must therefore suppose that their presence was connived at by magistrates and other officials.

The sudden outburst of bigotry which had been witnessed in 1709, and lasted for some years afterwards, was probably due to the place-hunters in Parliament and to the priest-hunters outside it. They had a great deal in common. Those who had been enriched with the spoils taken from Catholics when, after the battle of the Boyne, so much

nunzio at Brussels, May 18, 1718, to Cardinal Paolucci, the Secretary of State, who transmitted it to Propaganda. It is now among the *Scritti originali* (Vol. 615, Atti 26 Settembre, 1718).

In De Burgo we have a Portuguese, here we have a Spaniard, but we confess that, in our opinion, this does not compel us to think of two men. There may be a mistake in one of the accounts, or the same priest-catcher for his own object may at different times have said that he was of a different nationality. The Archbishop, Dr. Edmond Byrne, had studied in Seville, so that with him the impostor would think it to be to his own advantage to talk Spanish and call himself a Spaniard. But, putting aside the insoluble question of personal identity or not, we see that though the ruse and the time and the place are the same, the subsequent events differ. Here all those seized are let out on bail; in De Burgo all are transported. And De Burgo would have been guilty of an unaccountable omission if, even with the priests he speaks of, the Archbishop had been taken and no mention made of it. We conclude, therefore, that not only the arrests differ, but that different groups were arrested. Here, then, with regard to other ecclesiastics we have an instance of clemency.

We may add that at the time of these captures, A.D. 1718, the Lord Lieutenant, the Duke of Bolton, was perhaps absent. On May 9th, in that year, William King and William Connolly were sworn in as Lords Justices. On March 31st, 1719, the Duke returned. The time needed for crossing then was longer than what we are accustomed to. In a letter announcing his arrival (Departmental Correspondence, London) the Lord Lieutenant is evidently delighted at being able to say that 'embarking at Holyhead he had so quick a passage that in seven hours he landed at Dublin.'

property was confiscated, enjoyed their lands, salaries, etc., as it were, on tenure of persecution. These were the chief promoters of mischief in Parliament and Privy Council. Men of the other class just referred to felt it to be a matter of supreme importance to themselves that the alarm should be kept up. They gained their livelihood by taking priests.

It was said, however, by the Low Church party at this period that the Catholics enjoyed liberty! The statement was false, as were the similar ones made from time to time—for instance, by the ministers of William III. to the Austrian ambassadors in London. On this occasion the lie was prompted partly by ill-will towards the Duke of Ormond, who was Lord Lieutenant from 1703 to 1707. It seems, however, to have gained credence in some places abroad and to have created an impression unfavourable to the Irish clergy, who were perhaps thought not to show sufficient zeal in availing themselves of the favourable opportunity for their ministrations that was now offered. But the misleading rumour was promptly contradicted by Father O'Connor, O.P., in a letter which reached the Internuncio at Brussels, through whose hands at the time a great deal of the official correspondence between Ireland and Rome passed. Few could speak with more knowledge of Ireland or were better qualified to refute the calumny than this Father O'Connor, who had been Provincial from 1700 to 1708. He had visited every part of the country, and knew the condition of the Catholics. His interesting report on this subject, presented as a memorial to Clement XI. in 1704, is preserved in the Vatican Archives. The Pope had such confidence in him that he appointed him Bishop of Ardagh, but Father O'Connor died in 1710 in London, so that, perhaps, he did not take possession of his see. The letter of the Internuncio enclosing his about the false report of tolerance is as follows:—

(Archivio della S. C. de Prop. Fide. Acta S. C. de Prop. Fide
de anno 1711.)

(Fol.) 26. Il Signor Internunzio di Fiandra manda copia d'una lettera del P. O'Connor Exprovinciale de' Domenicani

Ibernesi, che scrive esser falso, che sia stata in quel regno data libert  ai Cattolici, et aperte le chiese. Dice per  il medesimo Internuntio d'aver udito da altre parti, che il cattolici d'Ibernia comincino bens  ad adunarsi nelle chiese che erano state chiuse, ma che li sacri operarii non ardiscono ancora celebrarvi, e predicarvi, come facevano prima.

(Scritture originali riferite nelle congregazioni generali de
12 Gennaro, 3 Febbrao 1711. Vol. 575.)

Emin. e Revmo. Sig. Sig. padrone colendissimo.

(Sig. Card. Sacripante, prefetto della S. C. di Prop.)

Essendomi stata comunicata una lettera, ch  ha scritta ultimamente da Dublino il Padre Ambrosio O Conon Exprovinciale dei Domenicani Irlandesi, mi fo lecito di umiliarne l'ingiunta copia a cotesta Sagra Congregazione. Da altre parti ho udito ch  i cattolici in Ibernia comincino bens  a radunarsi nelle chiese, ch  dopo il noto decreto del Parlamento erano state chiuse, ma ch  i sagri operarii non ardischino ancora di celebrare la santa Messa e predicare, come facevano prima, usando tuttavia nell' adempire questi uffici grandissima segretezza e circospezione. Ed a V. E. fo profondissimo inchino.

Brusselles II Decembre 1710.

Di Vostra Eminenza, Umilissimo, devotissimo ed obligatissimo
servitore, Girolamo Grimaldi, Abbate di S. Maria.

Copia epistolae P. Magistri O'Conon Exprovincialis Hibernorum
ordinis Praedicatorum die 16 Novembris 1710.

Quod libertatem hic catholicis datam, et capellas apertas Gazulae apud vos referunt, fabulosum (proh dolor) est. Praesbiteranorum, seu eorum qui inferioris dicuntur ecclesiae, astutia tale quid in Gazulis curavit poni ab malevolentiam erga ducem Ormoniae proregem nuper creatum. Certe imprudenter agerent nostrates, si in circumstantiis, in quibus maxima adhibenda est cautela, ecclesias, capellas, seu sacella aperirent: nondum enim est tempus similia praesumendi; sed modeste se gerentes possent libertatem majorem sperare, et si de majori praesumerent libertate, merito timenda esset nova persecutio.

Towards the end of Queen Anne's reign the persecutors apparently redoubled their efforts to seize the non-registered priests and others of whom the country was known to be

full. The bigots in high station perceived, to their chagrin, that the Act of Registration (1703), as well as the complementary one prescribing the Declaration and the Oath of Abjuration and the Act against Bishops, Regulars, and non-registered Seculars (1704), were in their working ineffectual. Hence the number of proclamations, etc. And in response to this, as well as to indemnify themselves for the temporary fall in result fees, the priest-hunters showed even greater zeal than before. Besides this, for a time at least there was an increase in their number. De Burgo says that they were found all over Ireland. In the course of these articles several papers written at various periods by men of this class have been quoted, as well as others by amateur informers.

So far as we know from the documents preserved in the Record Office, of all the priest-hunters that flourished towards the end of Queen Anne's reign a man called Tyrell was the most infamous and the most active. Other spies appear on the scene once, or perhaps twice, but the notorious Tyrell scarcely ever leaves it. He was a host in himself. Through several counties, from Louth to Cork, he carried on the search for priests. The fellow's perseverance and persistency were worthy of a better cause. In the Record Office among the documents belonging to this period more emanate from him than from all the other priest-catchers put together. Tyrell was uneducated. His numerous autograph petitions and examinations are scrawled ; in a word, his penmanship is on a level with his spelling and grammar, of which our readers will now have an opportunity of judging for themselves. These papers show how he was occupied for a part of the year 1712. His petition which was presented to the Lords Justices, Sir Constantine Phipps, the Lord Chancellor, and John Vesey, the Archbishop of Tuam, does not add appreciably to our knowledge of the period. It is little more than a general statement, but on it he placed his hopes of being examined in Council. Tyrell was such a knave that it would be surprising, were there not question of priests in penal times, to find dignitaries in Church and State stooping so low as to have anything to do with him.

The petition is accompanied by the examination of another man, apparently an honest one, which shows how bent on getting money Tyrell was, and how he did not mind telling lies for the purpose :—

(Carton 10114.)

The humble petition } To thire Excellency the Justices generall
of Edward Tyrell } and generall governors of Ireland,

Most humbly sheweth that y^r Excellencys Pet^r received directions and power in March last to seize and secure all popish regulars lately comed to this Kingdome from beyond the seas ; and that y^r Lordsh^a Pet. hath secured severall popish regulars in severall Countyes of this Kingdome within these two months past with severall writings and ordination letters as will appear upon oath of severall respectable and creditable persons of the severall countyes where such service was done : likewise by severall certificats produceable by y^r Ex. Pet. from eminent persons who is very senseable of the truth hereof, being justices of the peace & sheriffs of the countyes where y^r L^a Pet^r hath performed his duty and y^r L^a Pet^r further informs y^r Ex. that there is severall titular popish bishops and Jesuits with many monks & others of the popish clergie hath of late set up severall semenarys and convents in many places in this Kingdome and that y^r Lordships Pet^r knows the places where such semenaries are fixt and the names and persons of those that officiates therein as well as those that are daylie conversant with such persons. Y^r Ex. P^r begs leave to inform y^r L^a that this Kingdome at this time swarms with those disaffected Kind of people, y^r Ex. P^r further prays that y^r L^a will be pleased to call him before y^r L^s to communicate which is not proper to be inserted in this paper, and if y^r L^a will be pleased to protect and incurage y^r Ex. P^r he will undertake to secure the above mentioned persons and destroy the semenarys according to law.

May it therefore please y^r Ex^a in consideration of the services y^r P. hath already done and will continue to doe hereafter for the government and the protestant interest in seizing & bringing to justice such grand and implacable ennemy to Church and State—as those persons who lurks up and down in severall parts of this country contrary to an act in force against them—y^r L^a P^r humbly prays that y^r Exc. will be pleased to prescribe a means whereby your L^a P^r may be protected for some persons severall times hath attempted the destruction of y^r Ex.

Pr, and y^r Pr humbly prays & hopes that y^r L^s will give due
Incuragement to y^r Exc. Pr.

who will for ever pray

EDWARD TYRRELL.

(Enclosed sheet.)

PRIMATE McMAHON

saw Primate McMahon in Flanders, & is now in this Kingdome
& resides at Cullogh duff McMahons near Carrickmacrosse.

PETER KENAGHAN of Ballymacalloghe
in the Co. of Louth.

Letter to Capt James Sterling
Ballyboy.

To Mr Moore that Tyrell has informed that he has many other
discoveries to make.

Letter to Mr. Barton at Carrickmacrosse about Primate
McMahon.

Further saith that he belives Edmund Byrne the Titular
Archbishop of Dublin papers are kept in the house of one Byrne
a cooper in Francis Street.

E. TYRELL.

Capt. coram me

vicesimo quinto die

Octobris anno Domini 1712.

J. Dawson Dep. Cler.

Concil. Privat.

The Examination of Symon Willoughby Tallow Chandler in
Catherine Street, Dublin.

The said Symon Willoughby being duly sworne on the holy
Evangelist & examined saith that he knows Edward Tyrrell by
sight but never had any acquaintance with him, says that in
the month of July last he this Examinant was in the Towne of
Atherdee in the County of Lowth whither he went to the Assizes
to sue for some money due to him from some of the inhabitants
of the country thereabouts. That being in his Lodging in the
said Towne the said Tyrrell came into the roome & said he knew
this Exam^t having lodged at one Mr Lane's a saddler next door
to this Exam^{ts} house in Catherine Street Dublin. This examinant
made answer he knew him not; & thereupon the said Tyrrell
said he had done severall services in the Countrey in taking
Popish Priests & would doe more service & the said Tyrrell said
some money was presented by the Grand Jury in Dublin for

service he had done there, & desired this Examinants assistance therein, having bin at that time one of the Grand Jury, to which this Exam^t replied that he must apply himself to Mr Jacob Peppard who could best informe him; some time after this Exam^t returned to Dublin & the said Tyrrell being brought up to Dublin under a guard from Atherdee & calling at this Exam^{ts} house & not finding him at home left a message with his wife that this Exam^{ts} bro^r in Law Mr Baron of Atherdee & some others of the inhabitants of that Towne were come to Dublin & lodged at the Cheshire Cheese on Blind Key. The next morning this Exam^t went to the said House where he met the said Tyrrell, but his bro^r in Law or the other inhabitants of Atherdee were not come to Towne. The said Tyrrell told this Exam^t he could doe him some service, this Exam^t replied he did not understand wherein he could serve him, but if he could serve the publick in any think he was ready to doe it to the utmost of his powers. The said Tyrrell then desired him to carry some papers for him to the Lord Chancellor which he readily undertooke not knowing but they might be of some consequence, & accordingly in the month of August last he carried the said papers to the Lord Chancellor's house & told his Gent. that he had some few words to say to his Lord^p which he would not deliver to any body else & some papers to deliver his Lord^p, which message the Gent. immediately delivered, & came out againe & brought answer assoon as his Lord^p had dined he would come out, which his Lord^p accordingly did, & this Exam^t then delivered his message from y^e said Tyrrell to his Lord^p wth the said papers, which assoon as his Lord^p had looked upon them he said Tyrrell was a great Rogue, but however bid this Exam^t carry them immediately to the Lord Mayor which this Exam^t accordingly did, & the Lord Mayor directed this Exam^t to bring the said Tyrrell to him which this Exam^t imediately did & then his Lord^p took the Examination of y^e said Tyrrell which was very long, wherein he gave an account? of severall officers coming out of France, & said they were in Dublin & assoon as he had sett them he would come & informe the Lord Mayor of it in order to their being taken, but that the said Tyrrell never came to give further information as this Exam^t was told by y^e Lord Mayor, whom he asked about it & this Exam^t believes the reason of his giving this informations was to get money from y^e Lord Mayor which the said Tyrrell demanded, but his Lord^p refusing to give him any Tyrrell never came to him againe.

This Exam^t being further asked whether when he carried the

afore mentioned Papers to the Lord Chancellor's house any of his Lord^{ps} people made any difficulty or seemed to obstruct or hinder this Exam^{ts} delivering his message or Papers to his Lord^p, This Exam^t saith he met with no refusall or hinderance but on y^e contrary his Gent. went very readily to his Lord^p & immediately brought him an answer as is before mentioned. And further saith not.

SIMON WILLOUGHBY.

Capt. coram me

vicesimo quinto die Octobris anno
domini 1712.

J. DAWSON Dep. Cler.

Concil. Privat.

No. 846. M.
Carton 4a. 31. 1.

Tyrell's petition was, however, granted on this as on every other occasion. After all, he was the most useful member of his profession in the employment of Dublin Castle. Although he does not quite fulfil his promise of making wonderful disclosures, yet he says what is more interesting to us: he mentions his ineffectual efforts to stimulate some magistrates to do their duty. It is a pleasure to observe that at the present day the lineal descendant of one of them, perhaps in reward of this act of charity, is a prominent Catholic.

The examination of Edward Tyrrell taken in the presence of their Excellencies the Lords Justices & Council.

Who being duely sworn on the Holy Evangelists and examined saith that having given information to Mr Moore & Mr Forth Two Justices of the Peace of the Kings County where some Regulars of the Popish Clergy were & having obtained a Warr^t to apprehend them, went with the High Constable & seized one of the said Regulars & upon searching his papers found one Paper which was a discharge for Rent from Mr Thomas Estrange to y^e said Regular, that afterwards the said Regular made his Escape. That being at the Quarter Sessions Mr Estrange asked if he had not taken a paper of his amongst the Papers of the Regular Priest seized, the Exam^t replied that he had, & had given the said Paper to Mr Forth, whereupon the said Mr Estrange said he had given such an acquittance for Rent,

but could not tell how he came to doe it, for that he knew he was a Regular. Sayth that he saw Primate McMahon in Flanders & is now in this Kingdome, & knows he resides at Cullogh duffe McMahon's near Carrickmacrosse in the County of Monaghan, & saith that he comes sometimes to Luske in the County of Dublin in order to ordaine Clergymen of the Popish Religion, sayth that John Taafe of Atherdee was present when Primate McMahon ordained priests at Patrick Marky's house at Glas-pistol in the County of Lowth in the month of May last when he ordained four priests. Saith that the names of y^e p^{sons} so ordained are Patrick Marky son of y^e aforesaid Patrick, John Fleming who lives near Atherdee, one Patrick Lawler of near Dunleer, and one Bellew of y^e same County. That Dr Bardin Titular B^p of Ferns was present and assisted at y^e said ordination. That Peter Keenaghan of Ballycollogue in the County of Lowth was also present at y^e said ordination & one Dowdall who lives near Atherdee was also present. Says he applied to Cap^t Thomas Bellingham & informed him of y^e Regulars being in y^e County of Lowth & of y^e aforesaid Ordination, and desired him to give directions for seizing the said Priests, whereupon Cap^t Bellingham said he was an old man and infirme with the Gout, & was unfit for buisnesse & therefore advised this Exam^t to goe to Dublin & apply himself to the Govern^t. Further saith that he came to Dublin in order to apply to the Govern^t, and with a letter & sent it by one Willet a Chandler who was a Grand Jury Man of this Citty to my Lord Chancellor, but he was told that his letter would not be delivered to the Lord Chancellor for that his servants if they knew the letter came from this Examinant would not deliver it. Saith that he went in person to the Lord Chancellor at his house who received him this Exam^t civilly & gave him halfe a guiney for his Encouragm^t to proceed in his Discoverys.

Being further examined saith that one Thomas Keoghy who is reputed a Popish Bishop came lately from St Germans & now lodges at the house of Mr Felix Coghlan near Fairbane in the King's County & saith that he discovered the same to John Moore Esq who said he did not care to concern himselfe therein but directed him to come & apply himself to the Govern^t.

Before proceeding further, a few words may be said about the Bishops whom the discomfited Mr. Tyrell mentions. The Primate is Dr. Hugh MacMahon, in 1713 translated from Clogher to Armagh, which diocese, in spite of informers,

he ruled over till his death in 1737. The Bishop of Ferns is Dr. John Verdon (1709-1729). He had been Vicar-General of Armagh. With regard to the name 'Thomas Keoghy' it seems to be an *alias*, that is, if the bearer was a Bishop: at least in Brady's *Episcopal Succession*, the best authority on the subject, it does not appear as the real name of any Irish Bishop living at the time.

Readers will have observed with pleasure that here the magistrates declined to act in accordance with the informer's suggestion.¹

It is not, however, to be inferred that the reluctance of some well-disposed magistrates to help him or to further his designs proved any obstacle to Tyrell. He went on his way just as before. Another extant paper, which, however, cannot be quoted, shows that in the very next month he accompanied the magistrates of Ferbane in search of priests through a very wild country to the house of Mr. John Coghlan, in a most retired place, far distant from any high road, where they found plenty of books, but no priests, for they had fled.

We may, in conclusion, mention some deeds of zeal performed by other individuals about this time. A Mr. Richard Huddy succeeded in capturing a Father Hennessy. He was, however, punished for it by the people. The following proclamation, issued on December 10, 1707, by

¹ Many years afterwards the Bishop of Kilmore had, so far as a justice of peace was concerned, a very different experience. He was warned that this zealous official intended to have him arrested, so he left the place in time. However, the magistrate had the satisfaction of seizing his vestment box and its contents. When the Bishop got to Dublin he boldly put the matter into the hands of a lawyer, and subsequently, but for the Bishop's intercession the worthy J.P. would have been hanged.

A letter sent to Popaganda in 1731 contains the account: 'Episcopi Macdonough Ordinis Praedicatorum Diocesis Kilmoriensis, quem carcerare voluit quidam Magistratus. Cum Episcopus monitus fuerit de temeritate praeordinata a Magistratu, ac ideo fugam arripuerit: Magistratus ipse Capsulam in qua erant Calices & sacra supellectilia occupavit et secum ipse asportavit, etc.'

The same Bishop had another escape in 1739 (*Hibernia Dominicana*, p. 505). On this occasion letters and papers of his were taken and sent for examination to the Lord Lieutenant and the Privy Council. The Bishop himself succeeded in reaching Rome, where he remained until he was informed by friends at home that they had got back all the letters and papers, which were found not to contain anything of an incriminating nature.

the Lords Justices, Dr. Marsh, the Protestant Primate, and Richard Freeman, the Lord Chancellor, offers a large reward for the discovery and conviction of the persons in question. It begins thus :—

PROCLAMATION.

NARCISSUS ARMACH.

R. FREEMAN, C.

Whereas Richard Huddy of Ballynoe in the County of Cork, Gentleman, having apprehended and brought to justice one William Hennessy a Regular of the Popish Clergy, his the said Richard Huddy's house in Ballynoe aforesaid, and his goods, were in October last destroyed by Fire, by some disaffected persons, in revenge for his service, in taking the said William Hennessy, to the end such person or persons as burnt the said house and goods may be known and discovered, and such good services in apprehending such Popish regulars no way discouraged by such wicked persons escaping and going unpunished,

We the Lords Justices and Council, have thought fit by this our Proclamation, etc.

And the following part of a letter, written to the Archbishop of Dublin (William King, who often was one of the Lords Justices afterwards) by two Kerry magistrates, proves that they were not wanting in zeal. It may be observed that the recent increase in the number of priests which these worshipful gentlemen lament, shows once more that the restrictive measures taken in 1703 by passing the Registration Act, etc., were ineffectual :—

CASTLEMAIN, *June 24, 1714.*

... We take leave further to acquaint your Grace that we live in a part of ye country at least 20 miles distant from ye sea-coast from which place to us none of our fellow justices reside, so that by this means and that of being a mountainous country ; the new herd of Popish Priests have shelter with impunity and without more inquiry than what we lay before your Grace, which will we fear prove fruitless for want of a due execution of our warrants, though we issue them on this occasion not only to the high Sheriff to conduct the matter but also to several high Constables of this County who will not easily find them, in regard of ye offenders are dispersed & concealed.

JN. BLENNERHASSETT.

JOS. KENNINGTON.

We may remark that this letter mentions by name several priests, and also boys sent to be educated abroad. There is also in the Dublin Record Office an interesting document referring to the prosecution of several Popish Registered Priests by Busted Jephson (Carton 217, No. 1211), but room cannot be spared for it here.

Enough has been said to show that occasionally instances are found of what must, owing to the pervading spirit of the penal times, be called extraordinary clemency. They are made brighter by the contrast they present to the dark days in which they occurred. They are not forgotten, but, on the other hand, nothing can obliterate the recollection of what our predecessors suffered. All over the country the people still preserve traditions of what the clergy had to endure for centuries, and the deep reverence, sympathy and affection felt for priests at the present day is a result. The memories of the penal times are with us still, and every part of Ireland is hallowed by them. For example, in the parish of Tubbercurry, Co. Mayo, there is a 'Mass Rock,' and in that of Ballaghaderreen, Co. Mayo, there is a well-preserved structure, surmounted by a cross which is known as the 'Four Altars.' And in Co. Meath, not far from Tara, in what is known as 'The Cave Field,' the dark spot underground is still shown where at the risk of their lives priests and people used to assemble for Mass. It was over before daybreak, in order to enable the celebrant and the congregation to separate and to reach their homes unperceived. This was their only chance of safety. Afterwards, in a neighbouring parish, a tiny thatched chapel was built in the shadiest spot of a thick wood; at the time it probably was considered a wonder, an indubitable evidence of religious toleration; it is now a ruin, and some years ago only one old man was able to point it out and to say that when a boy he had gone down the grass-grown lane to Mass. And a house not far from Tara contains what is known as 'The Bishop's Room.' Here long ago Dr. Cheevers, O.S.A., for seven years lay concealed. His diocese was in the West of Ireland, but to save his life he had to reside out of it. All he could venture to do was

to visit his flock to administer confirmation, etc., from time to time. On these occasions, according to the family tradition, he had always to leave his hiding-place and to return to it by night. Only the master and mistress of the house knew why a certain door was always locked, and they took charge of his meals. The secret was kept from children and servants. On one occasion, when the suspicions of some Protestants living in the neighbourhood were aroused, in order to save himself from those who came in search of him, the Bishop, whose only opening for ingress and egress was the window of his room, had to remain for hours cooped up in a hole under the stairs.

Such were some of the trials and difficulties which two hundred years ago ecclesiastics had to encounter in the discharge of their duties. Their liberty, if not their life, was always in danger, but they were true to their trust. And by those who have succeeded them in the sacred ministry their names are deservedly held in the highest veneration.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

SOME RECENT DECREES ABOUT MARRIAGE

HAVING received a number of questions about some matrimonial Decrees which were published during the course of the present year, we deem it expedient to give our reply in the form of a brief explanation of the regulations to which the questions refer.

I.

INSTRUCTION TO ORDINARIES ABOUT THE STATE OF FREEDOM OF CONTRACTING PARTIES AND NOTIFICATION OF THE MARRIAGE

On the 6th of March, 1911,¹ the Sacred Congregation of the Discipline of the Sacraments issued an Instruction about the necessity of proving the freedom of the contracting parties, and also about the notification of the marriage to the parish priest of the place where they had been baptized. (1.) Parish priests are reminded that they may not assist at marriages till they have satisfied themselves, according to the forms of law, that the parties are free to contract marriage with one another, and till they have obtained from the parties certificates of their baptism if this were conferred on them in a different parish from that of their marriage. (*a*) *State of Freedom*.—By the strict letter of ecclesiastical law or jurisprudence three things are required in proof of freedom : 1. The banns must be duly proclaimed or a dispensation obtained. The proclamation is to be made in every parish in which either of the parties has a domicile or quasi-domicile, or in which till recently either had a domicile or quasi-domicile. As to the quasi-domicile there is some difference of opinion between authorities as to

¹ Cf. I. E. RECORD, May, 1911, p. 556.

whether the new matrimonial legislation has abrogated the old quasi-domicile not only in regard to the celebration of marriage, but also in regard to the proclamation of banns. While many authorities hold that the old quasi-domicile still remains in force so far as banns are concerned, others maintain that the Decree *Ne Temere* has implicitly substituted for it a month's residence. It is worthy of note that this second view has been adopted in the regulations recently sent to the parish priests of Rome by the Roman Vicariate. When the banns have been proclaimed or a dispensation obtained, the parish priest will forward the usual letter of freedom if he has discovered no canonical impediment.

2. It is also prescribed that the contracting parties be interrogated about their freedom to contract marriage. This interrogation should take place before the banns are proclaimed and, in ordinary circumstances, should be made by the parish priest of each of the parties. This duty the parish priest can delegate to another. Many authorities advise that a memorandum be kept of this examination, so that reference to it can be had in case of subsequent difficulties ; this, however, is not a matter of obligation.

3. Over and above the proclamation of the banns and the interrogation of the contracting parties, the general law of the Church, as laid down by a Decree of the Holy Office, 21st May, 1670, orders a special investigation, according to a prescribed form, into the freedom of the parties. This formal investigation has fallen into desuetude except in the Papal States, so that there is no necessity to explain the mode of procedure. It is sufficient to point out that in case of doubt the parish priest ought to employ the ordinary means of investigation, and if the doubt continues he ought to place the whole matter before the Ordinary, who, in turn, will consult the proper Congregation if he cannot settle the doubt.

In addition to these three provisions which affect all contracting parties, there is a special rule regarding *vagi* which the Decree *Ne Temere* has allowed to remain in force. The parish priest is not to assist at the marriage of *vagi* till

he has laid the matter before the Bishop and obtained a reply allowing him to proceed with the marriage. It used to be probable teaching that by *vagi* in this context were meant vagrants in the strict sense, so that in the case of those who were temporarily without a domicile or quasi-domicile, and who were well known, there was no necessity to obtain the sanction of the Bishop. However, a decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Discipline of the Sacraments, 12th March, 1910, has set this matter at rest: 'Nomine vagorum de quibus art. v. § 4, veniunt omnes et soli qui nullibi habent parochum vel Ordinarium proprium ratione domicilii vel menstruae commorationis.' Hence *vagi* in the sense of the law are all and only those who, at the moment of marriage, have in no place a domicile or a month's residence. In many cases the application to the Bishop will be a mere formality, still it must be observed on account of the recent decision.

(b) *Baptism*.—The diriment impediment of disparity of worship exists between a baptized person and an unbaptized person; hence the necessity of having authoritative information about the baptism of the contracting parties. The Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments warns parish priests not to assist at marriages unless they have authentic proof of the baptism of those who were baptized outside their parishes. Normally this proof is obtained by presentation of the baptismal certificate duly attested. If it is inconvenient to obtain this baptismal certificate it is sufficient to obtain proof of baptism from the ordinary unofficial sources of information, and in doubtful cases the parish priest ought to have recourse to the Bishop for advice and instruction. When a marriage is celebrated in danger of death the sole testimony of the parties will suffice. Even in the case of mixed marriages it is recommended that the baptismal certificate of the non-Catholic party be obtained; but this does not free the parish priest from the necessity of making inquiries about the validity of the baptism in accordance with the instructions of the Holy Office, 17th November, 1830, and 20th July, 1840.¹

¹ Cf. Lehmkühl, ii. n. 984, 11th ed.

(2.) *Notification of the Marriage*.—According to the ninth article of the Decree *Ne Temere*, the assisting parish priest is to inscribe in the matrimonial register of the parish the names and surnames of the parties and witnesses, and the day and place of the marriage. He is also to enter in baptismal register the fact that the person whose baptism is there registered was married on such a day in his parish ; and if either of the parties were baptized in a different parish he is to send a notification of the marriage to the parish priest of that place for entry in the baptismal register. This latter regulation has, it seems, been carried out in an imperfect way in some countries, so the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments now gives directions for the faithful fulfilment of this obligation. It orders that the notice mention the names and surnames of the contracting parties and of their parents, the ages of the contracting parties, the place and day of the marriage, and the names and surnames of the witnesses. The parish priest must also subscribe his name to the notice and attach the parochial seal. Though the Instruction does not explicitly say so, it is evident that these particulars are to be inscribed in the baptismal register, else what would be the meaning of sending them ?

The parish priest is also warned to address his letter accurately and fully, so that no postal mistake might occur. If he cannot find out the address of the parish priest of the place of baptism he ought to send the notice of the baptism to the Bishop of the diocese in which the parish is situated ; he will direct it to the right place.

Notwithstanding all precautions, it sometimes happens that mistakes are made and that parties who have contracted marriage were not free to do so. The Instruction tells the parish priest who receives notification of the marriage in such cases to warn at once the assisting parish priest that the marriage was null and void, so that the necessary steps towards rectification of the error be taken as soon as possible.

The Instruction also warns Ordinaries to keep vigilance over the observance of these rules, and, if necessary, to punish delinquents.

II.

PROOF OF MARRIAGE OF IMMIGRANTS

Sometimes Bishops and priests are puzzled about people who have come from a distance and of whose marriage no authentic record can be obtained. Are they to be looked on as married and are their children to be regarded as legitimate? Naturally, in the absence of official testimony of marriage the usual sources of information should be searched, but these do not always suffice for certainty. What is to be done in this case? A response of the Sacred Congregation of the Sacraments, 6th March, 1911,¹ gives a rule which can usefully be followed when occasion demands an investigation: if other evidence fail, then an oath is to be administered to the parties, and their sworn testimony of the marriage is to be taken as sufficient evidence, except in cases where canon law demands full proof, as happens, for instance, when the admission of the marriage is prejudicial to another alleged marriage, or when there is question of receiving orders. The doubt submitted for reply was:—

An et quibus in casibus quibusque sub conditionibus admitti valeat tamquam sufficiens probatio initi matrimonii simplex affirmatio eorum qui ex America aliisque dissitis regionibus adveniunt, quotiescumque documentum vel alia legitima probatio celebrationis matrimonii aut omnino haberi nequeat, aut nonnisi admodum difficulter et post longum tempus cum interea rerum adjuncta morem inquisitionis non patiantur.

R. Imprimis curandum diligentissime est, ut factum contracti matrimonii legitimis probationibus ostendatur: quae probationes, licet studiose quaesitae, si haberi nequeant, deferatur partibus iuramentum, quo propriam assertionem confirment: hoc praestito, partes habeantur tamquam legitimo matrimonio conjunctae, earumque proles ut legitima. Excipiendi tamen sunt casus, in quibus jus plenam probationem requirit ex. gr. si agatur de praejudicio alterius matrimonii vel de ordinibus suscipiendis.

Matrimonium autem per iuramentum ut supra confirmatum inscribatur non quidem in communi matrimoniorum libro, sed in distincto libello ad hoc destinato.

¹ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, 15th March, p. 103.

III.

MARRIAGES OF THOSE WHO WERE BORN OF NON-CATHOLIC PARENTS, WHO WERE BAPTIZED IN THE CATHOLIC CHURCH, BUT WHO WERE BROUGHT UP AS NON-CATHOLICS FROM THE TIME OF INFANCY

On the 31st March, 1911, the Holy Office replied to the following question :—

Cum decreti *Ne Temere* per sacram Congregationem Concilii die 2 Augusti 1907 editi articulo xi. § i. expresse edicatur novis circa formam sponsalium et matrimonii statutis legibus *teneri omnes in Catholica Ecclesia baptizatos et ad eam ex haeresi conversos (licet sive hi sive illi ab eadem postea defecerint) quoties inter se sponsalia vel matrimonium ineant*; quaesitum est: Quid dicendum de matrimoniis eorum qui a genitoribus acatholicis vel infidelibus nati, sed in Ecclesia Catholica baptizati, postea, ab infantili aetate, in haeresi seu infidelitate vel sine ulla religione adoleverunt, quoties cum parte acatholica vel infideli contraxerint?

R. Recurrendum esse in singulis casibus.

By the Decree *Ne Temere*, clandestine espousals and marriages of Catholics with non-Catholics are invalid, and Catholics are all who were baptized in the Catholic Church, or who were converted to it, even though they subsequently fell away. It is important, then, to know what is meant by being baptized in the Catholic Church, and in ordinary cases there is little difficulty in this investigation. People who in adult age seek baptism from a priest and are by him received into the Church certainly come under the description, and if they were previously validly baptized their profession of faith brings them under the category of those who were converted to the Catholic Church. But difficulty arises especially in connexion with those who were baptized in infancy and who, before arriving at the age of reason, were taken away from the Catholic Church and brought up either in an heretical or schismatical sect or in a state of infidelity. If these children were of Catholic parents and were baptized solemnly or privately as Catholics with the express or interpretative consent of their parents, there

would be no doubt about the fact of their baptism in the Catholic Church in the sense of the Decree *Ne Temere*. In this sense, perhaps, the Sacred Congregation of the Council replied (February 1, 1908) in the affirmative to the question :—

Num in imperio Germaniae Catholici qui ad sectam haeticam vel schismaticam transierunt, vel conversi ad fidem catholicam ab ea postea defecerunt, *etiam in juvenili vel infantili aetate*, ad valide cum persona catholica contrahendum adhibere debeant formam in decreto *Ne Temere* statutam, ita scilicet ut contrahere debeant coram paroco et duobus saltem testibus.

The affirmative reply meant that these by their baptism were Catholics, and as such could not enjoy the privilege granted by the Constitution *Provida* to mixed marriages in Germany. The same would probably be true of children of non-Catholic parents, if these consented to the baptism in the Catholic Church.

If children were baptized in the Catholic Church without the consent of their Catholic parents, or if children were baptized in the Catholic Church without the consent of their non-Catholic parents, then again it might be said with reasonableness that they were Catholics in the sense of the Decree *Ne Temere* if the baptism were conferred in circumstances in which it was lawful to proceed without the parental authority, v.g., when the child was in danger of death. But if such exceptional circumstances were excluded, and if, consequently, the baptism were conferred against the directions of Canon Law, it seems likely that the children would not be regarded as having been baptized in the Catholic Church for matrimonial purposes. These conclusions are, however, mere matter of conjecture; no definite principle of interpretation has so far been sanctioned by the Church.

It was hoped that the question proposed for solution would elicit a reply that would enable theologians to determine the juridical standing of children of non-Catholic parents who were baptized in the Catholic Church, but the Holy Office did not wish to give any such

solution; it preferred to order that in individual cases recourse be had to the Holy See for instruction. The reply directly regards children of non-Catholic parents and makes no distinction between baptism conferred with the consent of the parents and baptism conferred without the consent of the parents; it universally commands that recourse be had to Rome for instruction when there is question of children of non-Catholic parents, who were baptized in the Catholic Church, and who were brought up from infancy outside the Catholic Church. From a parity of reason it seems advisable to follow the same rule in the case of children of Catholic parents, who were brought up from infancy outside the Catholic Church, at least if their baptism were conferred against the wishes of the parents. It is clear from the reply that every child baptized in the Catholic Church is not juridically regarded as a Catholic in the sense of the Decree *Ne Temere*, else there would be no necessity for recourse in individual cases to the Holy See. Possibly with a view to a future definite solution on some general lines, the Holy See desires to examine each case that occurs for some time; a collection of these cases cannot fail to assist in discovering an underlying principle which is of universal application.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

LAW OF THE 'IMPRIMATUR' AS IT AFFECTS RELIGIOUS— WHAT RELIGIOUS BODIES ARE BOUND BY IT?

REV. DEAR SIR,—Would you kindly say how far Religious are bound to secure an *Imprimatur* for books they intend to publish, and what Religious bodies exactly are bound by the regulations now in force? Might I also ask you to state how long Religious have been subject to any law in the matter?

RELIGIOSUS.

Religious have been bound by the law of the *Imprimatur* ever since the law was first established.

Until the middle of the fifteenth century there was no law binding either cleric or layman to secure an *Imprimatur*.

Books were often condemned, of course, but their authors had violated no ecclesiastical law by publishing them without previous approbation. The introduction of the art of printing, and the consequent wider diffusion of literature of all kinds, naturally led to a change. We find special laws enacted by the Bishops of Cologne (1475) and Mainz (1486), and by the Pontifical Legate, Nicholas Franco, at Vannes (1491), all prescribing a censorship more or less strict. The Constitution *Inter multiplices* issued for the ecclesiastical provinces of Cologne, Mainz, Treviri, and Magdeburg, by Alexander VI. on June 1, 1501, required the 'express and special permission of the Archbishops or Vicars or Officials' for the lawful printing of 'books, tracts, and any writings whatever,' and that under pain of excommunication *latae sententiae*.

By the Constitution *Inter sollicitudines* of Leo X., published on May 4, 1515, in the Fifth Council of Lateran, the law was made universal, and other punishments were added to the excommunication. No distinction was drawn, nor had any been drawn in the previous enactments, between the various classes of authors. The special regulation affecting Regulars came with the Council of Trent. As it forms the basis of the discipline now in force it may be quoted. After declaring that the Vulgate was authentic and should be interpreted according to the teaching of the Church, the Council proceeds : —

Decernit (Synodus) et statuit ut posthac Sacra Scriptura, potissimum vero haec ipsa vetus et Vulgata editio, quam emendatissime imprimatur : nullique licet imprimere, vel imprimi facere quosvis libros de rebus sacris sine nomine auctoris : neque illos in futurum vendere, aut etiam apud se retinere, nisi primum examinati probatique fuerint ab Ordinario. . . . Et, si Regulares fuerint, ultra examinationem et probationem hujusmodi, licentiam quoque a suis superioribus impetrare teneantur, recognitis per eos libris, juxta formam suarum ordinationum.¹

Whether the law of Trent applied to all religious works or only to those dealing with the Scriptures authors are not

¹ Sess. IV. *De edit. et usu Sacr. libr.*

quite agreed.¹ The words quoted indicate sufficiently the basis for the difference of opinion. The Fathers are obviously concerned with the authentic version of the Scriptures, but the regulation itself is said to affect 'quosvis libros de rebus sacris.' Be that as it may, the practice since the time of Clement VIII. has been to insist on the double *Imprimatur* in the case of Religious, whenever, in the case of authors generally, the *Imprimatur* of the Bishop would have been required.²

Passing over the Decrees of Alexander VII., Benedict XIV., and Pius IX., which have little to do with the present issue, we come to the Constitution *Officiorum ac munerum* (January 25, 1897), which defines the discipline now in force:—

All the faithful [the 41st section states] are bound to submit to ecclesiastical censorship those books at least which treat of the Divine Scriptures, Sacred Theology, Ecclesiastical History, Canon Law, Natural Theology, Ethics, and other religious and moral subjects of the kind, and generally all writings which concern religion and morality in a special way.

Regulars, moreover (the 36th section states),

are to bear in mind that, in addition to the Bishop's permission, they are bound by the Decree of the Holy Council of Trent to secure from the (Regular) Superior to whom they are subject, leave to publish their work. And a record of the double permission is to be printed either at the beginning or at the end.³

Relying on the difference of view, already referred to, as to the extent of the Tridentine law, Father Vermeersch is inclined to maintain that the present regulation—which, as we see, re-affirms the Tridentine—does not, in so far as it requires the permission of the Religious Superior, apply to works other than those treating of the Sacred Scriptures.⁴

¹ Pennacchi, *Comm. Const. Apost. Sedis*, ii. 227. Wernz, *Jus Decret.*, iii. 137.

² Wernz, *ibid.*, *N. R. Théologique*, t. 43, No. 10-11, p. 557.

³ 'Regulares praeter Episcopi licentiam meminerint teneri se sacri Concilii Tridentini decreto operis in lucem edendi facultatem a Praelato, cui subiacent, obtinere. Utraque autem concessio, in principio vel in fine operis imprimatur.'

⁴ *De Prohib. et Cens. Libr.*, p. 100.

In this contention, however, he is supported neither by internal evidence nor by the common teaching of the canonists.¹ The plain meaning seems to be that, within the limits prescribed by the 41st section, Regulars are obliged to secure the double *Imprimatur*. Outside these limits they must, of course, follow the rules of their Order, and get the permission of their own Superior, but they are not obliged, as the secular clergy are, to consult the Ordinary.

The term 'Regular,' strictly understood, applies only to Orders with solemn vows. The tendency of recent legislation has been, however, to harmonize as far as possible the laws affecting the various religious bodies. We might, therefore, be prepared to find congregations with simple vows treated as subject to the new law of the *Imprimatur*. A decision of the Congregation for Religious' Affairs, given on June 15 last, makes the matter certain. The question submitted was whether 'Religious belonging to Institutes with simple vows are bound by the same rules regarding the *Imprimatur* as Regulars with solemn vows,' and the answer was in the affirmative.

I. An Religiosi pertinentes ad Instituta votorum simplicium iisdem teneantur legibus ac Regulares votorum solemnium quoad *Imprimatur* seu beneplacitum a suis Superioribus expostulandum, quoties aliquod suum manuscriptum in lucem edere cupiunt ? . . .
 . . . Ad I. *Affirmative*.²

In addition to the two classes mentioned there are congregations fashioned after the model of religious Orders, but not bound by the religious vows. The reply does not cover their case. But, judging by the spirit in which these matters are now regulated, the probabilities are that, when the question regarding them is put, a similar answer will be given.

¹ Pennacchi, *Comm. Const. Off. ac mun.*, p. 214; Gennari, *Della nova Disciplina*, etc., p. 76; Wernz, *loc. cit.*, *N. R. Th.*, *loc. cit.*

² *Acta Apost. Sedis*, Ann. iii. Vol. iii. p. 270.

SERMON ON SUNDAY IN THE PARISH CHURCH—
ARE THE FAITHFUL OBLIGED TO BE PRESENT?

REV. DEAR SIR,—As a humble member of a parish congregation might I inquire whether I am bound to hear the Sunday sermon in the parish church? I always thought that I was free to go where I pleased on Sunday; provided I attended Mass, and heard a sermon, perhaps, somewhere. And all my friends, I know, were under the same impression. . . . I heard it stated recently, though, in public that the parish church was the place to which we were all supposed by the law of the Church to come on Sundays for instruction in our religion . . . and now I am wondering if I have been wrong all this time. . . .

LAYMAN.

Our friend will excuse us for not giving his letter in full. We have omitted the personal details, but the substance of his query is given in the passages quoted.

The obligation of assisting at Sunday Mass in one's own parish church, with the subsidiary obligation of hearing the sermon there, has long since disappeared. The faithful may be exhorted to do one or the other, as they may be exhorted to do a number of other things, but neither parish priest nor Bishop can impose an obligation.

The only difficulty that can be urged in regard to the sermon is based on the words of the Council of Trent. Dealing with the duty of preaching, it states that 'the Bishop is to admonish the people that everyone is bound, when it can be conveniently done, to be present in his own parish to hear the word of God'; 'Moneat episcopus populum diligenter teneri unumquemque parochiae suae interesse, ubi commode id fieri potest, ad audiendum verbum Dei.' ¹

However the words are to be explained, it is fairly clear that the Council did not intend to impose an ecclesiastical obligation nor to re-affirm any such obligation previously existing. According to the Council, guided in this matter by the universal practice of the Church,² the sermon was to be preached during Mass. 'Inter missarum celebra-

¹ Sess. XXIV. c. iv. *De Reform.*

² Cf. Bona, *Rev. Liturg.*, l. 2, c. 7, n. 6.

tionem' ¹ and 'inter missarum solemnna aut divinorum celebrationem,' ² are the directions. To impose an obligation to hear the sermon would therefore be tantamount to imposing an obligation to assist at the Mass. But at the time of the Council, as its own regulations prove, the obligation to attend Sunday Mass in one's own parish had ceased.

The stricter regulation had been maintained in the Church for over a thousand years. We find it formulated by the Council of Sardica, ³ and by a number of subsequent Councils, including the Quinisext ⁴: it is incorporated in the Decretals of Gregory IX. ⁵: even so late as June 14, 1478, we have it re-affirmed in the Constitution *Vices illius* of Sixtus IV.: 'Cum jure sit cautum illis diebus (festivis et Dominicis) parochianos teneri audire missam in eorum parochiali ecclesia, nisi forsan ex honesta causa ab ipsa ecclesia se abstinent.' The Regulars naturally did their best to have the law modified, and, on November 13, 1517, Leo X. decreed 'by apostolic authority' that 'all the faithful who, without showing contempt for their parish priest, hear Mass in the churches of the mendicant Orders, satisfy the precept of the Church.' Pius V. in 1567, and Clement VIII. in 1592, issued similar Decrees. Once the privilege was granted to the Regulars it naturally spread to the churches of the Seculars as well. And hence, though for a century or so later rigorists continued to protest against the milder enactment, ⁶ Bishops generally confined themselves to exhortations. St. Charles Borromeo, for instance, does not speak of a strict law, but 'exhorts and beseeches' the people 'to come frequently, at least on Sundays and the solemn feasts, to their own parish church'; ⁷ and a multitude of others followed his example. ⁸ An Irish Bishop did pass

¹ Sess. XXII. c. 8, *De Sacr. Missae*.

² Sess. XXIV. c. 7, *De Reform*.

³ Harduin, t. I, col. 648.

⁴ Ibid., t. 3, col. 1690.

⁵ C. 2, *De Parochiis*. Before Mass 'the priests ask if there is anyone from another parish present. . . . If such be found he is to be ejected from the church immediately.'

⁶ e.g., Juenin, *De Sacr. dissert.*, 5, q. 7, c. 2, a. 2; Van Espen, *Jur. Ecc. part.*, 2, t. 5, c. 2, etc.

⁷ *Acta Ecc. Mediol.*, p. I, p. 302 (Sixth Prov. Council of Milan).

⁸ e.g., Archbishop Ribera of Valencia (1584), the Archbishop of Lima (1592), etc.

a law obliging his subjects to attend the parochial Mass and hear the sermon, but his diocesan statutes—and this one among them—were considerably modified by the Congregation of the Council in 1686. 'The faithful were to be admonished (it said) to do these things, but not compelled.'¹

We see, therefore, that at the time of Trent the new law had come into force. And the Council recognized it. 'The Bishops are to admonish the people to come frequently to their own parish churches, at least on Sundays and the major feasts'² (almost the very words afterwards used by St. Charles Borromeo), but there is no mention of a law. What the exact meaning of its statement regarding the sermon may be it is, therefore, difficult to say. Suarez maintains that the phrase 'ubi commode id fieri potest' so modifies the word 'teneri' as to reduce the regulation to a mere exhortation. If there be an obligation at all, he says, it is merely the obligation of charity, by which everyone is bound to adopt not merely the necessary, but even the useful, means of salvation.³ Others take slightly different views.⁴ But even though one were forced to admit that none of the explanations are quite satisfactory, and that there is, in the Tridentine regulation, an echo of the old law that had, as we have seen, been in full force almost till the days of the Council itself, he can hardly close his eyes to the fact that the universal custom to the contrary, to which all our theologians now bear witness, must have, according to the ordinary principles of Canon Law, long since removed the obligation.

**MASS IN PRIVATE HOUSES. HOW ARE FACULTIES GRANTED
BY A BISHOP AFFECTED BY HIS DEATH?**

REV. DEAR SIR,—The Maynooth Statutes (p. 67, n. 101) state that Masses are not to be said in private houses 'nisi necessitas

¹ 'Ita corrigendam ut per eam monerentur quidem, non autem cogerentur, fideles.'—Bened. XIV. *De Syn. Dioec.*, l. ii. c. 14, n. 2.

² Sess. XXII. *Decr. de observ.*, etc., *De Reform.* 'Moneant etiam eundem populum, ut frequenter ad suas parochias, saltem diebus dominicis et majoribus festis, accedant.'

³ *De Religione*, l. 2, c. 16, n. 10.

⁴ See Benedict XIV., loc. cit., n. 13.

urgeat, et specialis atque expressa habeatur ab Episcopo licentia, qui etiam aedes ubi sacrum fiat designare debebit.' What is meant by 'necessitas' in this context? Is the power of Irish Bishops in this connexion greater or less than that enjoyed by Bishops generally?

B. F.

REV. DEAR SIR,—How are faculties granted by a Bishop to his priests affected by his death? Must they be renewed? Does it make any difference whether the Bishop's own authority in the matter had been ordinary or delegated?

A. R.

These questions have already been discussed in the pages of the I. E. RECORD: those of 'B. F.' in the January number, 1908, those of 'A. R.' in the January and February numbers, 1910.

M. J. O'DONNELL.

LITURGY

SHORT FORM IN THE BAPTISM OF ADULTS

REV. DEAR SIR,—In the Appendix to the Maynooth Statutes, 1900 (p. 12), we have a rescript conceding faculties to the Irish Ordinaries to use the shorter form of infant baptism in baptizing adults. Does this mean all adults who are baptized *sine conditione*? Does the faculty hold good still all over Ireland, notwithstanding the instruction: 'Enixe tamen curet Episcopus Orator ut res quam citius,' etc?

Again, in the rescript of 1905, ad 2^m (Appendix, p. 14): Are we to say the prayers in Latin as given in our Irish Ritual with the *imprimatur* of Cardinal Logue and Archbishop Walsh? It appears to me that the form in the case given is simply the necessary form, putting the other questions or their sense in English? A few words in explanation of these points will oblige—Yours sincerely,

VERITAS.

In the Roman Ritual there is a special form for the baptism of adults—whether absolute or conditional—which is not printed in our Irish edition. As it is much longer and more involved than that for the baptism of infants the Irish Bishops assembled in the Maynooth Synod of

1875 petitioned the Holy See for permission to use a shorter one. The form for infant baptism was then prescribed to be used generally in Ireland in the baptism of adults. This concession, at first granted for five years, was afterwards renewed several times, until finally, in the year 1894, the words 'ad quinquennium' were omitted altogether. At the same time it was urged that the regular form for the baptism of adults should be introduced 'quam citius.' According, then, to the terms of *this* rescript the form for infant baptism may be used in Ireland in the case of adults whether the baptism is absolute or conditional. With regard to the clause, 'enixe tamen curet Episcopus,' etc., which our correspondent quotes, we may observe that the circumstances on account of which the concession was granted, viz., the difficulty of carrying out the full ritual, have not materially changed since 1894. Moreover, there has been no intimation, as far as we are aware, that the time has come for the adoption of the regular form. Therefore, we believe that the form for infant baptism may still be used in any part of Ireland. But a further general concession was granted 'ad decennium,' in the year 1905, in virtue of which a still shorter form may be used when the baptism of an adult is conditional. This form, however, must not be used in case the sacrament is conferred absolutely. It is given in our Irish ritual, and all the necessary interrogations, etc., are there indicated. With regard to the use of English, though it is not of obligation, the usual practice may be followed.¹

TRIDUUM IN CONNEXION WITH A FEAST

REV. DEAR SIR,—For many years past a Triduum is held in my diocese in honour of certain saints, v.g., St. Patrick, St. Joseph, immediately preceding the feast day. I know a parish priest who faithfully carries out the devotion of the Triduum on each of the three days; but when the feast day comes there are none, unless it falls on a Sunday or a holiday. Benediction, etc., in this case is given by reason of the Sunday, not of the feast. The same treatment is meted out to the diocesan patron.

¹ Vid. O' Kane, 297-300.

This parish priest holds that his course of action is the correct one, although in the Cathedral and other churches of the diocese the devotions are given on the feast day as well as during the Triduum. Will you kindly say, in the next number of the I. E. RECORD what is the correct course to adopt?—Sincerely yours,

CHAPLAIN.

If we rightly understand our correspondent's letter, he wishes to know whether the devotions of the Triduum should be carried out not only during the Triduum itself, but also on the feast which follows. It may be well to point out that a Triduum (or novena) though sanctioned by the Church and, in some cases, dowered with indulgences, has no fixed place in the public liturgy. It still remains a matter of private devotion, as distinct from public worship in the strict sense. But when held in connexion with a feast it is to be regarded as a preparation for the feast and not as part of the celebration of the feast itself. This may be gathered from the conditions¹ laid down by the Congregation of Indulgences when an indulgence is granted for the holding of a Triduum or novena before certain feasts. It is always supposed that the exercises are completed before the feast day. And such is the usual practice.

If, therefore, a Triduum has been ordered by the Bishop, or is customary in the diocese in the cases mentioned, the parish priest has fully complied with the precept or custom by holding the devotions on the three days preceding the feast. How he should solemnize the feast itself is quite another matter which has nothing to do with the Triduum. On further investigation 'Chaplain' will probably find that the devotions in the Cathedral and other churches, on such feasts as he mentions, are simply a laudable way of investing these feasts with additional solemnity. Apart from special legislation, it is for the parish priest to decide what devotions, if any, he should hold on these days.

T. O'DOHERTY.

¹ Vid. 'Raccolta' passim. Also I. E. RECORD, October, 1911, p. 436, ad. viiium.

DOCUMENTS

STATEMENT OF THE IRISH HIERARCHY ON STRIKES

At a meeting of the Irish Hierarchy held at Maynooth on Tuesday, October 10th, it was resolved to issue the following statement in regard to the recent strikes :—

The bitter ordeal of a series of strikes, from which the country is painfully emerging, has excited sorrow and pity in the breast of everyone who has a heart to feel for our people. As the pastors of the whole flock bound to seek justice and mercy for all, but laden with a special load of care for the toiling masses, who are often the least able to defend their rights, we have witnessed with intense grief the enormous damage entailed on thousands of workmen and their families, on the railway and other companies, their shareholders and customers, and especially on the community at large in Ireland.

The worst aspect of this sad business is that the main crisis was precipitated under the guidance of mischief-makers, who have shown themselves as reckless about the fate of the Irish working-man as they have been indifferent to the life of our rising trade and nascent industries. A more glaring instance of the evil of being tied to Great Britain in our local affairs could not well be found.

The leading conflict was not decreed by the freely elected representatives of an Irish organization formed for the protection of Irish labour. Neither was the general railway strike ordered for such legitimate purposes as to obtain a living wage or secure reasonable hours of employment, but for the blind purpose of a sympathetic strike, the principle of which leading trade unionists have denounced as fatal to trade unionism itself as well as to industry and civilization. In any recourse to the formidable expedient of a strike or a lock-out the first essential is to have one's own immediate quarrel just ; and, assuredly, the recent sad experience has taught us a sad lesson of the need of wise and prolonged consultation before resorting to extreme courses.

It is to sound public opinion, formed on Christian principles and keen on justice between man and man, that we look ultimately for the main public safeguard against the ruinous con-

vulsions of strikes and lock-outs. But we think that the time has come when legislation might well require that all great conflicts between employers and employes, not otherwise settled, should be referred to a definite and fairly constituted Court of quasi-arbitration, and that any party declining to accept the arbitral award should not be permitted to resort to a strike until a fixed and sufficient time has elapsed to enable the public mind to grasp the whole situation as stated from the Court.

It only remains for us to add that, if large numbers of helpless families have been made to suffer by this ill-advised conflict, it is a lasting credit to our people that the struggle has not been stained by bloodshed.

DOUBTS REGARDING LAW OF FAST AND ABSTINENCE

S. CONGREGATIO CONCILII

AURIEN.

DUBIORUM CIRCA ABSTINENTIAE ET IEIUNII LEGEM

Dubia quae hic enodanda proponuntur versantur circa interpretationem rescripti diei 19 Februarii 1851 a S. C. S. Offici Episcopo Auriensi concessi; ideo praestat illud per extensum referre. Est autem huius tenoris:

‘Episcopus Auriensis B. V. filiali veneratione accedens, humiliter deprecatur et supplicat ut cum suae dioecesis habitatoribus pro benignitate dispensare digneris, ut in S. Quadragesimae, quatuor temporum et in reliquis tam de praecepto quam ex devotione ieiunii diebus, servata ieiunii forma, *de omni pinguedine suina, butyro, lacte, caseoque in suis esibus uti possint*. In hac enim mei regiminis dioecesi oleta nulla sunt, et ideo oleum magno praetio aestimatur; attentis temporum pecuniae et nummorum paritate penesque generali paupertate maxime ruri degentium, personae quoque non omnino pauperes in olei acquisitione multo incommodo et dispendio laborant; estque haec causa, ut parochi et confessarii saepissime in poenitentiae Sacramenti administratione angustias patiantur, dum a poenitentibus inquiruntur an inopia oppressi, aut in parva quantitate dictis pinguedinibus vesci possint. Ut vero omnis tollatur ambigendi occasio et cum securitate procedant, ad me submissee supplices accessere rogantes, quod a V. B. exposcerem ut privilegium a Sancta Sede habitantibus dioecesis Lucensis concessum quibus *omnis pinguedinis suinae*

usus permittitur, aut Mindoniensis, quibus *butyro et caseo vesci licet*, ad fideles huius Auriensis dioecesis extendatur. Finem tunc habebunt anxietates et peccata in quibus illabuntur multi qui ieiunii praeceptum cum solo olei usu esse valde difficile opinantur. His precibus Vestra benignitas annuens meis monitis intelligerent dioecesani privilegium ex V. B. liberalitate illis concedi non in abusum et perniciem, sed in animarum utilitatem et ut facilius et exactius ieiunium adimpleamus, quo a vitiis avertimur et de peccatis purgamur. Et ut cessent dubia et scrupuli similiter postulat ut hoc privilegium ad omnes laicos sive clericos cuiuscumque gradus et dignitatis, modo non sint voto adstricti, extendatur.

‘Sanctitati Vestrae obsequens filialiter certum facit de sincera ac perpetua sua obedientia, et exorat ut Apostolicam benedictionem ei impartiaris.’

His precibus acceptis S. C. benigne annuens rescripsit :

‘Feria IV, die 19 Februarii 1851, SS^{ms} Dominus Noster Pius, Divina Providentia, PP. IX., in solita audientia R. P. D. Assessori S. Officii impertita, audita relatione Rev^{ms}orum DD. S. R. E. Cardinalium Generalium Inquisitorum suffragiis benigne annuit *pro gratia per modum tamen condimenti*, exceptis Feria IV Cinerum, tribus postremis diebus maioris Hebdomadae, et Vigiliis Pentecostes, SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, Assumptionis et Immaculatae Conceptionis B. Mariae Virginis, Omnium Sanctorum et Nativitatis D. N. Iesu Christi.’

Porro primum dubium exortum circa superscripti indulti interpretationem est, num fideles teneantur sumere Bullam *Cruciatam* ut praefato privilegio uti possint. Plures Sacerdotes Auriensis dioecesis sententiam affirmativam sequuntur hisce innixi rationibus : 1°. quia Commissarius Generalis Bullae *Cruciatæ* in expeditione memorati indulti anno 1851, declaravit necessitatum sumendi Bullam *Cruciatam* ut quis illo uti posset ; 2°. quia huic sententiae suffragatur praxis ab initio introducta et ab Episcopis Auriensibus confirmata in suis instructionibus et responsionibus ad parochos, imo in ipsa Synodo dioecesana, celebrata anno 1908, recognita ; 3°. quia secus *Cruciatæ* reditus notabiliter decrescerent in Auriensi dioecesi quod in detrimentum divini cultus vergeret. Nam pro expensis in divino cultu pro hac dioecesi, quae praeter Cathedralē, constat 680 ecclesiis, requiritur summa 124.161 libellarum, quarum libellas 121.388 a *Cruciatæ* redditibus deduci debent, cum aerarium nationale vix 2773 libellas pro tota dioecesi praebeat.

Secundum dubium versatur circa significationem seu extensionem verborem *pinguedinis suinae*; *utrum* nempe per allata verba intelligi possit iusculum (*brodo di carne* hispanice *caldo de carne*) omnis carnis suinae, vel tantum iusculum seu succus laridi suini. Praeterea notandum est vigere in hac dioecesi consuetudinem in citata Synodo approbatam, vescendi in caenulis dierum ieiunii omni piscium genere.

His praemissis Canonicus Poenitentiarius Ecclesiae Cathedralis Auriensis de mandato Episcopi sequentia authentice resolvenda dubia proposuit:

1°. 'An Christifideles dioecesis Auriensis pro usu supradicti privilegii teneantur sumere Bullam *Cruciatae*?'

2°. 'An tuto sequi possit interpretatio enunciati indulti data a Rñõ Ordinario anno 1851, iuxta quam non solum possunt fideles tam in prandio quam in caenula uti iusculo vel succo laridi suini, sed etiam iusculo aut succo omnis carnis suinae, miscendo etiam in parva coena cum piscibus in vigiliis aliisque ieiunii diebus, exceptis fer. IV Cinerum, tribus postremis diebus maioris hebdomadae aliisque diebus in indulto expressis?'

Et quatenus affirmative:

3°. 'An iusculum seu succus omnis animalis terrestris carnis possit equiparari iusculo seu succo carnis suinae ad effectus secundi quaesiti praecedentis, ita ut possit hac in dioecesi sumi etiam in parva coena iusculum cuiuscumque animalis, etiam si pisces de more edantur?'

Cum de re gravis momenti ageretur, exquisita est sententia Consultoris, ut, ea quae pollet doctrina, omnia quae sive in iure sive in facto ad solutionem iuvare possent animadverteret, ac purgatissimis EE. VV. oculis subiiceret.

Haec igitur dubia enodanda proponuntur:

1°. *An fideles dioecesis Auriensis pro usu supradicti privilegii dioecesani teneantur sumere Bullam 'Cruciatae'?*

2°. *An tuto sequi possit interpretatio privilegii data ab Ordinario Auriensi a. 1851 qua declaravit non solum licere tam in coenula quam in prandio, uti iusculo vel succo laridi suini, sed etiam iusculo vel succo omnis carnis suinae et etiam in parva coenula miscendo cum piscibus, exclusis diebus in privilegio exceptis.*

3°. *Et quatenus affirmative: An iusculum seu succus omnis animalis terristris carnis possit equiparari iusculo seu succo carnis suinae ad effectus quaesiti praecedentis.*

DECISIO. Eñi Patres in Congregatione plenaria, die 29 Aprilis 1911, respondendum censuerunt:

Ad I. *Negative.*

Ad II. et III. *Iusculum carnis sive suinae sive aliorum animalium non comprehendi in allegato indulto: comprehendi vero etiam pro coenula condimentum ex adipe sive suino sive aliorum animalium et etiam butyrum.*

L. ✠ S.

C. CARD. GENNARI, *Praefectus.*
BASILIUS POMPILI, *Secretarius.*

SOME CALENDAR DIFFICULTIES

S. CONGREGATIO RITUUM

BAIONEN.

DUBIA VARIA

Hodiernus Redactor Kalendarii Dioeceseos Baionensis, in Gallia, de consensu sui Rm̃i Episcopi, insequentia dubia pro opportuna declaratione Sacrae Rituum Congregationi humiliter subiecit; nimirum:

I. Utrum Decreto 8 Maii 1899, Augustodunen. seu Galliarum, extendente Officium et Missam S. Odilonis, Abbatis Cluniacensis, sub ritu duplici minori, ad cunctas Galliarum Ecclesias, obligatio facta fuerit omnibus Galliarum Dioecesibus illud adoptandi, vel simpliciter haec extensio non sit nisi facultas?

II. Utrum dies 7 Iulii sit quasi-natalitia pro Ss. Cyrillo et Methodio, Epp. Conf. iuxta Martyrologium Romanum?

III. Utrum in Festo Ss. Septem Fundatorum Ordinis Servorum B. M. V. utrisque Vesperis carente, hymnus *Matris sub almae* recitari debeat ad Laudes, iunctis ad Matutinum hymnis *Bella dum late et Sic Patres vitam?*

IV. Si in tertio Nocturno alicuius Sancti vel Mysterii, Lectiones de Homilia excerptae sunt ex operibus eiusdem Sancti, aut sunt historicae circa Mysterium, utrum tres Lectiones debeant in duas redigi, ut fit in Festo S. Hilarii, Ep. Conf. Doct., in casu quo nona Lectio legi debeat de alio Officio eodem die commemorato?

V. Ubi S. Silvester est Patronus vel Titularis, utrum secundae eius Vesperae sumendae sint de Communi Confessoris Pontificis, vel usque ad Capitulum dicendae sint de Nativitate Domini, ut in aliis diebus infra Octavam?

VI. Quum nuptiae celebratae fuerint tempore prohibito, et sponsi postea benedictionem nuptialem petierint, iuxta Decretum S. C. U. I. diei 31 Augusti 1881, utrum eligendus sit dies in quo Missa votiva pro sponsis dici possit, ut praetendunt aliqui, innixi

super Decretum Generale de Missis Votivis diei 30 Ianuarii 1896, vel in casu benedictio nuptialis impertiri possit infra Missam, puta de festo duplici 2 classis cum commemoratione pro Sponsis, iuxta rubricam in capite Missae pro Sponsis positam ?

VII. Utrum ad impertiendam benedictionem nuptialem post tempus feriatum coniugibus antea matrimonio iunctis, necessaria sit praesentia amborum, vel sufficiat solius sponsae ?

VIII. Utrum in Ecclesiis Parochialibus unam tantum Missam habentibus, Parochi debeant ad normam Decreti n°. 3887 diei 21 Februarii 1896, Missam pro populo applicandam iuxta officium diei celebrare, etiam in Dominicis ad quas iussu Card. Caprara transferuntur solemnitates Epiphaniae Domini, SS. Corporis Christi, SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, ac praecipui Patroni loci, atque etiam quorundam aliorum festorum ex peculiaribus Indultis, vel possint per Missam dictarum solemnitatum oneri suo satisfacere ?

IX. Utrum solemnitates iussu Card. Caprara ad Dominicam proxime sequentem translatae, ceteraeque ex Indulto particulari similiter faciendae, celebrari debeant an possint etiam in Oratorii semipublicis ubi singulis Dominicis solet Missa cantari ?

X. Si extra Expositionem XL. Horarum, et Festum SS. Corporis Christi, fieri contingat expositio SS. Sacramenti immediate post Missam, Hostia debeatne intra hanc Missam consecrari, vel accipi possit Hostia iam prius consecrata ?

XI. Quatenus affirmative ad secundam partem ; utrum Hostia iam antea consecrata poni possit in Ostensorio ante purificationem et ablutiones, vel expectari debeat usque ad expletum ultimum Evangelium ?

XII. Utrum celebrans in Vesperis solemnibus possit stolam induere sub pluviali a principio Officii, quum immediate post Vesperas, quin ipse recedat a Presbyterio, fiat Expositio cum Benedictione Sanctissimi Sacramenti ?

XIII. Utrum Processio cum SSmo Eucharistiae Sacramento, quae immediate ut supra subsequitur Vesperas cum paramentis rubris vel viridibus cantatas, cum iisdem fieri debeat, vel albi coloris assumi debeant paramenta ?

XIV. In benedictione Olei Catechumenorum, feria v Coenae Domini, Rubrica Pontificalis statuit : ' duodecim Sacerdotes reverenter salutant Oleum ipsum dicentes : Ave Sanctum Oleum.' Haec verba : ' reverenter salutant ' suntne ita interpretanda, ut debeat fieri genuflexio, sicut ad Sanctum Chrisma, vel simplex inclinatio capitis ?

Et Sacra Rituum Congregatio, exquisito Commissionis Liturgicae voto, propositis dubiis sedulo expensis ita respondendum censuit :

Ad I. Singulis petentibus Sacra Congregatio reservavit sibi concessionem iuxta Decretum citatum.

Ad II. Affirmative.

Ad III. Provisum in Decreto 8 Aprilis 1908.

Ad IV. Decernendum in casibus particularibus.

Ad V. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad VI. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad VII. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Ad VIII. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Ad IX. Solemnitates enunciatas celebrari posse in Oratoriis semi publicis de quibus agitur in Decreto n°. 4007, diei 23 Ianuarii 1899.

Ad X. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad XI. Negative ad primam partem; affirmative ad secundam.

Ad XII. Affirmative.

Ad XIII. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Ad XIV. Affirmative ad primam partem; negative ad secundam.

Atque ita rescripsit, die 27 Maii 1911.

FR. SEBASTIANUS CARD. MARTINELLI, S.R.C. *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

✠ PETRUS L. FONTAINE, *Ep. Charystien.*, *Secretarius*.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

DE ADMINISTRATIVA AMOTIONE PAROCHORUM, seu Commentarium in Decretum 'Maxima Cura.' By Fr. Felix M. Cappello. Frederick Pustet, Rome, New York, Cincinnati, etc. 1911.

DE CURIA ROMANA, juxta reformationem a Pio X. sapientissime inductam. Vol. I., De Curia Romana, 'Sede Plena.' Same author, publisher and date.

OF the Roman documents that have appeared in recent times the *Maxima Cura* is one of the clearest. The powers of the Bishop and examiners and consultors, the causes that justify action, and the successive steps in the process of removal are so carefully defined that it might almost seem at first sight as if nothing was left to the commentators. But time has proved it otherwise. Phrases and paragraphs were found ambiguous, cases arose in which the rules laid down could not be applied with certainty, questions have been sent to Rome and answers received. And so it was discovered after that, all, we needed the help of the commentators. They have shown no hesitation in coming forward, and among them Father Cappello is, we believe, the latest.

After sketching in a few introductory pages the main points of difference between administrative removal and judicial privation, and showing, on the authority of Parisius, Reiffenstuel, De Nigris, Aichner, Wernz, and a number of other canonists, that the principle of economic removal was well known to Canon Law before the issue of the *Maxima Cura*, though the limits within which it might be enforced were not very clearly defined, the author gives the Decree in full, and comments on it section by section. Incidentally, he quotes many of the pre-existing regulations and, in fact, gives us almost a *résumé* of the canonical tract *De Parocho*. This is obviously a necessity in any satisfactory commentary on the subject. A knowledge of the general obligations of parish priests, as already defined by Canon Law, is essential for a full appreciation of the Decree, especially in connexion with the eighth and ninth causes that

justify removal. And ambiguous passages all through the document cannot be interpreted, with any prospect of finality, except by a reference to similar laws in the past and to the practical principles of jurisprudence that have, up to the present, guided canonists in the adjustment of apparently conflicting rights.

The length of a commentary on the subject will obviously depend on the extent to which these principles and previous regulations are allowed to creep into its pages. The author has allowed them to appear only so far as they are absolutely essential for an explanation of the matter in hand. His little volume of 120 pages, which may be read comfortably in a few hours, gives a sufficient working knowledge of the subject, and will be found extremely useful for anyone who does not require a completely exhaustive treatment of any particular section.

His work on the *Roman Curia* as reformed by the present Pope—the first volume of which, dealing with the ordinary working of the Curia when the see is filled, is before us—is a much more imposing and elaborate work. The greater length of the document on which it comments will explain the difference to some extent ; but it is evident from the very first page that the author has, in this case, gone more deeply into his subject and consulted practically all the authoritative writings bearing even remotely on the questions involved. A few chapters on the nature and power of the Church in general and on the prerogatives of the Pope and Cardinals in particular, form the natural introduction. In the subsequent pages, numbering about 600, the history, purpose, competence, and methods of procedure of the several Congregations, Offices, and Tribunals are given with all desirable detail. In particular we should like to emphasize the attention paid to the language and form in which communications to the various Roman bodies are supposed to be addressed, and to the numerous decisions, given since the reform was completed, which have cleared up most of the difficulties raised by the original document. The work as a whole will be of great service to every missionary priest. He may content himself with a mere general knowledge of the *Maxima Cura*, for, unless he be an examiner or consultor, the probabilities are, we hope, not very great that he will ever find himself practically concerned with its details. But, however peaceful his existence, he is liable at any time to find himself in communication with one or other of the Roman Congregations,

and a knowledge of their method of procedure is, therefore, of the utmost importance, if not, indeed, essential.

There is evidence that the works were hurriedly prepared, at least if occasional misprints may be taken as a test. In the smaller work, especially, spellings like 'statuae' for 'statutae' (p. 24), 'quonimus' (p. 26), 'paroeciss' (p. 52), 'signicat,' 'Gurry' (p. 85), 'assegnato' (p. 95), 'ispsa' (p. 116), to mention only a few, are rather frequent. The author sometimes, too, gives 'op. cit.' as a note reference (cf. p. 10, n. 5), when the work referred to has not been previously mentioned. These are very trifling matters, of course, but we would recommend him to attend to them when he brings out a second edition, for, unfortunately, there is a tendency to regard opinions as immature when the language in which they are expressed is obviously careless.

M. J. O'D.

THEOLOGIA DOGMATICO SCHOLASTICA ORD MENTEM SANCTI THOMAE AQUINATIS. Auctore P. Valentino ab Assumptione, Carmelita Excalceato, Vol. I., Theologia Fundamental. Burgis: Typographia 'El Monte Carmelo.' 1910.

THIS volume is one of the many evidences of a revival of theological studies in Spain, and of the wide culture and great ability of the foremost amongst Spanish exponents of the divine science. The author is a professor of theology at Burgos, and this volume is evidently a part of his course.

'Modicum otii,' he says, 'aliquando nactus hanc theologiam dogmatico-scholasticam exaravi et nunc studiis theologicis promovendis operam conferre volens publici juris facio.'

The division of theology into 'fundamental' and 'special' is much in vogue in our day in other countries besides Spain. In Spain it is almost universally followed, and in all the schools the treatises *De Vera Religione*, *De Ecclesia Christi*, and *De Locis Theologicis* take precedence and form the groundwork of all dogmatic theology. In the first treatise in this volume we very soon come upon a heading which would not fail to rivet the attention of any modern scientist whose mind was without bias in regard to it. It runs: 'Utrum theologia viatorum superet certitudine omnes scientias naturales.'

There is no minimizing or qualifying the certitude of theo-

logical teaching in the replies to this question. They are frank, clear, and conclusive. The difficulties that occur to an ordinary person, and often perhaps more pressingly to a trained theologian, are met and satisfactorily answered.

The general treatment of the various questions that arise in these departments is clear, logical, and well arranged. The wide classical and general learning of the author enables him to give at once a tone of actuality and a fine literary flavour to his discussions. His treatment of prophecy as a criterion of revelation is an example. Nowhere else have we seen so much learning condensed into so small a space. The doctrine suffers in no way from this fine style. On the contrary, it stands out clearer and more nobly set.

The question of rational faith is well explained and the means of inquiring into and proving the fact of revelation are admirably set forth.

One of the best chapters in the volume is that on the difference between the methods of propagation of various religions. Buddhism, Mohammendanism followed the lower instincts of men and encountered no difficulty. Protestantism took the same road. We commend the following to Protestant orators. It will help to supplement their orations on the Decree *Ne Temere* :—

‘Protestantismus denique opera causarum naturalium certissime introductus propagatusque est. Siquidem animos populorum erroribus Wickleff, Johannis Huss et Hieronymi de Praga ad hoc paratos invenit. A prima sui in mundo apparitione visus est sub principum saecularium tutela, qui armorum violentia et sanguinis effusione curaverunt ut quam maxime extenderetur. Vitiis et concupiscentiis habenas laxavit. Difficiliores Christianismi praxes, ut sunt confessio auricularis, jejunia, abstinenciae, coelibatus, leges ecclesiasticae, et cetera, sprexit, aliasque faciliores, quae pluribus arriserunt, proposuit. Odium contra Ecclesiam Catholicam concitavit, animos auctoritatum saecularium impatientes effecit, et totalem denique ab ecclesia separationem curavit. Haec, inquam, omnia quam maxime contulerunt ut Buddhismus, Mahometismus et Protestantismus celeriter propagarentur.’

A chapter which is admirably worked out is that on the Primacy of Jurisdiction as well as of Position of St. Peter.

The volume winds up with a succinct history and refutation of Modernism. Here, again, we have *multum in parvo*, vast knowledge and admirable condensation. We should not care,

however, to subscribe to everything in this chapter. For instance, he says :—

‘786. Praecipui modernismi coryphaei fuere: In Anglia—Tyrrell, Wilfridus Ward,’ etc.

The Decree *Lamentabili* and its binding authority is discussed. The author is inclined to side with those theologians who regard the ‘Decree’ as an *ex cathedra* pronouncement.

The work is, on the whole, very clear, concise, able, and learned. We congratulate its author and are glad to see Spain well to the front in theological studies.

D. D.

THEOLOGIA FUNDAMENTALIS, auctore Ignatio Ottinger, S.J.
Tomus II. ; De Ecclesia Christi ut infallibili revelationis
divinae magistra. Pp. xxiv. + 1062. B. Herder,
Freiburg, London, St. Louis, Munich, etc. 1911.

THE first volume of this series on *Fundamental Theology* by Father Ottinger, S.J.—covering the whole question of supernatural revelation, and extending to some 950 pages—appeared some time ago, and was received with enthusiasm by French, German, Spanish, Italian, and English critics. The views expressed in the *Dublin Review* may be taken as typical. ‘We unhesitatingly record it as our opinion,’ the writer states, ‘that, provided the two remaining volumes which are in preparation attain to the very superior level already reached in the first, it will far outstrip most, if not all, competitors—it being a truly brilliant addition to this branch of sacred science. In practically every page we come across evidence of the distinguished Jesuit’s aim, which was not to compose a mere manual, but to place at the service of professors a veritable mine of theological lore.’

In the ‘two remaining volumes,’ to which the *Dublin Review* looked forward with hope, the author was to treat of the Church. One of these—the second, therefore, of the series—has just appeared. And it may be said at the outset that it has, in many respects, ‘attained to the very superior level already reached in the first,’ and amply fulfilled the expectations its predecessor raised.

It treats of the institution of the Church: of its character as a visible, external, infallible society; of the obligation all are under of securing membership in it as a necessary means to salvation; of the primacy of St. Peter and his successors in the see of Rome; of the notes of the true Church and their realization

in the Catholic Church and nowhere else. The question of the exercise of infallibility, comprising the treatment of the object and subject of infallibility, of the sources of divine revelation, of the rule of Catholic faith and the relations between faith and human reason, is reserved for the third volume, now in course of preparation. And when it is stated that the work before us, comprising, as we see, only half the Church tract, extends to upwards of eleven hundred closely-printed octavo pages, the reader will have some idea of the elaborate treatment given to each section and of the 'mine of theological lore' the author has put at our disposal.

In fact, it may be said that, in dealing with the great controversial questions of the past—especially with those of the early centuries, which are all-important—and with those of the present that have a special interest for Catholics everywhere, the author practically exhausts all that has been said on the subject by those best qualified to speak in the name of the Church. The various statements of the Fathers on the questions at issue, some of them apparently at first sight adverse, are exhaustively treated, and the numerous historical difficulties discussed, on the whole, in a fair and satisfactory spirit. Occasional statements of St. Cyprian and Origen, for instance, on which opponents of Papal supremacy are inclined to lay strong emphasis, are fully dealt with (pp. 186-193); the Meletian episcopate at Antioch, and the alleged absence of communion of the Armenian, Persian, Ethiopian, and Celtic Churches with the see of Rome, are satisfactorily discussed—the writings of Father Hogan, Whitley Stokes, and Eugene O'Curry coming in for honourable and sympathetic mention (pp. 782-791); the troublesome question of the prohibition of African appeals to foreign tribunals in the fifth century receives due prominence (pp. 776-778); the views of the Rationalists and Modernists on the birth and growth of the Church are presented and refuted—though we are sorry to see that the opinions expressed by these critics are, with the exception of a few of Harnack's, given merely in the author's own words (pp. 295-308); and, as an instance of the author's willingness to come to close quarters with modern exegetical difficulties, we may notice his treatment of the rationalistic arguments against the genuineness of St. Matthew xvi. 18-19—though here again we can only regret his failing to take into account the almost unanimous opinion of modern non-Catholic scholars that the Gospel of St. Mark, which does not contain the text, preceded our present Gospel of St. Matthew (pp. 100-106).

For the author's presentment of all these matters we have, therefore, little but praise. About his treatment, however, of many aspects of the subject that concern us very closely in these countries, we find it hard to be equally enthusiastic. There may be a tendency, we admit, to attribute undue importance to things that come within our immediate line of vision, and to regard our own little world as the centre and pivot of the universe. But when, after making all possible allowance for these errors of perspective, we find a writer of a Church tract who shows no due appreciation of the position of the Anglican Church and of the other sects in these countries ; who enumerates in his bibliography (xxi.-xxiii.) not a single divine of the English Church though Zwingle and Luther and Calvin find a place ; who shows no first-hand acquaintance with the works of any English-speaking author with the exception of Dr. Murray's (Latin) Church tract—for the writings of Father Hogan, etc., already mentioned are, as far as we can see, only known to him from Bellesheim's *Geschichte der Katholischen Kirche in Irland* ; when, in a word, we find a theologian, whose evident intention is to tell us all about the Church, but who gives the priests of these countries practically no help whatever in the controversies in which they are liable any day to be called to take a part, we must be pardoned for saying that, from one point of view, his work is decidedly a failure. The reader will find in the table of contents (p. xii.) an entry, ' De Puseyitarum sententia' : this looks promising, but when he turns to the page indicated (432), he finds that neither of Pusey nor of any other English writer is there even a mention. He may have heard of the English ' Branch ' or ' Province ' theories of Catholic unity, or of the Anglican claim to Catholic continuity, but he will look in vain through the thousand pages of Father Ottinger's work for any satisfactory explanation of their meaning or express refutation of their principles. He may have read Dr. Salmon's *Infallibility* and think it, with all its faults, worthy of an occasional mention in a work of this kind ; he will find, however, that the author, in his discussion of the general arguments against Infallibility, never mentions the Trinity College professor even once. All this is very discouraging. It may be said that these are unimportant trifles, unworthy of the attention of a man who takes the whole Church to be his province. Possibly so, but we do not believe it ; they are at least as important as a number of wretched little heresies he insists on telling us all about ; and, in any case, it can hardly be a matter of offence

if we who, besides our interest in the Church generally, are, as it happens, particularly concerned in these very matters, exhibit no signs of particular enthusiasm at finding ourselves forgotten and our needs completely overlooked.

As an indication how far the author is removed from the theological atmosphere familiar to us, we may quote the following 'corollary': 'Ex iis, quae de apostolicitate et catholicitate tum ut proprietate tum ut nota Ecclesiae diximus, evidens est, appellationem Ecclesiae Christi ut *romano-catholicae* esse solam veram ideoque rectam et iustissimam, cum ea nihil significet quam quod prorsus verum est, omnes scil. particulares ecclesias, ut Ecclesiae Christi sint vera membra, debere cum Romanae ecclesiae episcopo, Petri in primatu successore, ut totius Ecclesiae fundamento, centro ac capite necessario esse coniunctas' (p. 927). In accordance with this conclusion the title 'Roman Catholic' is consistently used throughout. Now, we all know in Ireland what certain classes of Protestants mean when they call us 'Roman Catholics.' We have met many Catholics, notwithstanding, who, for the sake of peace and knowing that the title when carefully explained, is technically correct, take no very strong objection to it; but never, till now, have we met a Catholic theologian who insists that the title is the 'only true' one. What were the authors of the Apostles' and the Nicene Creeds thinking about when they settled the formulæ? Were they aware that they were rejecting the 'only' title that was 'true'? Were the Fathers hopelessly wrong when they gloried in the name of 'Catholic' and refused to employ any prefix, however technically correct, that might even seem to limit its extension? Was Cardinal Consalvi battling about mere words, when, as delegate of the Pope at the Congress of Vienna in 1815, he admitted the titles 'Roman' and 'Catholic' separately, but objected to the joint combination? Were the Fathers of the Vatican Council oblivious of the claims of divine truth, when, by a practically unanimous vote, they rejected the name 'Roman Catholic' as favouring the heresy that divides the Catholic world into three parts, Greek, Anglican, and Roman? (*Coll. Lac.*, vii. 246). At best, the name 'Roman Catholic' is tautological: in these countries it is much worse, for it suggests, as some Anglicans do, the possibility of a Church that is Catholic *without* being Roman. It emphasizes, some may say, the doctrine of the Roman supremacy. Yes; but at the expense of limiting the Pope's jurisdiction to a mere fraction of the Catholic world. 'Some of our catechisms use the title.' Unfortunately, true;

but what right has any private compiler to run counter to the Catechism of Trent, ignore the decree of the Vatican, and rebaptize the Church with the very name her enemies are anxious to give her? Grant that, in the words of the author, it does not, of necessity, 'signify anything more than that all particular Churches, to be members of the Church of Christ, must be joined with the Bishop of the Roman Church.' If a principle of this kind justifies the name in all circumstances, then Catholics may proceed to speak of themselves as belonging to the 'Roman-Tridentine-Vatican-Catholic Church,' and may add another dozen titles if they feel so inclined; and we should like to know what Father Ottinger would think of that, with its many mischievous and misleading suggestions. The title 'Catholic' was good enough for the Fathers. It is still good enough for us. Why give up the name by which we are known to history and borrow in its stead a dangerous, sectarian title born of the brain of a jeering reformer?

M. J. O'D.

THE RECTOR AND PURGATORY, or a Study in the Eschatology of a Trinity B.A. By the Rev. John Nolan, P.P., Kirkcubbin. The Catholic Book Co., Belfast; Gill and Sons, Dublin.

WE have received an advanced copy of the above publication. Father Nolan calls it a pamphlet, but it is a book of over 200 pages, and contains several well-executed pictures of historic individuals, as well as the pictures of Cardinal Allen and Cardinal Wiseman. It is well brought out, and we are quite confident will have a good circulation.

It was a sorry day for the Rev. W. S. Kerr when he was appointed from a country parish to beat the big drum in Belfast in order to fill the vacant benches in St. Paul's Church. A jeremiad arises periodically from the Belfast Church Synod that the great majority of their people have ceased to be churchgoers. The only stimulant fit to rouse their dormant energies in this direction is to preach the doctrine of hate to the Catholic Church. The veriest mountebank, no matter what his antecedents may have been, will secure a delighted hearing for the most virulent abuse of everything sacred to Catholics: 'Who peppers the hottest is surest to please.' Mr. Kerr's ecclesiastical superiors recognized he was the man to cater for the depraved tastes of the Orange factory

hands of the Jennymount quarter, and they have not been disappointed. Already Father Nolan, in a couple of pamphlets, has shown how poorly Mr. Kerr was equipped for serious religious controversy and how profound was his ignorance of even the teaching of his own Church. The tit-bit of Mr. Kerr's series of sermons is the old chestnut, 'The Profits of Purgatory.'

Father Nolan's latest pamphlet deals with the subject in a masterly manner and with a wealth of quotation which is remarkable. He clearly shows that belief in a future state and prayers for the dead are not only as old as Christianity, but were known and practised even amongst pagans from the beginning. He lays down clearly the teaching of the Council of Trent, and backs it up by the universal and constant tradition of the Catholic Church as voiced in the writings of the Fathers, in the ancient liturgies of both East and West, and in the inscriptions of the catacombs. He shows what the constant practice of both the ancient Irish and English Churches taught on this subject.

One often wonders why the 'reformers' were so savagely opposed to what seems the harmless but beautiful practice of praying for the dead. Father Nolan in a very lucid chapter gives the correct solution of this opposition. They had appropriated to their own use the land and buildings consecrated to feed the poor and tend the sick. They had stolen the poor-box, but there was still left the rich endowments of pious ancestors for Masses and prayers. It was soon discovered such practices were superstitious, and the Mr. Kerrs of that unfortunate period became profoundly shocked, and cried aloud from the house-tops against 'the profits of Purgatory,' and so the profits of Purgatory were appropriated for themselves by the godly crowd that had 'stolen the poor-box.'

Towards the close of his pamphlet Father Nolan introduces many of the historical facts of that period bearing on the locality in which he is placed, and on the diocese of which he is a worthy and energetic priest. Very touchingly he tells the sad story of the penal days amongst the people of Down and Antrim. It is a harrowing tale very sympathetically told, and should be read by all the Catholics of the rising generation. We are sorry this portion was not reserved for another pamphlet, as it would help our Catholic youth to more highly appreciate the fearful sacrifices endured by their ancestors rather than give up the precious treasure of the ancient Faith.

F. L.

THE HOLY GHOST MANUAL. A combined Prayer-book, Hymn-book, and Manual of Gregorian Chant. Edited by the Holy Ghost Fathers, and published from Blackrock College, Dublin.

THIS is an exceedingly useful little manual. The Preface opens with the following quotation from the *Motu Proprio* of Pius X. on Ecclesiastical Music : ' Special efforts are to be made to restore the use of Gregorian music among the faithful.' These words have been the inspiration of the Editors.

The *Manual* contains some 140 pages of easy Gregorian music, including three complete Masses and a number of pieces suitable for Benediction or Low Mass. The Vatican Edition has been followed. The Gregorian notation, which gives such a good idea of the manner in which the notes should be grouped, is retained ; and, under it, the well known tonic sol-fa letters are printed. This device should prove a great boon, as little knowledge of Gregorian notation exists outside ecclesiastical circles. A translation of the Latin text is given after each number. The *Manual* also contains modern Benediction music, and a collection of English hymns, all in tonic sol-fa. To add to its utility, some 350 pages of well-chosen prayers have been included, and it thus forms a complete prayer-book.

Altogether, the *Manual* is most practical, it is on completely new lines, and we strongly recommend it to the attention of all interested in Church music. We should like to see this book adopted by our colleges and convents, particularly by training colleges, where the directors of our choirs are to a great extent formed. If, by using this *Manual*, these future directors of choirs made acquaintance with the easy and beautiful Gregorian melodies which it contains, we should soon have a great improvement in the music of many of our churches.

The Editor of the *Manual* has been honoured by a letter from Rome approving his work.

We are glad to see that the book is printed and bound in Ireland. It is published from Blackrock College, the price being two or three shillings, according to the binding. The accompaniment of the Gregorian music is published separately.



SPIRITUALISM AND THE SPIRIT WORLD

THE reported phenomena of Spiritualism have called forth many learned contributions from Catholic writers¹ on the subject of the Spirit World. All these have been written from the standpoint of the genuineness of the reported phenomena. It is true many, if not all, of the phenomena are now known to be purely fraudulent, but this fact in no way alters the Catholic doctrine on the subject of Spiritualism. 'In an ever-changing world amid changes that are not always for the better there is one institution that knows no change, and that is the Holy Catholic Church.' Its teaching is always the same. Of course there is development—not the development of which the Church is accused sometimes by Protestant writers, that 'she not merely adds to primitive or scriptural teaching, but contradicts it and imposes her additions as fundamental truths under the sanction of anathema,'² but development which is occasioned by the necessarily more explicit statement of Catholic truths and the refutation of error. 'The refutation of error cannot precede its rise, and thus the fact of false development or corruptions involves the correspondent manifestation of true ones.'³ And in no other subject is this more true than in the subject

¹ For instance, Father Lépicier, from whose book, *The Unseen World*, many of the ideas in this paper have been drawn.

² Cardinal Newman, *Development of Christian Doctrine*.

³ *Idem*, *ib.*

under consideration in Spiritualism. Spiritualists, for the most part, tell us, from the declarations frequently elicited at *séances*, that the authors of spiritualistic phenomena are human souls separated by death from their bodies, and that, therefore, these souls must have acquired in their new state stores of knowledge and elements of power unpossessed in life.

We shall see, in the course of this inquiry, that such is not the case ; but the phenomena of Spiritualism, in so far as they are genuine, are the work of spirits of another class—spirits who have been punished by God, by irrevocable banishment from His sight, but whose natural powers were left unimpaired and who, in consequence, have it in their power, with God's permission, to roam about causing various physical evils and tempting men to enlist under their own rebellious standard, and thus drag them with themselves into eternal perdition.

An adequate classification of spiritistic phenomena is almost impossible. I speak, of course, of genuine phenomena. For every day reveals some new fraud in their manifestation. But it is not to be inferred that, although the phenomena are for the most part clever mechanical frauds, the evil spirit has no part in their production. We may well suppose that even in those cases his influence, although indirect, is not unfelt. His knowledge may inspire the 'medium' with preternatural craft. His standard is ever raised, and his war-cry is one of opposition, 'I will not serve.' And his great weapon is lying : 'For he is a liar and the father thereof.'¹ Hence, perhaps, it is that even where fraud is clearly established the fact has no influence in converting men from the ways of Spiritualism. An instance of this is related in the spiritualist journal, *Light*. A 'medium' was brought from Australia to Europe, at the expense of a prominent spiritualist, for the express purpose of holding *séances* under test conditions. A *séance* was held at Grenoble, and the medium, although minutely searched before entering, produced two birds which he declared had

¹ John viii. 44.

been brought instantaneously from India by his 'Spirit Controls.' Next day it was conclusively proved that the medium purchased the two birds in Grenoble from a dealer who identified them. This notwithstanding, his patron wrote : ' Your deceptive mode of proceeding is all the more repugnant, as I am fully convinced you are capable of producing genuine phenomena.' Words which recall Abraham's answer to Dives : ' They have Moses and the prophets, and if they do not hear them neither will they believe if one rise again from the dead.'

So varied are the phenomena of Spiritualism that no classification can be complete. Father Lépiciér, in the work which I have already alluded to, divides them into (1) those of an intellectual nature, (2) those of a physiological nature, and (3) those of a mechanical nature. Under the first heading he places such phenomena as the illumination of the mind, generally known as Clairvoyance, which is the vision of objects placed at a distance from the seer, or the disclosure of future events, such as the winner of this year's Derby, the manifestation of another's secret thoughts, the reading of concealed writing, etc. Under the second head he places such phenomena as the suspension of vital functions, the acceleration of respiration and of the circulation of the blood, speaking in unknown tongues, the hearing of sounds beyond the hearer's ear, etc. Under the third, mechanical phenomena such as the transfer of objects from one place to another, formation of human faces, limbs, and even the entire person, automatic and planchette writing, the curing of diseases without the use of drugs or surgery, and also without any previous medical education or knowledge. These latter are now the common phenomena of the *séance*-room. The materialization of spirit forms is one of the chief marvels. The spirit forms are frequently recognized by sitters as those of departed relatives or friends. Spirit messages are delivered by the mediums in a variety of ways. One of the most usual is the miraculous production on a slate or sheet of paper of a spirit message, and not only the message itself but the writing is ascribed to spirit agency. On the other hand, the message may be openly

written by the 'medium,' but at the time he is supposed to be under the control of the spirit of some departed person.

Under these heads I do not include many phenomena which are akin to those of Spiritualism, but which in reality are different in origin, if not in nature. Such are astrology, hypnotism, animal magnetism, palmistry, sortilege, etc. As practised by spiritualists all these aim at the one end, namely, to place us in communication with the unseen world. What the Catholic Church condemns in these, one and all, is their abuse, not their lawful use : i.e., the attempt to discover, by these means, free future events, as though the human will were necessarily determined by the heavenly bodies or the lines of one's hands, and as though God were not free to act in man as He pleases independently of such manifestations.

As regards hypnotism in particular, this has been the answer given to various queries addressed to the Roman Congregations.¹ If it be lawful to take ether or chloroform to spare oneself the pain endured in a medical operation, in the same way it cannot be unlawful to allow hypnotic sleep to be induced upon us, provided, as in the former case, the motive be good and the means employed unobjectionable.

But when this has been said all has been said that can be said in favour of hypnotism. The peculiar character of hypnotic sleep is that it is induced by *suggestion*. The subject passes at the mere will of the operator into a cataleptic state and becomes obedient to the voice and will of the operator. The latter may then suggest what he pleases, and may exact blind obedience as to any action to be performed by the subject. The free will is surrendered to the control of the hypnotiser, and in this surrender of free will lies the immorality of hypnotism. Free will is, beyond doubt, the most precious of God's gifts to man. By it we are distinguished from, and raised above, the brute creation, and enabled to merit or demerit in the moral order. And if it be such a priceless possession, and if God be its author, it follows that to Him alone it may be sur-

¹ Holy Office, March 30, 1898.

rendered. Religious, no doubt, make a surrender of free will ; but, it is made to God's authorized representatives on earth, and for an object of superior moral good. Their vows never take away physical liberty, and while they are thus ennobled by their voluntary surrender, the hypnotic subject is stripped of God's most precious gift, debased and lowered to the level of the brute creation, and becomes a mere physical tool in the hands of a possibly unscrupulous operator.

Having said so much on the nature of spiritualistic phenomena, let us now inquire can they, in so far as they are genuine, be ascribed to the agency of disembodied human souls.

We answer, No ; because, such souls have neither the requisite knowledge nor the power necessary to produce such effects. The human soul is the *substantial* form of the body. This has been defined in the Council of Vienne (A.D. 1311). To explain what this means, in modern language, is not easy ; and as a writer¹ in a recent number of the I. E. RECORD states, any attempt to popularise philosophy generally ends in something that is not philosophy. Substantial form in material entities is what determines or actuates *materia prima* to a specific substance or nature. It was Giovanni Vico, whose philosophy Michelet made popular in England, that wrote in his *Scienza Nuova* that 'God is to the world what the soul is to the body.' This is not altogether true. You cannot call God the *Forma Mundi*, but the soul is the *forma corporis*. Man is, e.g., learned by reason of the accidental form of learning 'inherent' in him. This, without detriment to his humanity, may be absent. But not so with the soul, and both forms, though they specify their resultant essences, are individuated by the quantified matter in the one case and the subject of 'inhesion' in the other. Thus, whereas an accidental form, e.g., learning, falls back into mere potentiality when it does not actuate its subject, the substantial incorporeal form continues to exist when separated

¹Rev. D. O'Keeffe, M.A., I. E. RECORD, April, 1911

from the body, but still retains its habitude or relation to the matter by which it was individuated.

*Secundum se convenit animae corpori uniri sicut secundum se convenit corpori levi esse sursum. Et sicut corpus leve manet quidem leve cum a loco proprio fuerit separatum, cum aptitudine tamen et inclinatione ad proprium locum, ita anima humana manet in suo esse cum fuerit a corpore separatum habens aptitudinem et inclinationem naturalem ad corporis unionem.*¹

It is in this respect our souls differ from angelic substances : the latter have no relation to matter. But our souls have a definite relation to the bodies into which they were infused at the moment of their creation. It is, then, through the senses of these bodies they acquire knowledge. These senses supply the images to the imagination without which the understanding exercises no action in the present order of things. Plato's doctrine of pre-existence and of innate ideas cannot now be held by any child of the Church. And, furthermore, this relation so characterises the human soul that as it is impossible, on account of this relation, for the soul during life to migrate from one body to another, so it is equally impossible for it, after death, to animate any other body whatever, whether of an equal or inferior form of life. The only thing that can occur is what Catholic doctrine tells us will occur, that the soul will again, after the resurrection, inform the body which it had during life and towards which it has never ceased to retain an inclination.

The soul being, then, essentially destined to inform the body, it naturally follows that it should use the senses of the body to acquire knowledge. But what is to be said of its mode of acquiring knowledge when death has for a time separated it from its body ? In that state it will have no longer the bodily senses to supply images for its contemplation. It then receives the influx of its images directly from God. These images, although of a more universal nature than those supplied by the bodily senses, will not convey so distinct a notion of individual objects. The light

¹ St. Thomas, p. i, q. lxxv. art. i ad 6.

in which they are beheld is, as it were, of too dazzling a nature. I speak, of course, of the natural knowledge of the disembodied soul, not of the supernatural knowledge to which it is elevated by the contemplation of the Beatific Vision. But in that effulgent light it will see itself, as a spiritual nature, more perfectly, and, in itself, see Him to whose image it is made. It will also be enabled to see other disembodied souls ; not all indeed, but those especially in whom it has had some interest. The same is true of angelic substances ; and through their ministry special revelations may be made to the disembodied soul by God. Continuing, too, in the same personality which it had through life it will retain the natural knowledge it then acquired, but future events will be to it, to a great extent, a closed book, even as they are to angelic substances, although from its natural knowledge of the world and its doings it may prognosticate the future, even as angels do. May we, then, conclude that it is possible that disembodied souls are the authors of those manifestations which take place, if we can believe it, at spiritualistic *séances* ? By no means. These sometimes involve on the part of their authors a knowledge of which the soul is not possessed, and even if it were possessed it could not, for want of power over extraneous matter, communicate that knowledge to human beings. During life our intellects can be reached only through our imagination. But the disembodied soul has no power over the phantasm of our imagination because no extraneous matter is subject to its sway. During life it exercised a control over the organs of its own body, but even then it could not so much as lift the weight of a feather without external means. Determined, in its very essence, to inform a definite body its energy seems exhausted by it, and it becomes incapable to impart motion to any other body whatever.

This, then, is our conclusion : The disembodied soul cannot be the agent of these phenomena. During life the body is its home, perhaps more properly its prison. It is the scene of its earthly experience. It longs, indeed, to escape, to grasp the Infinite. That cannot be just yet. It will come. Created with a thirst for more knowledge and

more power, it can satisfy that desire in life in two ways : (1) by the exercise of its natural power, and (2) by the knowledge of the truths of revelation. A tiny portion of the Infinite it may of itself, indeed, grasp ; and other things which it could never reach have been revealed to it by God. He has revealed things so deep and grand that no other could reveal them. But with that knowledge it must rest content. More will come when a higher revelation will take place. How little He has revealed of the world beyond. No more than that He will be our reward. The sum total of the world's knowledge on this point has always remained the same. Descartes, the soldier-philosopher, having delved for many years to discover the bed-rock of human knowledge at length exclaimed, ' *Cogito Ergo sum.*' But the judgment of posterity is that that proclamation sounded the death-knell of human thought. Confucius was as wise as Plato, and Plato wiser than Huxley. But we live in a world which, instead of trusting God loyally, seeks at the hand of the spiritualist clairvoyant or palmist visions of the future which it does not behove it, in this life of probation, to behold. And with what result ? With the inevitable result that men grow restless and superstitious. God gives peace and rest to them that trust Him loyally, but the spirit that is not of God imparts the restlessness of fever.

'The spirit of man aches under Infinity.' The subject is too vast for him. It oppresses him. Yet all his aspirations are towards it. But grant him that Infinity while still here below and, as Richter writes, he 'aches under it.' Prayer itself, the holiest of practices, becomes inordinate if directed to that end—to learn what it is not permitted us now to know—unless, indeed, it be leavened with that quality which makes all prayer acceptable, resignation to God's will. Is it any wonder, then, that Father Lépiciér should write :—

The usual effect of these [spiritualistic] practices is to shatter the bodily constitution, to impair the mental faculties, to instil into the mind a propensity to unlawful acts, and to paralyse the energy of the will. They generate, moreover, in the sensitive

a tendency to pass into the trance state upon the slightest provocation, entailing a loss of physical health which no amount of care can restore. The 'medium' becomes, in many cases, a moral and physical wreck ending not unfrequently in an asylum.

If, then, the imprisoned soul be not permitted to look for that knowledge which is sought in the practices of Spiritualism, and if, when separated from the body, it possesses neither the knowledge nor the power requisite for the production of spiritualistic phenomena, to whom are we to look as an adequate cause of these effects?

Not miracles in the strict sense of the word—unless, indeed, we were to suppose God the mere sport of His creatures—they, nevertheless, require intelligence of a superior kind and power more than human for their production. We might, indeed, argue for the existence of such superior intelligence. If man be the apex of the material universe, 'the crown and glory to which vast cycles have tended,' he is, still, not a perfect creature. His faculties are limited. And so we might pass from the consideration of his composite nature to 'purely spiritual creatures until we touch that sea of spirit that undulates within the precincts of heaven.' So indeed we might argue. But for an adequate proof of their existence we must have recourse to the earthly guardian of truth, the Holy Catholic Church. The Fourth Council of Lateran defined: '(God) by His Almighty power created together in the beginning of time both creatures, the spiritual and the corporal, viz., the angelic and the earthly, and afterwards the human, as it were, a common creature composed of spirit and body.'

In that angelic creation we can find a sufficient explanation of the phenomena of Spiritualism. And in a future paper it may, perhaps, be permitted me to show that such phenomena surpass neither the knowledge nor the power of the purely spiritual creation of God.

P. J. MANLY.

GLIMPSSES OF THE PENAL TIMES—XV.

IN the preceding article¹ instances were given of mercy shown from time to time to the persecuted Catholics.

We saw that while as a rule priests were being arrested on all sides, here and there benevolent officials occasionally declined to use their authority. And some account was given of the captures made by Edward Tyrrell, who was the most energetic priest-hunter of that period, and also of his repeated efforts to make such men change their conduct, which he regarded as inexplicably remiss. Here we shall consider the just judgment that overtook him.

Once more we shall, as far as possible, let him speak for himself. For this it will be necessary to quote at full length the last petition he wrote with his own hand. Though it is not dated, yet we can infer approximately the time of its composition from its mentioning as recent his prosecution in Cork of two priests, Revs. Patrick Carthy and William Hennessy. Their names occur also in another paper belonging to him which bears this superscription : ' 6th May, 1713. Tyrrell's examination in Council to-day.' These two papers stand in the reciprocal relation of petition to be examined before the Privy Council, and of examination made in consequence of petition having been granted. The petition therefore was drawn up some time before May 6, 1713. The Lords Justices to whom it was presented were Sir Constantine Phipps (Lord Chancellor) and John Vesey (Archbishop of Tuam), who governed during the absence of James, Duke of Ormond (Lord Lieutenant, 1711-1713, September 22).

This is the passage in the examination to which reference has been made : ' That he [i.e., David FitzGerald whom Tyrrell had brought up for examination either as a witness or as a culprit] has heard four Priests say Masse in Corke when Edward FitzGerald was there, and that their names

¹ I. E. RECORD, November, 1911.

were Denis Carthy, Teigue McNamara, Patrick Carty, and William Hennessy.' We may remark in passing that it is not improbable that Father William Hennessy is the regular priest of the same name who, in 1707, was apprehended by William Huddy, Esq., of Ballynoe, Co. Cork.¹ As a matter of course a regular priest would have been transported, but to return to Ireland was almost as common. A confirmation of our surmise is, we think, afforded by the fact that in another petition which describes the services rendered by Tyrrell on the same occasion in Cork, only the apprehension of Popish regulars lately come from France is mentioned. We may now quote Tyrrell's last petition:—

To their Excellencies the Lords Justices and Council
The humble petition of Edward Tyrrell.

Sheweth

That y^r Pet^r was at the assizes of Phillipstown in order to prosecute the Popish clergy whom y^r Pet^r apprehended by the assistance of John Moor Esq^r and other Justices of the Peace of the King's County; whereof y^r Excell^s had a report some time ago, the honble S^r Richd Levin and Mr Souldan can inform y^r Excell^s and Council of what has passed in Phillipstown in that case notwithstanding that Councillor Thomas Daly and several other Lawyers were feed ag^t y^r Pet^{rs} said just cause

Sheweth

that y^r Pet^r was likewise in Cork where he has successfully prosecuted one Patrick Carthy and William Henesy two Popish priests lately come from forreign countries, who being found guilty and received sentence accordingly, all which the Lord Chief Barron Rochford and Mr. Justice Nuttley can justifie, besides the several trunks of Popish books, whereof y^r Pet^r did already inform y^r Excellencies were produced with several rich vestments before the said justices, all which were viewed by Mr Soldon aforesaid, that y^r Excell^s Pet^r has been for several hours together examined before the Grand Jury of the County and City of Cork, where the said Grand Jury found severall other indictments against other disaffected persons, whereof y^r Pet^r gave the said Jury an account, all which the Honble Francis Bernard Council at Law, can justifie, as also Mr Soldan the same; all this y^r Pet^r has done in her Maj^s behalf, notwith-

¹ See I. E. RECORD, November, 1911, p. 523.

standing that Councill^r Patrick Trench of Dublin and Councill^r French of Cork, and Councill^r Charter, with several other lawyers were feed ag^t y^r Pet^r in order to stifle y^r Exc^s Pet^{rs} evidence for her Majesty.

Sheweth

That y^r Pet^r in his journey from Phillipstown to Cork apprehended one Richd Fitzpatrick a Popish Priest lately come from France, whom y^r Pet^r brought before two Justices of the Peace, by the assistance of Mr Flaney the Messenger and the rest of the Guard, that were to conduct y^r Pet^r by order of the Government, that the said Fitzpatrick was committed to the Goale of Clonmell by the said Justices of the Peace where y^r Pet^r in his said journey from Cork to Dublin prosecuted the said Fitzpatrick att the assizes before the Honble Francis Bernard Justice of the same, the said FitzPatrick was found guilty and accordingly received sentence. There was found in the said FitzPatrick's pockett a cap full of papers and letters which y^r Pet^r gave into the custody of the said Francis to be delivered to y^r Exc^s. Y^r Pet^r was for several hours examined before the Grand Jury of the County of Tipperary in Clonmell aforesaid, where y^r Pet^r gave several examinations ag^t other disaffected persons, the Grand Jury having found all the Bills, y^r Pet^r was ordered by the said Grand Jury to appear before y^r Excell^s in Council to be further examined as soon as y^r Pet. returned to Dublin about some matters of great moment, not fitt to be inserted here, y^r Pet^r has fully satisfied the several Grand Juries of the said several places, in matters of great concern relating to the Government which y^r Excellencies Pet^r is ready and willing to lay before your Excell^s also, y^r Pet^r therefore entreats y^r Excell. that y^r Pet. may be brought before you, and council, to be examined, where y^r Pet^r will further satisfy y^r Excell., more at large, and y^r Pet^r will disclose and lay before y^r Excell^s several matters of such weight and moment as aforesaid, which y^r Pet^r assures shall be wonderful satisfaction to the whole Council, and will very much tend to the future safety and welfare of her Maj^{ie} and all her good subjects, y^r Pet^r would ere now open the same to y^r Ex^s, but that he is sensible, that some disaffected persons were of opinion, that y^r Pet^{rs} good services were but shams or lies, but y^r Pet. having faithfully and openly proved the contrary, and as to what y^r Pet^r has to sett forth at present y^r Pet^r presumes that he will give y^r Exc^s and council a great satisfaction than ever before and y^r Pet^r being bound over in several sums of money

to appear att the several places aforesaid the next assizes, in order to prosecute several other persons whose Bills were found att the last assizes, a great many of them being bound to appear at the assizes aforesaid.

Sheweth

That y^r Pet^r having by infallible proofs done several other good services for his Queen and country from time to time, those several years past, and in whose power it lies to do the like for the time to come, to prevent which, and in some revenge for the former services done by y^r Pet^r by the invention and malice of several Irish Papists of this kingdom, is accused at present, for marring of two women and both living, which y^r Pet^r declares before the face of God and the world to be most notoriously & wrongfully impeached and does protest upon the faith of a Christian, that y^r Pet^r in the course of his life had no manner of dealings, nor conversation, with his present prosecutor, directly or indirectly, but y^r Pet^r is informed that the said Irish papists, as well clergy as laity, all over the Kingdom, doe unanimously joyne together towards y^r Pet^{rs} downfall and y^r Pet^r understands that by their said malice, they designe or pretend to putt off y^r Pet^{rs} trial at the present Terme, on pretence of raising more evidence against y^r Pet^r at the next Terme, and all purely to prevent y^r Pet^{rs} prosecution at Cork, Clonmell, Phillipstown, and other parts of this Kingdom, whom y^r Pet^r is obliged to prosecute in the Queen's behalf, as also to render y^r Pet^r incapable of any other service for the future, the said Irish papists will infallibly Keep y^r Pet^r confined all the days of his life, on pretence of some wicked practice or other, if not prevented by y^r Excell^s gracious goodness in taking into your serious consideration, the malicious, bloody contrivance of these y^r Pet^{rs} enemies, y^r Pet^r having severall good credible persons, that will be Baile for his appearance from Tearme to Tearme, and from assizes to assizes, upon any occasion whatsoever.

These premises considered may it therefore please y^r Excell^s to act as much in y^r Pet^{rs} behalf to my Lord Chief Justice Cox, as y^r Excell^s shall think fitt in order to have y^r Pet^r brought to his tryal att this Tearme that thereby y^r Pet^r may be capable to putt his intended good services for Her Maj^y and her subjects in due execution, & y^r Excell^s Pet^r as in duty bound will ever pray.

EDWARD TYRRELL.

(Carton 10, 117. 4 Q. 135.2. 8576.)

In this petition, as in another which was quoted in the last article,¹ Tyrrell expresses the fears he entertains on account of the scheming and plotting of Catholics. There 'he humbly prays that your Excellencies will be pleased to prescribe a means whereby your Lordships Petitioner may be protected for some persons severall times hath attempted the destruction of your Excellencies Petitioner.' Suspicion haunts the evil mind. That such an infamous wretch could have no peace was inevitable. The numerous crimes committed against the clergy were not, however, all he was guilty of, nor indeed was he very much alarmed on this account. He had a guard of soldiers for his protection. The arrests and prosecution of priests were in the judgment of the civil authorities not only lawful but laudable. Catholics would not have got a hearing, rather they would have been treated as fools for their pains if they tried to appeal against him either in court or out of court. Tyrrell's was 'an honourable occupation and useful to the State.' He had the law and the executive, consisting of judges, Privy Councillors, and Lord Lieutenants, on his side.

But, as our readers have observed, in this petition Tyrrell further says that he is accused of bigamy and prosecuted for it. Of course this is part of the plot, and he denies that he is guilty. But notwithstanding his protest 'on the faith of a Christian,' the charge was true. We do not know at whose instance he was taken into court for this, though perhaps the record of the trial is extant. But we are sure that if the impeachment originated among Catholics, it was made in the interests of public morality and justice, not in malice. Or Catholics generally may have had nothing to do with his trial, but in that case, too, they certainly had no reason to regret its result.

We shall return to this part of our subject, but before doing so we must be allowed to put before our readers the other petition to which a passing allusion was made above. This petition has a charm of its own. No other paper found in the Record Office can vie with it. In several of those

¹ I. E. RECORD, November, 1911, p. 517.

which have been quoted in the course of the articles some words are spelled phonetically, but not one of them approaches this beautiful production in uniformity, or in originality. The handwriting, which is that of a woman, is fairly good, preferable indeed to Tyrrell's own. We fancy that the literary lady who penned this composition was one of the *Mrs. Tyrrells*. Her partner might surpass her in syntax, but not in orthography; as regards spelling, she shows still greater freedom; in fact, except for an occasional inconsistency, she displays a delightful independence of its rules.

Carton (10,117. 4 Q. 135.2. 8576.)

To their Exc^s The Lords Justices and Counsell

Exelencis

The humbel Petishon of Edward Tyrrell humbly sheweth that your Petishoner came from Cork in order to lay before your Exelencys and Counsell the folowing mater: fust being in the month of August last I had taken severell popesh clergey leatly com from France with there Books and writings and vestments they ware comited to the Goale of Dundalk in the County of Louth; secondly in the month of November last I apprehended severell Regeular and secular Clargey unregistred letly com from France ware comited to Goale of Phillopostown in the King's County: thirdly in the month of January last I aperhended sevarll popish Regeulars lettly com from France in the Citty of Cork wheare the ware comited. I doe not doubt but there was a report made of the Cartinty of this mater to your Exelencys by the Justeses of the pace hoe comited them the person hoe shoed me there Lodging as well as when they ofishedet and when the prayed for the pretender. I brought him from Cork in order to have him examined before your Exeleycys and Counsell he took me to be a preist I keep him still in darkness. I am bound over to be in them severell countys at the nex asises, which I beg the fever of yieur Exelencys to grant me a pretection Deuring the Cercut in as much as I goe for the sarvis of the queens that I may not be prevented by the manegment of popery. I humbly beg the faver of your Exelencys to grant all such Relief as will put me in a Condishion with sefty to goe to the severall seises and your Pittshoner as bound in Deuty will Ernaly pray

E TYRELL

What is said here of the person whom Tyrrell brought from Cork deserves particular attention. This was David FitzGerald, the man to whose deposition reference was made in the beginning of this article. Another passage respecting him, which occurs in the same examination of May 6, 1713, must now be given :—

Edward Tyrell being examined says he brought one David Fitzgerald with him from Corke to be examined before the Lords Justices & Councill & being asked whether this Examinant would have David Fitzgerald examined, he replied that Fitzgerald was an absolute stranger to this Examinant being a discoverer or prosecutor of Popish priests & believes this Examinant to be a priest & fears his being examined may discover the designe, & therefore he will not goe to Corke.

FitzGerald was, however, examined. On Tyrrell's being taken for a priest, comment would be superfluous. However, he did not live to carry out this or any other design. The unfortunate man's career was destined to be cut short, and the end was much nearer than he thought. The Dublin newspapers of the 23rd of May, 1713, announced that, 'This day, Terrel, the famous priest-catcher, who was condemned this term for having several wives, was executed.'¹ We do not know how he was convicted. It must, however, have been hard on the Lords Justices and Privy Councillors to see themselves deprived of the services of their most efficient and indefatigable emissary. Let us hope that he got the grace to repent, that his death was not like his life. At all events, when he had departed, we may be sure many priests throughout the length and breadth of Ireland breathed freely.

From this on, considering the number of ecclesiastical dignitaries and of regulars whom we know to have been in the country, there is what may be called a dearth of Pro-

¹ See Cardinal Moran's article, 'The Condition of Irish Catholics a Hundred Years Ago,' *Dublin Review*, January, 1882, p. 161.

clamations and Indictments in the Record Office.¹ The few Indictments that were found have already been mentioned in these pages. The Proclamations of this period refer for the most part to the disarming of Catholics, to the

¹ As indicative of the spirit of the time, this Presentment of a Grand Jury may be inserted here :—

(Carton 62, No. 558.)

'The Representation of the Grand Jury of the County of Gallway at an assizes held the 29th of March, 1715, and their answer to their Excellencies instructions.'

The give the names of twenty-two registered priests then deceased, and as far as possible the names of their successors; they state that 'un-registered priests were actually discovered saying Mass,' 'that great numbers of the Catholic gentry were sending their sons abroad to receive foreign education,' etc., etc. Then they say:

'We beg leave to represent to your Lordships & Excellencies that we are credibly informed, and verily believe that great numbers of fryers have within these very few years come into this Kingdome & have settled themselves in the following places in this county, vizt Kilconnell & in another place near Portumna, as also in Tomona near the Abbey of Kinelahan, in Ross near Headford, in Loghrea, in the Abbey of Milick, in Keilneschael, near the Abbey of Athenry. And that the great discouragements, that in the close of the last Reign, were given by the then in power to such as were active in suppressing all fryeries & putting the laws of Popery in execution have contributed greatly to their settling in this country in defiance of the laws. And we humbly conceive that after such discouragements, it would be of singular use & greatly for the service of his Majesty, & the Publick & encourage all persons in their severall stations to contribute what in them Lys to putt the Laws in execution, If your Lordships & Excellencies commands were renewed to all magistrates & others so to do, and directions given to the millitary power to assist upon all necessary occasions, the number of His Majesty's protestant subjects being few, very few, in comparison of those that are in oppisition against them.

'We cannot close our representation without giving our hearty thanks to your Lordships & Excellencies for your tender care & concern of His Majesty's Protestant subjects of the county, who were justly fearfull of the miseries of 1688, and too sensible of the blessings we enjoy under His Majesty's auspicious reign, & those who preside over us, not to return our sincere acknowledgments. Time will not admitt to enlarge upon our late grievances, But we beg leave to assure your Lordships & Excellencies that whenever you require any further information we shall be ready to give it, and in our severall stations do what in us ly's with our lives and fortunes, to support and maintain His majesty against all his enemies both at home and abroad.

'All which we humbly submit to your Lordships & Excellencies,

'EDW. ORMSBY, foreman.

'ROB. MASON	ARTH. ORMSBY.
'HEN. PERSSE	MATT. BROWNE
'ROBERT BLAKENEY	THO. WILLINGTON
'SAM. EYRE	GILBERT MILLER
'FRANCIS CUFF	ROBERT BLAKENEY
'SM. PERSSE	MICH. MILLS
'JO. CARTER	GEFF. COOOK.'

enforcement of the laws against them, to their not being allowed to reside in certain cities, to the banishment of Popish regulars, i.e., rather to Catholics in general than to individuals. However, on November 11, 1715, a Proclamation was issued for the rescuers of James Kilkenny, a Franciscan friar, and on May 7, 1719, a Proclamation was issued for the apprehension of Sarsfield, 'Lord Lucan.' Also on November 22, 1758, one against the persons 'who assaulted David Woods, who was employed by Rev. Dr. Rogers, Rector of Artrea, Co. Tyrone, in receiving the tithe of barley.' There is another Proclamation (February 13, 1765), the last of its kind, but it deserves a place to itself. It will be given at the end of this article.

During this long period, in spite of penalties if they were caught, regular and secular priests continued to enter Ireland. The Newgate Calendars, etc., show that for this offence several regular priests were in prison at the beginning of the eighteenth century (for instance, Father Thomas Blunt, O.S.F., in Trim prison in 1700, sent up to Newgate in 1705, was still there in 1722, in company with other regulars, one of them being Father George Martin, who was condemned by Queen's Bench in 1705). And unregistered secular priests were by the law to be treated as regulars. There is evidence to show that in the reign of George I. the zeal and vigilance of the custom house officials was not relaxed. The Duke of Grafton (Lord Lieutenant) writes thus to the Lords Justices (Archbishop King of Dublin, Viscount Shannon, and William Connolly) :—

12 June, 1722(-3), Bond Street.

MY LORDS,—I am to acknowledge . . . , that of the 2nd instant, inclosing a copy of a letter from the Collector of Wexford, with several examinations concerning some Popish Priests who came from Spain.¹

In a subsequent letter His Grace exhorts the same substitutes to do their duty :—

3rd Feb., 1722, Bond Street.

TO THE LORDS JUSTICES,—I herewith send your Excellencies

¹ Departmental Correspondence, No. 2505.

an extract of a letter to my Lord Townshend containing an information of a vessel bound for Waterford having on board several suspected persons who are said to come from Rome or Spain with a considerable quantity of gold & silver, whereupon I am to desire that your Excellencies will give directions to the officers attending the coasts that they keep a very watchful eye to observe the arrival of this ship, in order to the seizing of the passengers & their papers &c.

Yours, &c.,

GRAFTON.¹

However, similar efforts were all in vain. Vessel after vessel ran the blockade. From Rome, Salamanca, Toulouse, Paris, Louvain, etc., priests continued to land in undiminished numbers. It may have been due either to his painful knowledge of the futility of preventive measures or to his sense of the ridiculous that the Duke of Dorset, in his speech at the opening of the first session (October 5, 1731) in the new House of Parliament, said from the throne :—

I shall leave it to your consideration whether any further laws may be necessary to prevent the growth of Popery, and to secure you against all dangers from the great number of Papists in this kingdom.

But if he spoke seriously, was such an acknowledgment of impotence ever made before or since? The 'ferocious Acts of Anne,' etc., to prevent the growth of Popery, etc., of no avail!

However, it was thought advisable to make another effort, and a Committee of the Upper House was formed in order to procure information and to consider what measures would be most suited to the purpose. The report we are about to put before our readers was sent to this Committee by the Mayor of Cork. As showing

¹ Departmental Correspondence, No. 2542.

the state of Catholicism there at that time it is interesting :—

(Record Office.)

THE MAYOR OF CORK—JAMES HULEATT—
OF THE YEAR 1731.

TO

The Right Honourable, The Lords Committees appointed to inquire into the present state of Popery in this Kingdom, and to prepare such heads of Bills as they shall think most proper, to prevent the growth of popery, and to secure this kingdom from any dangers that may happen from the great number of Papists in this nation.

In obedience to your Lordships' order dated the sixth day of November inst. signed by his Grace the Lord Primate, and directed to me the Mayor of the City of Corke: I have made the strictest and best enquiry I could to answer to your Lordships' commands, and am informed there are two reputed new mass-houses in the said city. One slated mass house in the south suburbs, built in the year 1728, on the same place where a former thatched one stood and was burnt down in the year 1727; the other built about a year past on a fine eminence in a large sumptuous manner in the Northern Suburbs on a new foundation, near old St. Mary Shandon's churchyard tho' they had a large convenient mass house before, near the place where the said new mass house is built: in the first of which (as I am informed) two Popish Priests generally officiate; but I have heard that there are ten or twelve of them, and that the person that is at the head of them is the reputed titular Bishop of Corke, Cloyne, and Ross; and I cannot find out the number of them; there is, as I am informed (since your Lordships' order) another reputed mass house or chappel in the Coroner's Lane, in the center of the city, of some standing, but how long I can't learn, which, I hear, hath been lately enlarg'd, and I hear that the persons who officiate there, are reputed Fryars, but their number is uncertain. I am likewise informed there is two Popish chappels in the North Suburbs, but cannot as yet find out what number of priests officiate in them.

I have since this enquiry, been informed that there is a reputed Friary in which are nine Fryars, and a reputed Nunnery in this city, in which are several Nuns, but the number

I can't find out, and that most of the wealthy Papists have private chappels in their houses, where mass is often celebrated, and that there are great numbers of popish clergy in this city and suburbs.

I have advised with my Brethren of the Common Council of this City, who are of opinion that the number of Popish Priests here are so great that they amount to one hundred (if not more), to the great prejudice of His Majesty's loyal Protestant subjects, some of the unthinking weak people being frequently perverted by their persuasions, they being extraordinary industrious in making converts; and many families are ruined by the clandestine marriages celebrated by them; and really it is with the utmost concerne we observe the great growth of Popery amongst us.

I am

my Lords

your Lordships' most humble and obedient servant,

JAMES HULEATT, Mayor.

Corke, ye 12 November 1731.

But for some time, with the exception of occasional attacks on individual ecclesiastics or on religious houses, things went on peacefully. There was no general persecution until 1744. In that year quite unexpectedly it began. We are indebted for the best description of it to De Burgo, who was an eye-witness. As he tells us, he had returned only a few months before from St. Clement's, Rome, to Dublin, where through the goodness of the Archbishop he was attached to, or did duty in, the parish church of St. Paul's (Arran Quay, i.e., *the old church*). The storm burst out in this way. On Saturday, February 17, a little after nine o'clock, Alderman William Aldrich, attended by bailiffs, etc., suddenly entered the church, and finding there a Father Nicholas English (secular priest¹), who had just said the Preface of the Mass, made him come down from the altar and take off his vestments. He was immediately sent to Newgate, either in the prison van or on a hackney car (*ad carcerem publica in rheda*). The zealous alderman then proceeded to the house of the Dominican

¹ Unregistered.

nuns in Channel Row (North Brunswick Street) in the same parish, and there he arrested the two Dominican chaplains, Father Kelly and Father Nolan, who were also driven over to Newgate. De Burgo remarks that he himself had a narrow escape. Only a few days before he had exchanged the respective hours for Mass with Father English, and so on that eventful morning was to say Mass at ten. Without delay nearly all the regular and secular priests in Dublin left their dwelling-places and hid elsewhere. One who lost time in thinking whether he ought to change his residence, Father Michael Lynch, O.S.F., was promptly seized and carried off to prison by the alderman.

The tidings of this raid, etc., quickly spread throughout the kingdom. The result was that crowds of Bishops and priests came up from the country. They were in reality safer in Dublin than at home. We might fancy the contrary to be true, but, as De Burgo points out, they saw that they would be much less exposed to danger where they were unknown.

What the likelihood of arrest would otherwise have been we at any rate can estimate from the Proclamation of the Viceroy (the Duke of Devonshire), which was issued on the 28th of the same month, 1744. It commanded all Justices of the Peace strictly to put into execution the laws against Popish Archbishops, etc., and contained orders for suppressing monasteries, friaries, nunneries, and for disarming Papists, etc. In addition to the Parliamentary rewards (1709) for taking an Archbishop or other person exercising ecclesiastical jurisdiction, £50; for taking a regular or a non-registered secular, £20; this Proclamation offered, up to October 1, 1745, for the apprehension and conviction of an Archbishop or Bishop, £150; for that of a Vicar-General, a non-registered secular, or a regular, £50; and for that of anyone possessed of an income of £500 who harboured an Archbishop or a Bishop, £200. (The original is in the Record Office. De Burgo translates it, pp. 717-719.) We can now easily understand why ecclesiastics quitted their homes. During this outburst of fanaticism the faithful were in consequence deprived of Mass on days of obligation,

except, as De Burgo remarks, the few in the country who heard it in caves and the few in Dublin who heard it in stables or other outhouses.¹

This persecution was suddenly put a stop to by a tragic occurrence. In the top story of a tottering house some persons had met to hear Mass, which was said by a Father John FitzGerald of the diocese of Meath. When the congregation stood up for the Last Gospel, that movement was enough to make the weak structure fall. The celebrant was killed as were also nine lay persons, while others were mortally wounded. The pathetic tale was soon heard on all sides. Such was the compassion which the catastrophe produced, and such too, perhaps, was the admiration which the invincible devotion of the Catholics caused, that the Lord Lieutenant and the magistrates tacitly resolved to let them henceforward worship without molestation. On St. Patrick's Day the Dublin chapels were opened, and they were never closed again. Well may the people to whom they belong exclaim : ' This is the victory which overcometh the world, our faith.'

It is impossible now to say what deeds of violence would have been committed but for this unforeseen event, which providentially stayed the persecutor's uplifted hand. Of one thing, however, we are certain, namely, that extensive preparations were then being made for a fierce attack. It would seem that the Government hoped to make a clean

¹ Till much a later period the Dublin chapels for safety' sake did not open on the street. They were hidden behind the houses, and in some places they stood at the bottom of the yards (North King Street, old Francis Street, etc.). Afterwards in some places (as Exchange Street and Merchant's Quay) the houses in front were removed, yet, as if in silent testimony to what was necessary in penal times, these churches do not come out to the street line. And, as is well known, the popular name of the latter church really belonged to a tavern with the sign ' Adam and Eve,' which stood before it and served as a screen. Only Catholics, known to be such, were allowed to pass through. Similarly the conventional designation of Dublin churches by the names of the streets or of the districts in which they are situated (Gardiner Street, Phibsborough, for instance) is in its origin due to a veritable *disciplina arcani*. A remnant of the penal times, it shows that they are not remote yet. Persons still living remember when, in order to evade the law, chapel-bells in Dublin were hung on a tree or a pole by the side of the humble edifices, and when the nearest Catholic burying-ground for the citizens was that at Mulhuddert, Co. Dublin.

sweep this time. Everyone has read about the onslaught in 1697. Precisely as before the 'Act of Banishment' returns of all Bishops and regulars found throughout Ireland had to be sent to Dublin Castle, so now similar information was required. The following document, presumably one amongst many, speaks for itself :—

(Record Office.)

A LIST OF PRIESTS, &C., IN GALWAY.

SIR,—Yours of ye 3rd instant should have been answered sooner, but could not inform myself of half ye number of Popish clergymen in this county, at ye other side you have the most Pearfect list that I could make myself master of, and if I am further informed you also shall.

I am your most obedient

humble servant to command,

RICHARD CROWSDALE.

Loughrea, March 30th, 1744.

Peter Donelan titular Bishop of Clonfert lives at Kilmuray in ye parish of Tynagh.

Titular Archbishop of Tuam, one O'Garah.

Kelly, Titular Bishop, can't learn his Christian name nor where he lives.

Friary at Loughrea.

John Hoghogan, James Coleman, Leacy Coleman, Peter Cullenan, John Lennan.

Fryary at Kilconnell.

Edmond Kelly, Walter Kelly, John Spein ?

Fryary at Killascall, Dominicans.

Dominic Burke, Thomas Dolphin, Patrick Burke, Dominic French, Patrick Moran, Charles French, William Keighry, Prior.

Fryars at Meelick of Franciscan Order.

James Maddin, Denis Maddin, Guardian, Thomas Broder, John McHugo.

Buoly Fryary, Dominicans.

Thomas Maddin, Ulick Burke, John Duane.

Fryary at Tomona.

Richard Walsh, Anthony Burke, . . . Maddin, Dominic Hickey.

Fryary at Clare Galway.

Thomas Morris, Guardian, . . . Burke.

(Endorsed)

To John Lyons, Esq., Clerk of Council at The Castle.

This, however, proved to be a *brutum fulmen*, for the reason we saw above. No further molestation, at least to the clergy in general,¹ was given until 1756, when Lord Limerick (subsequently Lord Clanbrassil) began to create alarm by introducing in the Upper House the heads of an anti-Popery Bill for a new registration of priests, one for each parish; for the banishment of all others, etc. (nine heads in all). However, though he persisted in his attempt for two years, and again and again modified his scheme in hope that it would be accepted, he failed utterly. The majority of even the Protestant spiritual peers rejected the draft of the Bill, which was as absurd as it was unjust. The Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin and the Bishop of Down were prominent in opposition, whereas the Bishops of Clogher and Elphin, with Lord Powerscourt, supported Lord Clanbrassil. De Burgo, who was present during the debate, observes that these two Bishops and the author of the project died soon afterwards, and he expresses the hope, which we know to have been fulfilled, that there will not be any other Bill of the kind.

It was fortunate that the attempt proved abortive, for in 1767 Ireland possessed a smaller number of ecclesiastics than in still more troubled times. If lists similar to the Galway one were extant for the rest of the country

¹ There were, as regards regulars, some local annoyances, not in Dublin but elsewhere. De Burgo says (p. 162): 'Cum Magistratus *Dublinienses* sub oculis sint Proregis, ejusve Vicesgerentium, clementiae deditorum, atque de rebus majoris momenti curantium, leges in clerum latas executioni mandari non satagunt. Hinc experientia sexdecim jam annorum video sacella omnia, tam saecularia quam regularia, esse *Dublinii* mane vespereque aperta, in iisque Missas celebrari et cantari, conciones haberi, et alia id genus quietum peragi, dum *Waterfordiae, Kilkenniae, et Pontanae* Communitates Religiosae a Magistratibus disperguntur.'

they would show that the religious Orders carried on the struggle against the Government courageously, and that they constantly exposed themselves to danger in defence of Ireland's faith. Hence the heartfelt, ineradicable love of our people for the religious Orders. But the absence of such returns is more than compensated for by the joint letter of the Irish Provincials of Dominicans, Franciscans, Augustinians, and Carmelites (Calced), which was sent to Propaganda in 1767. It gives carefully-compiled statistics and details in order to make known the gradual diminution of the clergy. From it we learn that whereas in 1750 there were 176 Dominicans, 410 Franciscans, 128 Augustinians, and 68 Carmelites, besides some Jesuits, Capuchins, and Discalced Carmelites, by 1767 the total number in those four Orders had fallen from 778 (*sic*) to 480, and of the latter a considerable part was composed of elderly and of infirm persons. The decrease in the secular clergy was, comparatively speaking, as great, if not greater. And there was reason to fear that the falling-off would continue. Though in 1698, when they were banished, there were 4 Archbishops and 29 Bishops, and though afterwards when only registered Parish Priests were permitted to remain (i.e., 1,080), the number of other secular priests sent into exile was larger, and though in 1709 a large number of the registered priests left the country rather than take the unlawful oath prescribed by Parliament, some of them returning one after the other, yet in 1741 the Apostolic Visitor was only able to report that there were 4 Archbishops and 29 Bishops, 600 Parish Priests, and 700 others.¹

Thus, in the space of forty-three years, the number

¹ 'Nell' accennato anno di 1750 erano dispersi in varie parte del regno 176 Domenicani, 410 Francescani, Agostiniani 128, e Carmelitani 68: senza parlare de' Jesuiti, Cappucini, e Carmelitani scalzi, quali erano unitamente, e sono pochissimi, forse 20 o al sommo 30. Però nel presente corrente anno 1767, avendo gli oratori diligentemente registrati il numero, l'étà e lo stato di salute di tutti loro rispettivi sudditi attualmente esistenti in Ibernìa, si ritrova, ché vi sono 147 Domenicani, dei quali 40 sono quinquagenarii, 43 sessagenarii, e 25 invalidi. Francescani 231 e di essi sono 95 quinquagenarii, 106 sessagenarii con molti invalidi. Agostiniani 68 tra quali 15 passarono di 50 anni di età loro et, e 26 li 60, e ne sono invalidi

of secular clergy was lessened by 900. At present, however, there are only 25 prelates (Archbishops and Bishops), and probably not more than 1,000 secular priests. On the other hand, the population of Ireland is increasing: from 1,310,21 (1,309,768 Catholics, 700,453 Protestants) in 1731, it has risen to 3,000,000 in 1767.

Such was the small number of priests to which Catholic Ireland saw itself reduced when the last Proclamation against one of them in particular was issued. The individual it referred to was the heroic shepherd of souls who had for a long time been guilty of the crimes of saying Mass and of administering the Sacraments in Clogheen and its neighbourhood (Co. Tipperary), where his name is a household word to the present day. The document itself, in accordance

alcuni, e finalmente 34 Carmelitani dei quali 10 hanno cinquanta e più anni e 16 sessanta ed oltre. Onde, fatto il conto si trovera essersi callato il numero di questi quattro ordini Regolari in 16 anni, da 778 á 480.

‘Questo male sarebbe più tollerabile, se apparisse fondata speranza ché risarcito fosse dall’ accrescimento del Clero Secolare. Ma questo ancora si é egualmente, se non forse più diminuito, e voglia Dio che non vadasi tuttavia diminuendo. E’ noto, como nel 1698 sotto il governo di Guglielmo III. Principe d’Oranges furono dall’ Ibernica esiliati tutti gli Arcivescovi e Vescovi, che componevano il numero di 33 Prelati, cioè 4 Arcivescovi e 29 Vescovi: e ché fú per allora permesso di restarvi soltanto a Parochi ché secondo il calcolo formatone ascendevano al numero di 1080, ma non già agl’ altri sacerdoti che formavano un numero maggiore, e che obbligati furono di partirne. Ma nel 1709 governando la Regina Anna, che succeduta era a Guglielmo, i Parochi costretti furono ad uscire dal Regno in buon numero per non soggettarsi ad un giuramento ordinato da un Atto del Parlamento, a cui soggettarsi non potevasi un vero Cattolico. Quindi sebbene di poi á poco á poco vi ritornassero, nondimeno dalla Relazione datane dal Visitatore, che codesta S. Congr. sped. in Irlanda nell’ anno 1741, rilevasi ché in quell’ anno tutto il clero secolare era composto di 4 Arcivescovi, 29 Vescovi suffraganei, 600 Parrochi e 700 Sacerdoti. Sicché nel lapso di 43 anni il medesimo clero erasi diminuito di 900 individui.

‘Dal 1741 sino al presente non v’ é stata colá altera persecuzione se non ché quella del 1745, la quale essendo stata di poca durata non portó seco molta conseguenza. A ciò si aggiunge, che codesta Sagra Congregazione non ha giammai negato ad alcun Vescovo la facultá di ordinare più o meno sacerdoti á titolo di Missione qualunque volta n’ é stata richiesta. Ciò però non ostante questo medesimo Clero in questi 24 anni intermedi vedesi notabilmente diminuito: mercecché il corpo de’ Vescovi é in oggi composto di soli 25 Prelati compresi gli Arcivescovi; e credesi con probabile fondamento, ché tra Parochi e Sacerdoti non sono tutto al più che mille individui.

‘Dall’ Almanacco stampato nel 1731 apparisce ché in quell’ anno contavansi in Ibernica dei Cattolici, un milione, trecento e nove mila, settecento e sessanta otto; e di Protestanti solamente, settecento mille, quattrocento e cinquanta tre. Però siccome dall’ anno 1731 in qua é talmente cresciuto il Popolo d’ Ibernica, che vi si computano in oggi tre milioni d’ anime, etc. (Archives of S. Clement’s, Rome.)

with what was said above, has been kept for the end of this article :—

(Record Office.)

BY THE
LORDS JUSTICES & COUNCIL
OF
IRELAND.
A
PROCLAMATION.

JN PONSONBY

Whereas *Nicholas Sheehy*, Popish Priest of *Shanrughan* in the County of *Tipperary*, stands indicted at an Assizes and General Goal-Delivery held for the said County, the Twenty-eighth day of March One thousand seven hundred and sixty four, for High Treason & Rebellion.

And whereas the said *Nicholas Sheehy* has since absconded, and We have received information upon Oath, that he is concealed in some part of this Kingdom, and has since been concerned in several Treasonable practices to raise a rebellion in this Kingdom.

We the Lords Justices and Council, do therefore hereby publish and declare, That if any Person or Persons, do, within the space of Six Calendar Months from the date of this Our Proclamation, apprehend the said *Nicholas Sheehy*, and lodge him in any one of His Majesty's Goals in this Kingdom, such Person or Persons shall receive as a Reward The Sum of Three Hundred Pounds *Sterling*.

And we do hereby strictly charge and command all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bailiffs, and all other His Majesty's Officers, civil and military, and also all other His Majesty's loving subjects, that they do use their utmost endeavour to have the said *Nicholas Sheehy* apprehended.

Given at the Council-Chamber in Dublin, the 13th day of February, 1765.

BOWES. C. KILDARE. WESTMEATH. GRANDISON. CARRICK.
ARRAN. WILL. MEATH. PHIL. TISDALL. JOHN GORE.
RICH. ASTON. EDW. WILLES. WM. TOWNES. ANT. MALONE.
A. TREVOR. NATH. CLEMENTS. C. GARDINER. BEN.
BURTON. FRAN. ANDREWS. JOHN HELY HUTCHINSON.

GOD SAVE THE KING.

The subsequent events are narrated in the popular work,

The Fate of Father Sheehy. Conscious of his innocence he gave himself up, on condition that he should not be tried in Clonmel, where he had many bitter enemies. The condition was accepted, and the case was heard in Dublin. The jury disbelieved the evidence and acquitted him. But those who had resolved on his death were not to be disappointed thus. They alleged that he murdered his accuser, Bridge, who had disappeared. The witnesses who had been set aside by King's Bench came forward again. There was really no case. It was proved that on the night of the alleged murder Father Sheehy was far away from the spot named, in the house of a wealthy, peaceable man, a Mr. Keating. When he stated this in court, a minister named Hewetson accused him of having committed a murder in Newmarket, and he was taken to Kilkenny jail. He was now deprived of his chief witness, and things began to look bad for the priest. While fair-minded Protestants had befriended Father Sheehy, at length, on the strength of statements made by some disreputable characters, he was condemned. The *animus* of those who procured the trial could not be more palpable, nor the injustice of the sentence more manifest. It was a case of *odium sacerdotii*.

With this brief description of it, we bring our narrative of events in the penal times to a close.

REGINALD WALSH, O.P.

THE SUPPRESSION OF THE LONDON NEWSBOOKS

(1649)

I HAVE read with much interest the article from the pen of Mr. Williams which appeared in last month's issue, entitled, 'Concerning Hugh Peters in Ireland : Carlyle and some Historians.' The article deserves a large meed of praise, and I am pleased if my article has occasioned its appearance in the I. E. RECORD, for it is likely that it has reached a large circle of interested Irish readers who would probably not have seen so valuable a contribution to the history of Cromwell's Irish campaign had it appeared elsewhere. With the Editor's permission, I would like to make some animadversions upon Mr. Williams' remarks upon my article,¹ which appeared in the July issue. In his opening paragraph, Mr. Williams has stated that, owing to his own 'lack of precision and clearness in setting out his facts,' I have 'considerably underestimated the cause of the suppression of the London newsbooks by thinking that the licensed press was crushed out by the new and most oppressive licensing Act of September 20, that came into force on October 1, 1649.' He hastens to point out 'that the suppression of the press had absolutely nothing whatever to do with the new "Act" '; and, if I understand him rightly, he holds that the design of suppression was not entertained until the publication of the letter of Hugh Peters, which was spread broadcast in London on September 28.

While his stricture upon his own writing is not altogether unjust, I would like to point out that it was not from any words written by him that I formed the opinion that the suppression was due to the enforcement of the stringent Act of September 20. My judgment upon the matter was based upon contemporary evidence which, until it is re-

¹ 'London Newsbooks on the Storm of Drogheda.'

butted by the strongest contemporary evidence to the contrary, every student must consider excellent.

The Royalist newsbooks were certainly the most successful in eluding whatever severe regulations the Parliament framed against the press. The public of London stood firmly by the Royalist printers, and the Parliamentary officials experienced extreme difficulty in reaching the Royalist presses, and in extinguishing their output. It was because of the public sympathy which they commanded, and the public support which they enjoyed, that Royalist newsbooks continued to appear when avowed Parliamentary prints were guillotined. The most daring and most successful of the Royalist prints at this particular period appears to have been *Mercurius Eleucticus*. It appeared regularly during the month of September. Nos. 20, 21, 22, and 23 succeeded one another as the weeks passed, No. 23 appearing in the week from September 24 to October 1. In the ordinary course No. 24 should have appeared during the week from October 1 to October 8, As a matter of fact it failed to appear during this week, and when in the following week, October 8 to October 15, it did at length appear, its Editor, Wharton, tendered to his readers an apologetic explanation of his failure. He states, as clearly as words can say, that his failure was due to the enforcement of the Act passed by Parliament on September 20, which came into operation as designed on October 1. These are his words :—

The Act (falsely so stiled) against (such as the 'saints' are pleased to call) scandalous and seditious bookes and pamphlets hath beene put so diligently in exequition by the States Blood Hounds, that the last week I had enough to doe in securing myselfe from their hungry jawes, and could not so oportunely appeare as formerly, in which respect I chuse rather not to be scene at all. Which discontinuance not a little grieved me, etc.

In preparing my article for publication I regarded this paragraph in *Mercurius Eleucticus* as containing unquestionable evidence that the temporary suppression of this Royalist print was effected by the enforcement of the Act

of September 20. Wharton describes the 'Act' as 'falsely so stiled' because, as a Royalist, he regarded as spurious the legislation of the Parliament. 'The Act against scandalous and seditious bookes and pamphlets' is undoubtedly the selfsame Act of September 20, passed against 'unlicensed and scandalous books and pamphlets.' If, therefore, the stringent enforcement—the 'diligent execution'—of this Act temporarily suppressed *Mercurius Eleucticus*, a Royalist newsbook, whose suppression was confessedly difficult, may we not infer that it was precisely owing to the same 'diligent execution' that the remaining newsbooks were suppressed? In the absence of rebutting evidence, it seems clear that the Act of September 20 was successfully made use of to suppress the London newsbooks. However high one may hold an opinion expressed upon this subject, it cannot be satisfactorily accepted until it is supported by contemporary evidence strong enough to rebut the clear statement of *Mercurius Eleucticus*, and convincing enough to preclude the inference that seems quite naturally to be drawn from its authoritative words.

I confess that I do not quite understand what Mr. Williams wishes to convey when he writes that I have '*considerably underestimated the cause of the suppression.*' If he means that my view underestimates the atrocity of the suppression, or the guilt of the suppressors, I cannot agree with him. If the suppression of the newsbooks was due to the Act of September 20, suspicions much more damaging than his view would arouse, should be entertained both against Cromwell and the Government in London. If their activity to suppress was awake as early as September 20, should we not hold them much more deliberately guilty than if they were stirred on the 28th into hurried action by the appearance of Peters' letter? In framing the Act they must have been keenly alive to all its possibilities. They did not frame an Act that could be used to suppress, without knowing that it could be so used. Why, then, should they have framed a measure possessing the potentialities of the Act of September 20? They framed it because of one or other of two reasons. Either they had already

received news from Drogheda of deeds that it would be most dangerous to them that the public should know; or, what reflects still more odiously upon their secret knowledge, they *expected* news too atrocious for the public ear.

It is not beyond the range of possibility that they were in possession of news from Cromwell in Drogheda that they have succeeded in concealing from their contemporaries and from posterity. On September 14 there were whisperings in Chester of events that occurred in Drogheda on the day and night of September 11. These whisperings contained truthful news. The Irish Sea was propitious, therefore, on the 12th and 13th, to expeditious despatch, and there is little reason for believing that more than six days would be needed for a messenger to reach London, having propitiously passed across the Irish Sea. The possibility of their having news from Drogheda, on the day that the Act was passed, of the merciless work that occurred on the night of September 11 is not beyond the region of suspicion.

But if they had not news of massacre, then they were in the guilty anxiety of Lady Macbeth while Duncan was being murdered, and they were elaborating a scheme to keep their guilt a secret. If they did not hear the 'owl scream and the crickets cry' their guilty minds were conjuring scenes in which women screamed and innocent children cried. It would follow that the guilt of massacre was not Cromwell's only, but that he left England with designs of bloody work and cruel extermination that were known to and approved by the Government of London. In fact the story recorded by Clarendon, and which most men hoped, if they did not believe with Carlyle, was a wild story, would prove to be no wild story at all, but almost an ascertained historical verity—that the Parliament at one time decided to exterminate the whole Irish population, but finding that work too difficult had contented itself with packing them off to the bogs and wastes of Connaught. Surely in holding that it was by the enforcement of the Act of September 20 that the newsbooks were suppressed I have not 'underestimated the cause of the suppression.'

I cannot claim to possess the intimate knowledge of the contents of the newsbooks that Mr. Williams displays, nor may I hope that I ever shall. But if they, or any other contemporary source, contain evidence calculated to set aside the judgment, based upon the statement in *Mercurius Eleucticus*, to which I have given expression, I hope that it may be placed on record without delay. The history of the events that led up to the suppression is of prime importance in estimating the depths of Cromwell's guilt, and in estimating also how far the Government in London were accomplices in his atrocities and in his false accounts of his deeds.

THOMAS GOGARTY.

'OBLATUM OCCASIONE BAPTISMI,' ETC.

THERE is a statute of very practical importance in the Decrees of the Armagh Synod about the interpretation of which there may be considerable divergence of opinion. It reads : ' Nunquam liceat sacerdoti aliquam partem oblatis quod occasione Baptismi, matrimonii aut funeris fideles solvunt suam facere, eo sub praetextu quod ratione doni personalis datur.'¹

There was a law or regulation in force in this diocese according to which everything given on such occasions had to go into the common fund, except what was given for some other specified purpose, e.g., the celebration of Mass ; but that arrangement is now replaced by the Armagh legislation. The practical question now for us and the priests of the Province is : What exactly does the law cover ; does it extend to everything given in connexion with the performance of the ceremonies, or may we restrict it to the ' fee,' leaving the minister free to make his own all extras that are given, no matter in what way ?

The whole question turns, as is plain, on the meaning to be attached to the words ' oblatis ' and ' occasione.' I submit a tentative interpretation.

I start with the axiom or assumption ' odia sunt restringenda.' Now, if I find a sufficient reason for the law I can rest there, and need not extend its binding force to other cases which it might have been made to cover.

I confine the meaning of ' oblatis ' to the ' fee,' not extending it so as to embrace extras which may be given. And observe, it is the singular, not the plural, of the word that is used.

Here, then, is a *ratio sufficiens* for the law, and, at the same time, a justification for restricting the meaning of ' oblatis ' as I do.

¹ Page 22, No. 28.

To make the case concrete : I get 10s. on the occasion of a baptism—the fee handed to me in the ordinary way. I might be tempted to think that the sum would only have been 2s. 6*d.*, or at most 5s., had anyone else performed the ceremony ; and that consequently 7s. 6*d.* or 5s. of the amount is a personal gift to myself. The dangers arising from speculations of that kind are obvious, and priests on the mission do not require to be reminded of them. Now, to obviate these dangers the law steps in and compels me to put down in the book the total amount received for the baptism. I am inclined to the view that this is a very sufficient reason for the legislation, and that the Decree need not be interpreted so as to cover any gratuities I may get when the whole ceremony is over and the names and fee entered in the book, for ‘*odia sunt restringenda.*’ It may occur to some one that there is no odium in the case, that the law aims not so much at restricting the liberty of the individual receiving the money as at safeguarding the interests of others concerned. It seems to me, however, that the negative wording of the law makes it clear that it is the individual performing the ceremony that is primarily and directly aimed at.

With regard to ‘*occasione,*’ I believe it has no special significance here, that it is not intended to cover everything given on the occasions under consideration. The word is used here, as we use it all round in this department of theology, especially for the purpose of defending the Catholic practice against the charge of simony. Had the term any wider significance I should expect ‘*oblatorum*’ not ‘*oblati,*’ in the text.

There is another reason for the view I am inclined to. Again, to make the case concrete : On the occasion of a baptism the father of the child, or one of the sponsors, gives me 10s., telling me, perhaps, to put that in the book (but whether any words are used or not, it is universally recognized what is meant). He then gives me 10s., saying, ‘That is for yourself.’ Now it seems to me very strange how any authority, ecclesiastical or civil, can lawfully intervene and apply the free gift of that individual to

purposes (in the common fund) for which he never intended it—nay, dispose of his money in a manner contrary to his expressed wish. No doubt the law could prevent me from accepting it, but it does not do so. Would there not, then, be a strong suspicion of fraud about the business, the law allowing me to take the money but compelling me to apply it to purposes other than that specified by the donor?—the law would allow me to receive the money, but only under false pretences. But I see no necessity for accusing the legislature of subterfuges of the kind. In my view the law is very necessary and very intelligible in the light of the explanation I attempted to give in the beginning, viz., to prevent one calculating how much of the sum, given as a 'fee,' in the ordinary way, one might reckon as a personal gift—'eo sub praetextu quod ratione doni personalis datur.'

Mark these last words. Do they not confirm my interpretation of 'oblatus,' which I am taking to mean what is handed over without comment when the ceremony is finished, leaving the perquisites untouched? There is no pretext at all about the extras, if any, for the donor always specifies the purpose for which he intends what he gives. And if he does specify it, how, I ask again, can the money be disposed of contrary to that specified intention?

I might follow this up with a criticism of the other side, but for the present perhaps I have said enough to point out what appears to me to be a fair, reasonable interpretation of the law. The matter is of such practical importance that I would gladly see some confirmation of the view I have put forward, or some other satisfactory explanation substituted.

R. FULLERTON.

SOME CELTIC MISSIONARY SAINTS

ST. COLUMBA

THE final conquest of the island of Britain by the Saxons was not completed until nearly two hundred years after the death of St. Patrick in Ireland in the year 464. Christianity had not only been preached and embraced throughout the whole of Ireland during the lifetime of St. Patrick, but a permanently organized hierarchy had been established there by him, with Armagh as its Primatial See. It was not until one hundred and fifty years after the erection of the See of Armagh that the See of Canterbury was founded as the Primatial See of the Anglo-Saxon Church by Pope St. Gregory the Great, who appointed St. Augustine, the Benedictine monk sent by him to convert the Anglo-Saxons, as its first Archbishop. Fifty-seven years after the death of St. Patrick, and seventy-five years before the landing of St. Augustine at Ebbesfleet, in Kent, St. Columba, or Columkille, as he was called from the number of churches or monastic cells founded by him, was born at Gartan, in the wilds of Donegal, in the year 521. He belonged to the royal family of Ireland, by direct descent, being the great-grandson of King Niall of the Nine Hostages, who reigned towards the close of the fourth century.

We owe our knowledge of the events and facts of his life to one who was his own kinsman, and who succeeded him as ninth abbot of Iona within a hundred years of his death. St. Adamnan, the biographer of St. Columba, had the advantage of personal and daily intercourse with the disciples and contemporaries of St. Columba, so that his life of the saint comes to us with all the value of first-hand evidence. The scope, however, and purpose of this slight historical sketch is not to relate in detail the life of St. Columba, but to call attention to the nature and significance of his missionary labours, and to epitomize in few words the salient features of his apostolic career. The monastic

school of Clonard, situated on the western bank of the Boyne, not far from the spot where it takes its rise, was, during the sixth and seventh centuries, the most celebrated seat of learning in Ireland, to which scholars flocked from all quarters.

From the school of Clonard [wrote Usher, the learned Protestant Archbishop of Dublin] scholars of old came out in as great numbers as Greeks from the side of the horse of Troy. The usual number of pupils in attendance is set down at three thousand, so that the ancient annalists call St. Finnian himself 'a doctor of Wisdom and tutor of the Saints of Ireland in this time'; while from the fact that he taught St. Columba, St. Kieran of Clonmacnoise, St. Brendan of Clonfert, and a number of other celebrated bishops and abbots, he was styled 'Preceptor of the Twelve Apostles of Ireland.'

The famous monastic school was founded by St. Finnian. He had studied at Menevia, in Wales, under St. David and Gildas, and, returning to Ireland, had founded the monastery of Clonard, a fact for long commemorated in one of the ancient hymns sung in the Divine Office upon his feast day. It is composed in that quaint rhyming Latin metre which afterwards became so common throughout the Church of the West during the Middle Ages, but which is said to have had its origin in Ireland. Here are the opening lines of the hymn alluded to :—

Regressus in Clonardiam
Ad cathedram lecturae
Apponit diligentiam
Ad studium scripturae.

At Clonard, St. Columba was associated with St. Kevin, the founder of Glendalough, in the County of Wicklow; with St. Comgall, the founder of Bangor, in the County of Down; with St. Canice (or Kenny) from whom Kilkenny takes its name; with St. Brendan, the apostolic navigator, in whom many have recognized the first discoverer of America; and with St. Kieran, the founder of Clonmacnoise. St. Columba, who had been ordained a deacon at the monastery of Moville, in the County of Down, received the sacred

order of the priesthood during the period of his residence at Clonard, where he seems to have remained for several years. He afterwards visited other famous monastic schools of Ireland, and amongst them that of Glasnevin, near Dublin, where he also appears to have received some part of his early training. The first forty years of the life of St. Columba were spent in Ireland, and the remaining thirty-four in his missionary labours in North Briton. In Ireland he is said to have founded as many as three hundred churches ; but, allowing for all possible exaggeration concerning the number of his Irish foundations, we can, with historical certainty, point to the remains of at least thirty-eight churches and monasteries in Ireland founded by him. Amongst them it will suffice to name those of Derry, the modern Londonderry, which owes its origin to St. Columba, and was his first foundation ; Kells, in the County of Meath ; Tory Island, off the coast of Donegal ; Drumcliffe, in Sligo ; Swords, in the County of Dublin ; Raphoe ; Lambay, near Malahide ; and Durrow, which was the largest of all the monasteries founded by him. St. Columba was also celebrated as a scribe, and is known to have transcribed various manuscripts of portions of Holy Scripture. Two specimens of his caligraphy are still to be seen in the *Book of Durrow*, an *Evangelarium*, preserved in the Library of Trinity College, Dublin, and in the still more famous Psalter, called the *Cathach*, now in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy. The strange legend which associates this Psalter, copied by St. Columba from a manuscript belonging to St. Finnian, with a trial about its copyright, and a subsequent battle for its possession, in which many were slain, and the consequent voluntary exile of St. Columba, as a penance imposed on him for being the cause of so much bloodshed, cannot be looked upon as serious history, although it became exceedingly popular during the later Middle Ages, and was inserted in all lives of the saint written during that period and later. If it was serious history there would surely be some mention of it in the early lives or notices of the saint, such as the Record of his Mission, by St. Bede, or in his Life by St. Adamnan. St. Adamnan attributes his

leaving Ireland to his wish to go on pilgrimage for Christ—‘*Pro Christo peregrinari volens*’—and is silent as to any other motive. The legend of ‘The Battle of the Book’ may have arisen later, from the fact that the Psalter, bound in silver, and enclosed in a kind of portable altar, was carried for centuries in the vanguard of battle by the O’Donnells. It got known by the name of ‘the Cathach,’ or ‘the Fighter,’ and was preserved for over thirteen hundred years in the O’Donnell family, and is now to be seen in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy at Dublin. There is surely no need for attributing other motives than missionary zeal and the apostolic spirit for the departure of St. Columba from Ireland to the Island of Iona. Several historians, however, still uphold the view that the saint did instigate the ‘Battle of the Book,’ and was exiled as a penance for so doing.

Previous to his departure he retired into the solitude of Inismurray, a rocky island off the coast of Sligo, where there then lived St. Molaise, a Bishop who lived the life of a hermit, when not occupied in his episcopal duties. The ancient bee-hive cells, the abode of St. Molaise and his companion monks, still exist and can be visited by any who are sufficiently agile to scale the precipitous heights of that rocky solitude. It was in the year 563 that St. Columba with twelve companions set out in a large currach, or coracle, on his missionary voyage. An ancient legend tells that he first landed at the island called Oronsay, but that having climbed a hill there, and finding that he could still see the coast of Ireland, he again set sail, and reached Iona, and there ascending the highest point in the island he looked out towards Ireland, but it was no longer in sight, so there he chose to remain with the sight of his native land shut out from his gaze, thus inflicting upon himself what to him was a most severe penance. A cairn still marks the spot where St. Columba stood looking out towards Ireland no longer visible to his eyes; it was called the ‘Cairn Cul re Erin,’ literally ‘the back turned on Ireland,’ but is generally known as the ‘Cairn of Farewell.’ There is a spot on the shores of Iona, where tradition asserts that

two rocks, sixty feet apart, mark the exact length of the large currach, or coracle, in which St. Columba and his companions arrived at their island home, and it is known as a matter of fact that the larger kind of currachs made at that period were sixty feet in length. St. Columba landed at Iona on Whitsun Eve, the 12th of May, in 563. At that period Iona formed part of the territory belonging to that colony founded in Alba, or Caledonia, by settlers who had emigrated from the north-east of Ireland in the early part of the fifth century. They gave to the entire territory occupied by them the name of that part of Ireland from which they came, and it became known as Dalriada in Alba, to distinguish it from Dalriada in Hibernia. Some of the inhabitants were already Christians, and amongst them were some of St. Columba's own kinsmen. But although Christian missionaries had already been at work in Alba, or Caledonia, the majority of the inhabitants were at that time still pagans, and religion had become almost extinct amongst those who were nominally Christians. The then chief of this colony of Dalriada was a cousin of St. Columba's named Conal, and he gave to the saint and his companions a grant of the island of Iona for ever.

In the year 565, within two years of his coming to Iona, St. Columba had converted and baptized Brude, the King of the Picts, under whose powerful patronage he quickly gained over to Christianity the lesser chieftains and their subjects throughout the highlands. He sent some of his companions from Iona to evangelize the neighbouring islands, and won over the chieftain of the Orkney islands with most of his subjects to the faith. The vestiges still remain of no less than twenty-one monastic foundations owing their origin to St. Columba on the mainland of Scotland, and thirty-two monasteries were founded by him in the isles. For over thirty years the saint laboured in Scotland, making missionary journeys throughout its length and breadth. From the monastery founded by him at Iona missionaries went forth, making monastic foundations wherever they went. Perhaps the most celebrated foundations made from Iona were those of Lindisfarne, in

Northumbria, founded by St. Aidan, a disciple of St. Columba ; from thence Irish monks went forth to evangelize the Anglo-Saxons as far south as the Humber. Melrose Abbey was another famous foundation made from Iona, also by St. Aidan, and from it came forth an Irishman and a saint, whose name is ever associated with the cathedral city of Durham, where his body still reposes—for St. Cuthbert was born in Ireland, trained at Melrose, and died as Bishop of Lindisfarne.

Inasmuch as the life of St. Columba has often been written in modern times, and its events made familiar to a very large number of readers, it is not necessary here to dwell upon them in detail. It may, however, be well to recall one important event of his life which was destined to have far-reaching consequences in the secular history of the British Islands. Up to the time of St. Columba the colony of Dalriada in Alba, or Caledonia, was dependent upon Ireland, and paid tribute to its High King. Six years after St. Columba had come to Iona the reigning chief of the Dalriadan colony died, and the saint was asked to choose his successor. This he did by selecting one of his own kinsmen, named Aidan. But he was not satisfied with making him chief of the colony ; he wanted to set up in it a more stable form of government, and so he had Aidan proclaimed as King of Dalriada, and himself placed his crown upon his head, after he had prayed over him and anointed him with oil. This act of St. Columba in founding King Aidan is the first recorded instance in history, with the exception of the crowning of King Clovis by St. Remy at Rheims, of the Christian coronation of a king ; but that is not the only interesting fact connected with this action of St. Columba. It has a peculiar and special interest for all students of subsequent Scottish and English history, for the reason that in the coronation of King Aidan, St. Columba became in reality the inaugurator of that long line of kings and queens whose actual representative to-day sits on the throne of England in the person of King George V., and he, last June, was crowned in Westminster Abbey, seated over the very same stone upon which St. Columba

crowned King Aidan in the year 574. But there was even a still further significance in the saint's act, for he himself, as well as the king he crowned, were both of the blood-royal of the high kings of Ireland. St. Columba was the great grandson of King Niall of the Nine Hostages, so that in a very true sense St. Columba can be called the founder and inaugurator of the Scotch and English monarchy.

The stone upon which St. Columba crowned King Aidan in the year 574, served as the coronation seat of all the Kings of Scotland, until Edward I., in his invasion of Scotland, carried it off from Scone, where it then was, and had it placed in Westminster Abbey, where it can now be seen under the coronation chair in which the English sovereigns are crowned. No sooner had St. Columba crowned Aidan as King of Dalriada in Alba than he began to turn his attention to the consolidation of the new kingdom, and the better to effect this he departed with King Aidan to Ireland, where an assemblage or convention of the four kings, with the chieftains and clergy of the country, was being held, at Drumkeith, in the present County of Derry. There the saint, who, as well as the king he had just crowned, was of the blood-royal of Ireland, pleaded the cause of Home Rule and independence for the new kingdom he had just set up. Hitherto Dalriada in Alba had been subject to the Irish high kings, and paid them tribute; Columba now pleaded that it might become independent of the crown of Ireland, and his pleading was successful. King Aidan returned to his kingdom an independent monarch, and from him were descended the independent kings of Scotland for over a hundred years, in direct male descent, and then, through another branch of the same stock, represented by the House of Lorn, to which belong Kenneth MacAlpine, who conquered the Picts and joined them to his kingdom in 842.

The famous Macbeth, and his conqueror, Malcolm Canmore, the husband of St. Margaret of Scotland, were both descended from King Aidan, whose male line of descent ended with Alexander III. in 1283. Then came in the female line of descent the dynasty of the Bruces and the Stuarts; and when James VI. of Scotland became James I. of England, the kingdom, on the head of whose first king

St. Columba had placed the crown, included England, as well as Scotland and Ireland, under its dominion. So that, after all, as an historical matter of fact, the English royal family, in so far as it has any blood relationship to the direct line of the Scotch and English kings of the Stuart dynasty, owes its origin, as well as its independent crown, to the Celtic missionary saint, Columba of Iona. It may be that the present Home Rule question for Ireland would take a very different complexion than the one it now has in the eyes of very many persons if it was viewed in the light of the real origin of the dynasty that rules the kingdoms of Scotland and England.

Besides being a saint, a missionary, and a statesman, St. Columba was also a great lover of nature and a poet. Like all true poets, from Homer to Byron, he dearly loved the sea. At Iona, St. Columba, like St. John in the island of Patmos, was surrounded by, and rejoiced in, 'the noise of many waters'; with Dante his eye was gladdened with 'il tremolar della marina'; and with the Psalmist he felt the magic spell and wonder of the ocean, and saw how the Lord 'is wonderful on the deep,' and how 'wondrous are the surgings of the sea.'

There is in the Bodleian Library at Oxford a MS. containing thirty-six Irish poems attributed to St. Columba. Only three out of the poems written by the saint in Latin have survived; other poems composed by him are in the Library of Bourgogne in Brussels. A few lines from a translation of one of his Irish poems will at once reveal his love of nature, and especially of the sea :—

My Derry, my fair oak grove,
My dear little cell and dwelling,
Oh, God in the heavens above !
Let him who profanes it be cursed.
Beloved are Durrow and Derry ;
Beloved is Raphoe, the pure ;
Beloved the fertile Drumhome ;
Beloved are Swords and Kills.
But sweeter and fairer to me
The salt sea, where the seagulls cry,
It is sweeter and dearer to me.

Another trait of the saint's character which reminds us forcibly of that other great lover of nature, St. Francis of Assisi, was his love for the birds and animals. The wild sea birds would fly in circles round his head and settle on his arms and shoulders.

Nearly everyone is familiar with the touching story of the old white horse that carried corn for the monastery at Iona, which came up to the aged saint whilst he was seated on a rock a few days before his death, and placed its head upon the saint's breast, and seemed to shed tears of grief over him ; and how, when the monk who was with him would drive off the animal, St. Columba said to him : ' Leave him with me, let him weep for my departure ; the Creator has revealed to this poor animal what He has hidden from thee, a reasonable man.' A day or two afterwards the saint dragged his weary limbs up to a certain high point from which he could see his monastery and the whole island, and raising his hands and eyes to heaven he gave it his last prophetic blessing, saying : ' This little spot, so small and low, shall be greatly honoured, not only by the Scots kings and people, but also by foreign chiefs and barbarous nations ; and it shall be venerated even by the saints of other churches.'

We are told that for some time before his death St. Columba was favoured by God with a bright light that shone around him in the darkness of the night, and that many of his monks had at times been witnesses of this miraculous light, when the saint was spending the night in prayer, as he was often wont to do, sometimes in the church, when the night Office was finished, and at others in the solitude of his cell. After he had given his last blessing to Iona he entered once more into his cell, and went on with the work upon which he was then engaged, which was the copying of a Latin Psalter. He had reached the words of the thirty-third Psalm, '*Inquirentes autem Dominum non deficient omni bono*' : ' They who seek the Lord shall want for nothing that is good ' ; when he felt his last hour at hand, and pausing, said : ' I must stop here ; let Baithem write what follows.' Baithem, who succeeded the saint as Abbot of Iona, had to write the next words, '*Venite filii, audite*

me, *timorem Domini docebot vos* ; 'Come, children, hearken to me, I will teach you the fear of the Lord.' Having assisted with his monks in choir for the last time, he returned to his cell, and lay down to rest on the large flat stone that, during the last few years of his life, served as his bed, and whilst there reclining he spoke his last words of counsel to his monks. Then, knowing that his last moment on earth had arrived, and hearing the first strokes of the bell that sounded to call the monks to the midnight Office, he arose, and made his way to the church, where the wondrous light that seemed to radiate from the saint for a few moments made the little church appear to be flooded with light ; after which all was again darkness ; and when the monks entered the building they found the saint prostrate before the altar in prayer, and unable to rise. One of them gently raised his head and supported it on his knee. The saint, raising his hand with the assistance of the monk who supported him, looked around for the last time on his brethren, gave them his last blessing, and breathed forth his soul to God.

His biographer, St. Adamnan, tells us that his face at the moment of his death became resplendent, and seemed rather to be the face of one who had seen in sleep a vision of angels than the face of a dying man. St. Columba died on Sunday morning, the 9th of June, 597, after thirty-four years of missionary labour in North Britain. His body was buried at Iona, and his tomb became a centre of attraction that drew crowds of pilgrims during many centuries to that bleak and lonely island.

His sacred relics remained at Iona until the time of the Danish invasions in the ninth century, when they were translated to the cathedral of Down, in Ireland, and placed beside those of St. Patrick and St. Brigid. But the original burial place of St. Columba at Iona, long after the translation of his relics to Ireland, continued to be the favourite burial place, not only of the Scottish kings and princes, but of those also of other nations. In the ruins of one of the oratories of the ancient monastery of St. Columba lie the remains of sixty-one kings. Four monarchs of Ireland have their tombs there, and nine Scandinavian sovereigns,

besides the Scottish kings. Shakespeare tells how Duncan's body was

Carried to Columkill

The sacred storehouse of his predecessors

And guardian of their bones.

The name Malcolm, a favourite name in Scotland, and one borne by several of the Scottish kings, is derived from two Gaelic words, 'Mael' and 'Colum,' which means 'the client of Columba.' The monastic habit of St. Columba and his monks was a tunic of coarsely-woven white wool, over which, in choir, was worn the cowl, also of white wool. His rule was exceedingly austere, the fasts long and frequent, and severe penances were enjoined for even the smallest faults. The day was divided between prayer, manual labour, and study, interrupted by frequent missionary journeys and much preaching. The night's rest was always broken by the midnight Office, sung in choir. The succession of abbots after St. Columba at Iona continued until 1202, and includes forty-eight abbots. The name of the last Abbot of Iona was Giollacrist.

In concluding this slight sketch of one of the most celebrated Celtic missionary saints we may bid farewell to the chief scene of his missionary labours in the words of Dr. Johnson, taken from Boswell's *Tour in the Hebrides*, quoted by Montalembert in his *Monks of the West* in the same connexion :—

We were now treading that illustrious island which was once the luminary of the Caledonian regions, whence savage clans and roving barbarians derived the benefits of knowledge and the blessings of religion. To abstract the mind from all local emotion would be impossible, if it were endeavoured, and would be foolish, if it were possible. Whatever withdraws us from the power of our senses, whatever makes the past the distant, or the future predominate over the present, advances us in the dignity of thinking beings. Far from me and from my friends be such frigid philosophy as may conduct us indifferent and unmoved over any ground which has been dignified by wisdom, bravery, or virtue. That man is little to be envied whose patriotism would not gain force upon the plain of Marathon, or whose piety would not grow warmer among the ruins of Iona.

W. H. KIRWAN.

'GADELICA MINORA'—V.

IN order to complete our treatment of the expression of identity in Irish, we must go back to our first article, and discuss the function and the origin of the word *ná* which often occurs in type B, and of which it then constitutes the leading characteristic. We are all the more anxious to bring this before our readers' notice because some scholars have (with what appears to us an amazing lack of judgment and of appreciation of the psychological aspects of the living speech) decried this little word, and deplored its *intrusion* into the language as a linguistic monstrosity. To do full justice to our subject we should be in a position to define accurately the geographical area within which this *ná*, in the type of sentence under discussion, finds currency, and also, approximately at least, the date of its introduction into the language within that area. This, unfortunately, we have not had time to do. The omission, however, will not materially interfere with our conclusions. This much at all events is certain, that the word is deeply rooted in the living speech of the people over an extensive area in Munster; that in these districts the very oldest and best speakers, who know little or no English, use it in their everyday conversation, but use it with taste and judgment, and only in cases where its use is justified by its origin; that, with this same reservation, Canon O'Leary—who is admittedly the best and most vigorous writer of present-day Irish—uses it *passim* in all his writings; and lastly, that although it is thus shown to be a *fact* of the language, which cannot be obliterated by a whole procession of purists, armed with their vague and visionary weapon of 'literary' usage, it is not a *mere* fact, but a fact which takes peculiar *effect*; a fact which embodies a delicate shade of meaning, and which, when its genesis is properly understood, opens up to the view a whole vista of psychological forces acting on the Irish mind, and finding

their realization in the much-abused and much-maligned construction which is to be the subject of this paper. If the Irish language is one of the most important, because one of the most spiritual, records of Irish mentality that we possess, it is precisely words like this *ná*, and constructions such as that in which it is embodied, that are most to the purpose, and most deserving of preservation. If we have admitted coinages from other languages into Irish—from Latin, English, French, German, Spanish (and we have admitted them in abundance)—why are we to reject, at the bidding of the purist, a growth which is Irish of the Irish, with no taint of the foreigner about it from first to last : a growth, too, which has its parallels in every language that was ever spoken, and which is the outcome of one of the most far-reaching principles that are at work in the development of all human speech. That same mental association—based upon various elements in the human mind and in the phenomena of speech—which has been accountable for many and important changes in the accidence of all the cultivated languages of Europe, is responsible also for many changes in syntax, and to it is to be traced this ‘*ná*’ construction in Irish. The origin of this use of *ná* once clearly understood it will be seen that the construction instead of being a blemish is a beauty, and not a merely ornamental beauty either, but one which, as we have already hinted, serves a most useful purpose. Indeed it is such a natural growth that one is perplexed to know on what ground, except that of pure perversity, certain critics have persuaded themselves, and tried to convince others (though, *buiréacáir le Dia*, ineffectively) that it has no proper place in the literary Irish of to-day.

The principal points to be noted in regard to the use and function of this ‘*ná*’ are : 1°. It introduces the material predicate, in somewhat the same way as *.i.* does in the earlier literature, but with much more telling effect. With this *.i.* it has, moreover, no historical connexion whatsoever. 2°. The predicate is strongly emphasized by it ; the subject also appears to stand out boldly in relief in the mind, the attention being focussed, though with somewhat less in-

tensity, on it also, so that the result is a most clear cut and vivid identification. When it is not desired to bring about this very vivid result, when such an attempt would imply a straining after effect, out of harmony with the circumstances, and consequently in bad taste, a writer like Canon O'Leary does not use 'ná.' It cannot be used indiscriminately. 3°. The subject, taken in full, always contains a relative clause, but one may distinguish two varieties :
(a) Where the relative is expressed, e.g. :—

'b'é céad muo a uéin na teacéairí ná a fiarruiúge arís é Cúiorc é.' ¹

'b'é cuma n-a tuicceadh ré ná n-a muí comáctac.' ²

'b'é muo a bí aige á déanam ná eiaor.' ³

'b'é cuma n-a maib a n-aighe aghá bfuimhór ná ollam u'don traidar muo a cuiteadh amac.' ⁴

'ir é muo ir ceart do déanam ná a beal a d'éirteac.' ⁵

'ir é muo a uéin ré . . . ná eiaor ar an uile traidar ríealca d'innirint.' ⁶

(b) Where the relative particle does not appear explicitly :—

'má tá nro ir mó ná a céile a cuireann iongnad oim ra gnó ro na Gaeltinne ir é muo é ná an éall ear barr a éirbeadhao fuimhór na nuaoine a bíonn i mbun na hoibne.' ⁷

'ir é traidar uime é rin ná an fear ná teighe do'n traidb-
pear don greim a breic ar éirde air.' ⁸

'ir iad uá nro iad ran ná uic céille 7 uicé-aighe.' ⁹

'b'é gnó é rin ná lear anma na nuaoine do cup or cionn
ghé cairbe raogalta.' ¹⁰

'ir uicé liomra guib é muo é ná aepuadh ana-mór.' ¹¹

4°. All 'ná' sentences are formally affirmative, though, as we shall see later on, the 'ná' gives them virtually the force of a negative sentence or a rhetorical question, or an exclusive comparative sentence. This brings us to the consideration of the genesis of the construction.

¹ Seannmóin aghur Cúí Fíeio, p. 11.

² Ibid. p. 30.

³ Ibid. p. 125.

⁴ Ibid. p. 165.

⁵ Ibid. p. 198.

⁶ Eirir, p. 18.

⁷ Sgoé-bualad, p. 136.

⁸ Seannmóin aghur Cúí Fíeio, p. 24.

⁹ Ibid. p. 61.

¹⁰ Ibid. p. 206.

¹¹ Séadna, 218.

I. Rhetorical questions and rhetorical negations are common in most of the languages that we are familiar with. This is especially so in our own language, and it is to such questions and negations that we must look for the origin of the 'ná' construction. We shall find, on investigation, that it is due in part to the negative ná, and in part to the comparative ná (ioná).

If we take the sentence

'Annraṇ cé déarraḃ ná sup deaḡ-úine é ?'

we find, first, that in form it is interrogative ; secondly, that the question is rhetorical, being virtually equivalent to the statement

Sé déarraḃ ḡac doinne sup deaḡ-úine é.

I have often noticed in conversing with native speakers of Irish that when one asks them to repeat something which they have already said it is almost impossible to get them to use precisely the same expression again. For instance, an identification expressed at first as a rhetorical question, as in the above example, may the very next moment be expressed as a direct identification with the copula. I mention this here merely to indicate that the process by which one form of expression influences the other has come within the range of my own observation and experience. Apart from this the phenomenon is common enough in the history of other languages. If we put the two sentences given above side by side thus,

1°. Annraṇ cé déarraḃ ná	} sup deaḡ-úine é,
2°. 1ṛ é ruḃ doéarraḃ ḡac doinne	

we observe (a) that while 1°. is virtually equivalent to 2°, (b) 2°. is lacking in the rhetorical force of 1°, (c) the words denoting the predicate of the identification are the same in both, but in 1°. these words were immediately preceded by ná. What happened then was, that this 'ná' became associated in the mind (in a vague, subconscious way at first, no doubt) with the expression of the predicate, and was gradually invected into the second form of the sentence.

But then the character of 2°. was changed, the defect referred to in (b) above being removed, and the resulting type,

ir é deapfað gac doinne ná sup deag-ðuine é,

being endowed with all the verve and force and pointedness of the rhetorical question.

II. This is one aspect of the genesis of the 'ná' sentence from a negative 'ná.' But there is another side to it. Besides rhetorical questions we have rhetorical negations also, which are virtually equivalent to affirmative statements of identity. And this, as well as the 'rhetorical question' form, is quite a common way of expressing identity in the living language. Examine the following examples:—

'ní bíoð þíor aḡ doinne ná sup ðuine do múntir na típe é' (Miam 138).

This is virtually equivalent to the identification of 'what everyone would think' with the statement that he was 'a native of the country.' In the copula sentence this would at first be

ir é deapfað gac doinne sup ðuine do múntir na típe é.

And, considering the familiarity of the mind with the first form of expression, it was almost inevitable, and at any rate very natural, that the 'ná' of that form should come to be used, with similar effect, in the second. So also, in Miam, p. 244, we find

'ní mirta a náð ná so naib ácar ar Colla,'

which is almost equivalent to

ir é deapfað doinne	}	so naib ácar ar Colla.
or		
ir é ba deart a náð		

Here again the tendency to insert 'ná,' in order to give the statement the rhetorical force of the negation, would be very strong, and very natural. Again, such a common expression as

ní deirim ná so þfuit an ceart aḡat,

is only another but more emphatic way of saying

ir é deirim so þfuit an ceart aḡat.

Into this latter form 'ná' would be easily and naturally introduced, owing to association with the 'rhetorical-negative' form, and this would give us

ir é deirim ná go bfuil an ceart astat.

So, in Séadna, p. 201, we find

ní deirim ná sup maic an comairle ar a bfuil rocair astat,

which is easily seen to be equivalent to the sentence (with 'ná' inserted analogically)

ir é deirim-re ná sup maic an comairle ar a bfuil rocair astat.

III. This association with rhetorical questions and rhetorical negations of the pattern already adduced would have been quite sufficient to account for the development of our 'ná' forms, but this was further promoted by another class of sentence, containing not the negative but the comparative 'ná' (ioná). When out of a number of individuals we wish to identify one of them as *the one* possessing a certain quality or characteristic in a superlative degree, we may do this in two ways: 1°. directly, by means of a copula sentence, containing a superlative adjective, e.g.,

Sé cuma ir fearr cum na h-oibre déanamh an saeóilg do fáotruaib in na h-áiteannaib 'na bfuil ri beo fóp.

Or, 2°, by an exclusive comparative sentence. That is, instead of saying 'this is the best way,' we may say 'no other way is better than this.' In Sgot-bualaid, p. 46, we find the above identification, or something practically equivalent to it, expressed as follows:—

(a) 'níl cuma ir fearr cum na h-oibre déanamh ná an saeóilg do fáotruaib in na h-áiteannaib n-a bfuil ri beo fóp.'

This second (comparative) form then influences the first (the superlative) form, leading to the introduction of ná here also, and giving the superlative sentence in a special way also the force of the exclusive comparative. When we say 'this is the best way,' we, no doubt, virtually exclude all other ways from the quality implied by 'best';

but the sentence, *ir é cuma ir fearr cun na h-oibhe déanamh ná an gáeúil go raotruaib inr na h-áiteannab n-a bfuil rí beo fóir*, makes this exclusion much more explicit and emphatic than the same sentence without *ná* would do. Further examples of such exclusive comparative sentences are :—

- (b) ‘níl don trasaí cainnte ra domhan ir gáinne ná béarla bfuilte na h-éireann’ (*Sgoth-bualab*, p. 52).
- (c) ‘. . . nárb’ fearra duinn ruo a déanaimir ‘ná an cuo eile o’ar raogal a áiteam i rceannta céile’ (*Séadna*, p. 208).
- (d) ‘ní raib doinne ba géire gá scuip go léir ruar cun na h-íobirte rin a déanamh ná mire’ (*Niam*, p. 355).
- (e) ‘méaraoír ná bíob doinne ba túirge tuigead cao a bíob i n-eapnam oirca ná mar a tuigead Niam é’ (*Niam*, p. 343).
- (f) ‘níl don nio ir mó éruadan cpoirde an duine asur a úeiglean amac é ó gáirca Dé ná cpaor’ (*Seanmóin asur Trí Fíclio*, p. 2).

These are equivalent, respectively, to the following superlative sentences in which ‘*ná*’ would be introduced in the manner, and with the effect, already indicated :—

- (b¹) *ir é ragaí cainnte ir gáinne ra domhan ná béarla bfuilte na h-éireann.*
- (c¹) *ir é ruo oob’ fearra duinn a déanamh ná an cuo eile o’ar raogal a áiteam i rceannta céile.*
- (d¹) *b’ é duine ba géire gá scuip go léir ruar cun na h-íobirte rin a déanamh ná mire.*
- (e¹) *méaraoír supb’ é duine ba túirge tuigead cao a bíob i n-eapnam oirca ná Niam.*
- (f¹) *ir é nio ir mó éruadan cpoirde an duine asur a úeiglean amac é ó gáirca Dé ná cpaor.*

The equivalence for practical purposes of the mental processes involved in these two sets of sentences, and also to some extent, perhaps, the identity in the form of the comparative and superlative adjective are the bases on which the introduction of *ná* into the superlative sentence rests.

IV. Instead of ‘*ná*’ the word *ac* (ac) is used in some

places under similar conditions, and with similar effect. The genesis of this usage also is similar to the genesis of 'na,' being based upon rhetorical questions and rhetorical negations, which are virtually equivalent to identifications expressed by the copula. When the copula was used for such identifications it was quite natural and useful that *áct* should be inserted before the predicate (exactly where it was in the rhetorical form) in order to give the sentence the force and pointedness of the interrogative or negative sentences. The following examples will be found instructive :—

- 1°. 'Cféad ír iontuigíte ar ro *ÁCT* nac fuil cnuí ar bit na mbi an duine *áct* cnuí na bfuil ré romarbhá ?' (Keating, *Tí Bior-ghaoite an Báir*, p. 10).
- 2°. 'Cáir eus ré aghar *ÁCT* iotreo an baili 'na raib Donncaó ?'
- 3°. 'Cao a déanfaó mac an cáit *ÁCT* an luc a marbáó ?' (Proverb).
- 4°. 'Níor dein Séadna *ÁC* caráó aghur imteaáct an dorar amac' (Séadna, p. 63).
- 5°. 'Cao a déanfaó rí *ÁC* an ruo atá geallta aici ó torac ?' (Niam, p. 313).
- 6°. 'níl ar riubal le deic mbliadnaib *ÁCT* an t-olmú' (Sgot-bualao, p. 138).
- 7°. 'cia buailfead cúca an dorar irteaá *ÁC* an tincéir móir' (Séadna, p. 186).
- 8°. 'níor dein ré *ÁC* aigne an duine boicé do cur tré céile níor mó' (Séadna, p. 188).
- 9°. 'Cia geabáó tar an ndorur *ÁC* Séadna !' (Séadna, p. 89).
- 10°. 'Níor dein ré *ÁC* feucaint opta aghur comáint leir' (Séadna, p. 89).

All these are obviously rhetorical ways of expressing identity. They can very easily be turned into copula sentences expressing the same identity, and if the '*áct*' be inserted these copula sentences will then have the rhetorical force of the negative or interrogative forms :—

- 1^a. ír é ír iontuigíte ar ro *ÁCT* nac fuil cnuí ar bit na mbi an duine *áct* cnuí na bfuil ré romarbhá.
- 2^a. ír é treo inar eus ré aghar *ÁCT* iotreo an baili na raib Donncaó.

- 3^a. 1r é ruo a ðeineann mac anéait ΔC an luó a mairbáð.
Or, 1r é ba ðual do mac an éait a ðéanam ΔC an
luó a mairbáð.
- 4^a. 1r é ruo a ðein Séadna ΔC capáð 7 imteact an dopar
amaó.
- 5^a. 1r é ba éapc 'oi a ðéanam ΔC an ruo atá sealta
aicí ó topar.
- 6^a. 1r é ruo atá ar ruibál le ðeic mblianaib ΔC an t-olmú.
- 7^a. 1r é ðuine do buail cúca an dopar irteac ΔC an
tínceir mór.
- 8^a. 1r é ruo a ðein pé ΔC aigne an ðuine ðoicé do éur tré
céile níor mó.
- 9^a. b'é ðuine do ðaó éar an ndopar ΔC Séadna.
- 10^a. 1r é ruo a ðein pé ΔC feuchaint orca ásur comaint
leir.

In view of all that has been written so far I cannot see my way to agree with the criticism which Dr. Henebry wrote in the *Leader* of November 28, 1908, in reference to a sentence extracted from a book review that appeared in the *Gaelic Journal* (October number, No. 217, p. 475). The sentence began thus: '1r é meapaim 'ná sur . . .'. Criticizing this ná, he says:—

The writing shows it is intended as a contraction or shortening of ioná, than. But *it stands for acht*.¹ Thus ní bionn aet gave rise to a form naet which in the unaccented place became nac (cf. beannaet for beannaet). Then it was regarded as nac 'that not,' and made the change nac, na. Finally, the present writer prefixes the apostrophe to connect it with ioná. *Write aet, or better, leave the place unfilled. Ná in such contexts is very vulgar.*

The words in italics seem to me very arbitrary. There is surely as much justification for the use of ná (based originally both upon *the negative ná* and *the comparative ioná*) in such a context as for that of aet. There was no need to go to such pains to show how aet *could* be transformed into ná. If 'ná in such contexts is very vulgar,' then one would like to know what on earth is *not* vulgar, and especially one would like to know *why* aet would not be vulgar. In any case it seems clear to me that ná and aet have been developed independently. As to *the*

¹ Italics are mine.

apostrophe before *ná*, even in sentences where it seems to be developed from, or at any rate to represent the force of, the comparative *ioná*, I should prefer to omit it altogether.

It will be useful to append some further examples of the use of *ná* in copula sentences. Of *aét* (*ac*) I have found no examples in Canon O'Leary's writings, though, as we have seen already (see p. 616) he has many instances of the rhetorical *ac* in interrogative and in negative sentences:—

- 1°. 'Ír é iúo d'ímteochar orda ná nuair a raḡair ríao go dtí doic ná beir don ḡamain rómpa ran ait' (Sḡot-bualao, p. 11).
- 2°. 'Ír é cúir ír mó dom tráct ar an ḡcaint anoir ná go ḡcuirean ré iḡcuimne dom an iúo a bí aḡat-ra d'a ráo anro an lá d'éanao a bíomair aḡ caint' (Ibid. p. 27).
- 3°. 'Ír é ainim a tús an Slánuigheoir ar an obair . . . ná riḡeact Dé' (Seanmóin aḡur Trí ríao, pp. 84-5).
- 4°. 'bí fear ann rao ó aḡur ír é ainim a bí air ná Séadna' (Séadna, p. 6).
- 5°. 'b'é rímaoineam é ná a luiḡeao coinne a bí aḡ aoimne . . . ḡuró é Corímac an Caimcín a beao d'a rórao acu ra deirne!' (Ibid. p. 225).
- 6°. 'Ír é iúo a ceap ré in' aigne ná náir caic ré ríam, aḡur náir blair ré, biaó doo' fearr' ná an biaó rin' (Ibid. p. 257).
- 7°. 'Ír í comairle tabairpáinn-re dúit, . . . ná ḡan don cup irteao ná amao a beic aḡat ar an rḡeal a tuille' (Míam, p. 175).
- 8°. 'b'é nro é rin ná cao a bí imtiḡte ar Amílaob' (Ibid. p. 97).
- 9°. 'b'é tréic é rin ná an cion a bí aici ar a h-aḡair' (Ibid. p. 45).
- 10°. ' . . . ḡuró 'é fear a cuireaoar uaoa cún na h-oibre rin a d'éanam ná lonán' (Ibid. p. 260).
- 11°. 'bíao beiric iao ran ná maolmóroa aḡur Síríc' (Ibid. p. 312).
- 12°. 'bí neart eile aḡ cup leir an d'a neart ran. b'é neart é rin ná neart an Círeom' (Ibid. p. 128).
- 13°. 'bí beart éaḡoíra í rin ná marla tabairt do mnaoi' (Ibid. p. 128).

An examination of the context in which the above sentences occur will bring out clearly the peculiar quality of

these *ná* sentences, proving especially that both subject and predicate stand out in bold relief, and that the result is a most clear-cut and vivid identification. There is no straining after effect, the rhetorical character of the sentence is justified, and demanded, in every case by the circumstances. Take away '*ná*' from any one of them and the sentence loses half its power and point.

In our first article we included in type B sentences which contained neither '*ná*' nor '*áct*.' These also are quite common, but it is worth while to contrast them with the more rhetorical '*ná*' and '*áct*' forms, and to observe how much lighter in touch they are. For this purpose I append a few samples here :—

- 1°. ' *Seallaim dúit supab é b'fada leir go raib ré amuic* ' (*Séadna*, p. 39).
- 2°. ' *ambara supab é a bí ašam féin d'á cuimneam, leir, go mb' féidir náir b'é* ' (*Ibid.* p. 46).
- 3°. ' *b'é b'fada le šac doinne go raibdar aš teacé a baile* ' (*Maam*, p. 210).
- 4°. ' *ir é ir fada liom go mbeid an clear ašam* ' (*Ibid.* p. 172).
- 5°. ' *ir é innéinn ašur ašne na n-eašlaire . . . go n-déanfaimir lear ár n-anama* ' (*Seanmóin ašur Trí Fíor*, p. 3).
- 6°. ' *b'é náóir an márgair rin go šcaitfead riuóc Ábraham beic šearra ašac ó d'roóc-eleacraib an t-raošail* ' (*Ibid.* p. 34).
- 7°. ' *ir é rtaid deirineac an duine an rtaid 'n-a mbeid ré le linn an t-raošail reo fášaint dó* ' (*Ibid.* p. 159).

It would be a pity, and a loss to the living language and the literature of the future, if this '*ná*' construction were lost. But we do not think it will be lost. Purists may laugh and scoff, but languages and literatures live and change and thrive in spite of them. Long may it continue so. We are not aware that that good old dictum of Horace has lost its savour even in regard to prose—

' *Dixeris egregie notum si callida verbum reddiderit iunctura novum.*¹

Šearróir ó Nualláin:

¹*De Arte Poetica*, vv. 47, 48.

Notes and Queries

THEOLOGY

THE FEAST OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—Is the Feast of the Immaculate Conception to be a holiday of obligation? It is clear from the recent Decree that where it has been up till now subject to the precept it and the others enumerated will remain ('manebunt') subject to it, and that where it is legitimately abolished or translated ('sicubi legitime sit abolitum vel translatum') no innovation is to be made without consulting the Holy See.

It was made a universal holiday of obligation by Clement XI. in 1708. It has not been a holiday of obligation, at least in most parts of Ireland, before the issue of the recent Decree. Are the words 'legitime abolitum' historically applicable in this case? Or, if they are not, does the word 'manebunt,' in a Decree whose primary intention was to lessen the number of holidays of obligation create or revive the obligation in places where it does not exist?

SACERDOS.

There has been some diversity of opinion about this subject, and in order to enable our readers to note various points which enter into a solution of the question we shall give a brief sketch of the state of Ireland in regard to the celebration of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, and then explain the provisions of the recent Decree in so far as they affect this country.

I. In 1708 Clement XI. made the Feast of the Immaculate Conception a holiday of obligation throughout the universal Church, but the feast was observed as a holiday in Ireland long before that time, as we know from the Provincial Synods of Dublin (1685), Tuam (1631), and Armagh (1614).¹ We

¹ Cf. Renehan's *Archbishops*, pp. 317-319.

also know that as early as 1351 a Provincial Council of Dublin ordered the Feast of the Conception of Our Lady to be observed as a holiday of obligation.¹ In a letter to the Irish Bishops, who had requested a modification of the holidays in this country, Benedict XIV. (1755) enumerated the holidays of obligation which were to be continued in Ireland under the twofold obligation of hearing Mass and abstaining from servile work, and amongst them we find the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Later on, in 1778, Pius VI., at the request of the Irish Bishops, diminished the number of holidays, and in doing so suppressed the Feast of the Immaculate Conception. Notwithstanding this suppression the feast continued to be observed as a holiday in some dioceses. Thus, in Kerry the feast was a holiday till, in 1826, the Bishop obtained from Rome a rescript of suppression. In Elphin also the feast remained. In a letter to Dr. Moylan of Cork (1803), Dr. French explained that his predecessor wrote to Pius VI. stating that, Our Lady being the Patron of Elphin, the faithful desired the continuance of the Lady Days as holidays of obligation. As a result the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was allowed to remain a holiday for some time in the diocese of Elphin.

II. The fourth paragraph of the recent Decree is as follows: 'Sicubi aliquod festum ex enumeratis legitime sit abolitum vel translatum, nihil inconsulta Sede Apostolica innovetur. Si qua vero in natione vel regione aliquod ex abrogatis festis episcopi conservandum censuerint, Sanctae Sedi rem deferant.' On the meaning of the first sentence of this paragraph it depends whether or not the Feast of the Immaculate Conception will be a holiday of obligation in this country. Evidently, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception was 'legitimately abolished' as a holiday by the letter of Pius VI., but two points still remain for consideration: (a) Is it sufficient to have the feast abolished not as a feast but as a holiday to bring it under the terms of the paragraph? (b) What is meant by saying that 'no change is to be made without consultation with the Holy See'?

¹ Wilkins, *Concilia Magnae Britanniae et Hiberniae*, iii, p. 18.

Does it mean that no change is to be made in the new legislation enumerating the holidays that are to remain? Or does it rather mean that no change is to be made in the pre-existing state of affairs?

(a) To the first of these points only one answer seems possible. There is reference to feasts that were legitimately suppressed or transferred as holidays of obligation. The various clauses of the Decree make that clear. Thus the second part of the fourth paragraph speaks of any 'ex abrogatis festis' when there is question of the suppression of feasts as holidays of obligation. Again, the fifth paragraph says: 'Quod si in aliquod ex festis quae servata volumus, dies incidat abstinentiae vel jejunio consecratis,' etc. Clearly the phrase 'aliquod ex festis quae servata volumus' refers to feasts retained not as feasts but as holidays of obligation. So it appears to be certain that in the first sentence of the fourth clause of the Decree *Supremi Disciplinae* there is question of feasts which were legitimately suppressed as holidays, as happened in the case of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception in Ireland.

(b) The second point creates greater difficulty, and, we fancy, the difference of opinion which arose had its foundation in it. What is the meaning of 'nihil inconsulta Sede Apostolica innovetur'? For our part we believe that it means that no change in the already existing state of affairs is to be made without consultation with the Holy See, so that any of the legitimately suppressed feasts, like the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, will not be a holiday of obligation unless, after consultation with the Holy See, it is otherwise arranged. Not merely the plain meaning of the words, but also the end which the new law had in view, suggest this interpretation. The *Motu Proprio* intended to diminish the number of holidays of obligation, and this purpose would badly harmonize with the view that the Decree in any case added a new holiday. Moreover, a decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Council is referred to in the November number of the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* (p. 681) which seems to have set the matter at rest. The result of this decision is that in France, where the Feast of the

Immaculate Conception was legitimately suppressed as a holiday, the 8th of December must be observed as a day of abstinence. Now, the only reason why this must be so is that under the new legislation it will not be kept as a holiday. In Ireland we are precisely in the same position, so we can only conclude that the 8th of December will not be a holiday of obligation with us, except in dioceses where, having observed the necessary formalities, the Bishop decrees otherwise.

**THE FEAST OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION AND THE
DISPENSATION FROM FAST OR ABSTINENCE**

REV. DEAR SIR,—The *Motu Proprio* limiting the number of holidays says that if any of the holidays which remain in force falls on a day of fast or abstinence a dispensation is granted by the Holy Father. Presuming that the Feast of the Immaculate Conception will not be a holiday in Ireland, I beg to ask :

(1) Will the dispensation from fast and abstinence be available for Ireland on the 8th of December ?

(2) In parishes where the Immaculate Conception is the local patron, and where the feast is celebrated with solemnity and by a large gathering of the faithful, will the dispensation be available ?

MAGISTER.

(1) In reply to the previous letter we have already incidentally answered this question. The fifth clause of the *Motu Proprio* is : ‘ Quod si in aliquod ex festis quae servata volumus, dies incidat abstinenciae vel jejunio consecratus, ab utroque dispensamus ; eandemque dispensationem etiam pro Patronorum festis, hac Nostra lege abolitis, concedimus, si tamen solemniter et cum magno populi concursu ea celebrari contingat.’ The dispensation from fast or abstinence is conceded by this clause in two sets of circumstances. It is granted when any of the holidays that remain falls on a day of fast or abstinence, and it is granted also when any of the suppressed feasts of local patrons falls on a day of fast or abstinence. Now, the Feast of the Immaculate Conception is not one of the holidays of obligation which

remain in this country, so on this score the dispensation cannot apply to it. This is confirmed by the decision of the Sacred Congregation of the Council, to which the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique* calls attention, and which implies that in France the dispensation does not avail for the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, which was suppressed and was not revived by the new legislation.

(2) If, however, the second part of the clause holds good for any place then the dispensation is available. This is certainly true of the feasts of patrons which were suppressed by the new Decree. But is it true of the feast of a local patron, such as the Immaculate Conception, which was not observed as a holiday before the publication of the new legislation, but which was and is observed 'solemniter et cum magno populi concursu'? Though the Decree speaks only of patronal feasts suppressed by its provisions, there seems to be some ground for saying that, at least implicitly, the dispensation refers to all feasts of local patrons that are observed solemnly by a great concourse of people. By the terms of the Decree *Supremi Disciplinæ* feasts of local patrons, which are now observed as holidays in the Church at large, but which were previously suppressed for some places, are declared to be still suppressed. In a sense, then, all such feasts are suppressed by the new legislation and in consequence the dispensation from the fast and abstinence applies to the On this point, however, we speak with reserve. We hope that an authentic decision will be obtained on the subject.

FEAST OF THE NATIVITY OF ST. JOHN THE BAPTIST

REV. DEAR SIR,—The new legislation on holidays lays down that no innovation is to be made in the case of feasts which were legitimately abolished. Now the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist was a suppressed holiday in Ireland. Will this feast be celebrated here in future on June 24th, or on the Sunday before the 29th of June?

INQUIRENS.

According to the Decree *Supremi Disciplinæ*, the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist will be held on the

Sunday preceding the Feast of the Apostles SS. Peter and Paul. Since in Ireland this feast was a suppressed holiday, the question arises whether the clause stating that in some cases no change is to be made without consultation with the Holy See applies to it. Some believed that the fourth clause referred to all the feasts, including the Nativity of St. John the Baptist, that were mentioned in the previous parts of the Decree, while others thought that the fourth clause referred merely to the feasts which the Decree declared to be holidays throughout the universal Church. The question was submitted to Rome for solution, and the Sacred Congregation of Rites replied that the places where the Feast of St. John the Baptist was suppressed must conform to the Calendar of the Universal Church :—

Quum ex *Motu Proprio* Sanctissimi Domini Nostri Pii Papae X. diei 2 elapsi mensis Julii, Festum Nativitatis S. Joannis Baptistae, a die 24 Junii perpetuo translatum, fuerit Dominicae ante Solemnia SS. Apostolorum Petri et Pauli, tamquam in sede propria, nonnulli Rñi Episcopi, paragraphum quartum ejusdem *Motus Proprii* perpendentes, quo cautum est in locis peculiari Indulto Apostolico utentibus nihil esse innovandum inconsulta Sede Apostolica, huic dispositioni obtemperantes, ipsam Sanctam Sedem adierunt, reverenter postulantes a Sacra Rituum Congregatione :

Utrum Dioeceses ubi hucusque Festum Nativitatis S. Joannis Baptistae quotannis celebratum est die 24 Junii cum Apostolica dispensatione a Feriatione, possint hunc diem retinere, vel potius debeant sumere praefatam Dominicam in Calendario Universali nuper assignatam Nativitati Sancti Praecursoris Domini ?

Et Sacra eadem Congregatio, ad relationem subscripti Secretarii, attento novissimo *Motu Proprio* De diebus festis, una cum subsequentibus declarationibus, propositae quaestioni rescribendum censuit : *Negative ad primam partem, affirmative ad secundam.* Hanc vero resolutionem Sanctissimus Dominus Noster Pius Papa X. ratam habuit, probavit atque servari mandavit. Die 7 Augusti, 1911.

It will be noted that the question proposed to the Sacred Congregation was not confined to this or that diocese : it was general, and referred to all dioceses where June 24

was a suppressed holiday. Hence, in Ireland the Feast of the Nativity of St. John the Baptist will be celebrated in future, not on June 24, but on the Sunday preceding the solemnity of SS. Peter and Paul.

J. M. HARTY.

CANON LAW

MEANING OF 'OCCULT' CRIMES AND IMPEDIMENTS—POWER OF SUSPENDING 'EX INFORMATA CONSCIENTIA'

REV. DEAR SIR,—What exactly is an 'occult' crime or 'occult' impediment in the technical sense? I have been studying the matter recently, and I must honestly say that my ideas on the subject now are far from being so clear as when I began. There seems to be an amount of confusion on the point. The matter is very practical, for priests are often granted power to deal with 'occult' cases, and there should be some way of knowing exactly what is meant. The answer will have some bearing, too, on the Tridentine regulations regarding a Bishop's power to suspend *ex informata conscientia*. You would oblige me, and I am sure others as well, by saying something on the subject in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD.

VICARIUS.

To decide whether a crime in any given case is public or occult may seem at first sight simple enough. But when we try to fix its precise legal meaning, and for that purpose take into account the practice of the courts and the opinions of canonists, the question becomes very difficult and involved, as our correspondent seems to have felt and as the best authorities admit.¹

Some of the views put forward by contemporary canonists seem to us quite inadmissible. Take, for example, the opinion of Pierantonelli, supported by Périas² and Cavagnis³:—

An occult crime [he says] is one which, though it stands

¹ Cf. Benedict. XIV., *Institut. Eccles.*, 87, n. 40: 'Id proculdubio implicatum est, ac difficultatis plenum.'

² *La Procédure canonique moderne*, p. 208.

³ *Instit. Iuris. pub. Ecc.*, iii. 62.

proved by testimony that deserves full credence from the Bishop or any other prudent judge whatever, still either (1) cannot be proved in a judicial trial, because, e.g., the witnesses are afraid of being made known to the accused, or (2) ought not to be established in judicial form, because, e.g., the result would be the publication of a crime which the sacred rights of morality and religion require should be kept occult.¹

It would be a strange misuse of language to describe as occult a crime known to a whole community, merely because no one is willing to give evidence in court against the accused, or because, to avoid scandal to the outside world, it is thought advisable not to have recourse to a public trial. In the eighth section of the Instruction issued by the Congregation of the Propaganda on October 20, 1884, we are told that a crime ceases to be occult 'if it has been made the subject of a judicial trial or of rumours among the people, or has become known to such, or so many, persons that it should be regarded as notorious.'² In all these cases it is quite possible that one or other of the conditions required by Pierantonelli might be fully satisfied, yet, according to the Instruction, the crime has in all these cases ceased to be occult. Another section of the Instruction suggests, though it does not exactly prove, the same conclusion. The Congregation decrees that suspension *ex informata conscientia* may be inflicted for grave occult crimes (n. 6), but it quotes with approval the statement of Benedict XIV. that 'a Bishop would be deserving of blame if he declared in his synod that he would henceforth suspend offending clerics on private knowledge, even though their crime could not be conclusively proved *in foro externo*, or though it would be inexpedient to bring it to the notice of other people.'³ An authentic declaration of the Congregation

¹ *Praxis Fori Eccl.*, t. 7, n. 10: 'Quod, etsi in probatis exstet . . . nihilominus vel (1) haud probari potest in iudicio, v. gr., quia testes reformidant manifestari reo, vel (2) haud expedit formam iudiciariam servari,' etc. The statement is not grammatical, but the sense is clear.

² 'Ad hoc autem ut sit occulta, requiritur ut neque in iudicium, neque in rumores vulgi deducta sit, neque insuper ejusmodi numero et qualitati personarum cognita sit unde delictum censeri debeat notorium.'

³ 'Quamvis eorum delictum non possit in foro externo concludentur probari, aut illud non expediat in aliorum notitiam deducere.' Cf. Benedict XIV., *De Syn. Dioec.*, xii. c. 8, n. 6. The statement *may* be explained by saying that a Bishop should not *always* use the *ex informata* powers even in occult cases. Cf. Smith, *The New Procedure*, p. 42.

of Bishops and Regulars, given on December 21, 1883, puts the matter, we think, beyond all doubt. In a letter of December 5 a Bishop had stated that it often happened that several people, orally and secretly, laid before a Bishop a charge of grave public crime against an ecclesiastic, refusing, however, to accuse him judicially or support their statements in court, and that the same course was followed by every other person called upon to give evidence. Would the Bishop, then, be justified in using the powers conferred by Trent in connexion with occult crimes?¹ The answer was that 'the extrajudicial remedy of punishing *ex informata conscientia* was intended only for occult crimes and could not be put in force in cases of public delinquency.'² The witnesses refused to testify: the first condition given by Pierantonelli was fully satisfied; but the Congregation regarded the crime as public all the same. Dr. Smith is therefore, we believe, correct in maintaining 'that the opinion of those canonists who teach that a crime which is indeed public in itself can, nevertheless, be regarded as occult, when it is either *inexpedient* to institute a trial, v.g., because of possible scandal, or when it is *difficult* or even impossible to prove the crime judicially, v.g., because the witnesses refuse to testify, is now altogether untenable.'³ And his opinion is shared by Gennari,⁴ Lega,⁵ Cappello⁶ and a number of others.

From the evidence given we may take it as certain that, independent of all other conditions, a crime becomes public when it has been made the ground of a judicial inquiry, i.e., when the accused has been cited to appear judicially, or when it has become a matter of common talk among the

¹ *Monitore Eccl.*, v. 5, par. 1, p. 127. 'Molti accusino verbalmente e segretamente al Vescovo un ecclesiastico di qualche grave delitto anche pubblico, rifiutandosi poi di referirlo giudizialmente e di firmare il relativo atto . . . il che egualmente avviene di ogni altra persona che fosse chiamata in qualità di testimonio.'

² *Ibid.*: 'Questo rimedio non potrebbe aver luogo nei casi di delitto pubblico.'

³ *Op. cit.*, p. 41.

⁴ *Sulla privazione del beneficio ecclesiastico*, p. 133.

⁵ *De Jud.*, ii. p. 396, n. 1.

⁶ *De adm. amot. paroch.*, p. 45.

people. This is clear enough and will be supposed all through. But it is also public if known to a certain class or number of persons. It is in connexion with this third condition that authorities differ most widely. The matter cannot be settled mathematically. We can only try to reach such an approximately accurate result as will be a sufficiently safe rule in the solution of practical difficulties.

As compared with the writers whose opinions we have been discussing, other authorities go to the opposite extreme and declare that 'an occult crime is one that cannot be proved in any way whatever, and must be left to the judgment of God alone';¹ if it is less secret than that they regard it at most as 'quasi-occult.' Now it is true, of course, that a thing is not *absolutely* occult if it can be proved in any fashion whatever, but we are concerned here, not with a purist's definition of the term, but with its legal meaning. Ecclesiastical courts have never accepted the term in this sense, nor indeed are the writers who so employ it thinking at the moment of the legal aspect of the matter at all.

But the meaning attached to it by a few authors who *are* thinking of the legal sense is almost as strict. They define it as a 'crime that cannot be proved judicially, even though all the possible evidence be forthcoming.'² There are manifestly two cases in which a crime cannot be proved judicially: first, when the witnesses, though able to prove that the offence was committed, refuse to give evidence in court; secondly, when, no matter how willing the witnesses are to tell all they know, the sum-total of their evidence would not be sufficient to constitute full judicial proof. We have dealt with the first case already; we are now concerned with the second. It would arise, for instance, when there is only one trustworthy witness, or when, though there are two or more witnesses, their evidence

¹ e.g., Fagnanus, In cap. 7, tit. 2, lib. iii. Decret., n. 106: 'Quod nullo pacto demonstrari potest et Dei solum iudicio permittitur.'

² Cf. authors cited by St. Alphonsus, *Th. Mor.*, vi. n. 593. They speak of 'Quod probari non potest' as distinguished from 'Crimen patratum coram duobus vel tribus testibus.' Among modern canonists, Bargilliat apparently holds the same: 'Occultum dicitur delictum quod iudice probari non potest,' *Jus. Can.*, ii. 1581 (citing Fagnanus, loc. cit.).

is not clear or pertinent or trustworthy enough to constitute the full complete proof that Canon Law requires. The canonists in question would maintain that, in order to have the crime occult, there should be no trial instituted, that the witnesses should be few and not likely to publish what they know, and that, moreover, the crime should be one that, for the reasons given in connexion with the second case, cannot possibly be proved judicially.

While admitting, in accordance with the Instruction already quoted, the first two conditions we think that the third is unnecessarily strict. It should, we think, be taken into account only when there is question, as there sometimes is in the case of impediments, of matters 'entirely occult' as distinct from those 'simply occult.'¹ For, according to the practice of the courts and the opinion of the vast majority of canonists, it is quite clear that a crime may be known to two or more trustworthy witnesses—and, therefore, provable in judicial form—without ceasing to be occult in the legal and technical sense. To quote a few of the authorities: 'The common opinion,' says St. Alphonsus, 'is that an offence is occult if it be not notorious and may by some means or other be concealed, even though it can be proved by some witnesses,'² and he cites in favour of the statement nearly thirty authorities, as against three for the opposite opinion. He repeats the principle elsewhere, and says that to his own personal knowledge a case had been treated as occult by a Roman Congregation, though it was known to about ten individuals.³ Sanchez says that 'an impediment is occult, even though it be known to some and can, therefore, be proved.'⁴ Suarez, treating of the Tridentine regulations regarding occult cases, states that 'the Council is speaking not of cases altogether occult . . . but of occult cases, as distinguished from public, even though they can be proved.'⁵

¹ Cf. Ojetti, *Synop. Rev. Mor.*, vol. ii. col. 2781 (third edition); Lehmkuhl, *Th. Mor.*, ii. 1047 (eleventh edition). 'Omnino occultum' as distinct from 'simpliciter occultum.'

² Loc. cit., 'Etiam si per aliquos testes probari possit.'

³ Op. cit., i. Appendix ii. (de Privilegiis), n. 33.

⁴ *De Matr.*, l. 8, d. 34, n. 55: 'Licet ab aliquibus . . . sciatur, ac proinde probari possit.'

⁵ *De Censuris*, disp. 41, sec. 2, n. 6: 'Etiam si probabilia sint' (on Trent, sess. 14, c. 6, *de Re orm.*).

Benedict XIV., after laying down the principle that in order to decide correctly what are occult crimes we should pay special attention to authors who had occupied some position in the Congregation of the Penitentiary,¹ quotes with approval the views of a number of those so qualified; one of them states that 'even though a thing be known to two or three, it remains occult. Also, if it be known to five or six persons in a town, or to seven or eight in a whole country, it is still occult, not public';² another that 'an impediment or crime is occult, though known to some, four or five for instance; and this opinion is followed by the Sacred Penitentiary';³ the others express the same view.⁴ Now it will be observed that there is no question raised by any of these authorities as to the character of the witnesses: the crime, therefore, remains occult in the legal sense, even though trustworthy witnesses knew all about it, and could furnish full judicial proof if the matter were ever made the subject of inquiry in an ecclesiastical court. And the same views are held by the best writers of our own time. Ojetti, for instance, states that, 'according to the accepted meaning in law, a thing is occult when it is neither "manifest" (i.e., known to many) nor "notorious" (i.e., such that it cannot be concealed by any means whatever). Even though it can be proved by some witnesses, it is termed occult if it may still possibly remain concealed';⁵ Lehmkuhl maintains that 'the knowledge which four or five, or, according to the circumstances, seven or ten persons have of an impediment does not interfere with delegated power to deal with a simply occult impediment, provided that the character and disposition of the persons concerned does not give grounds for foreseeing that the report will be spread further';⁶ Cappello says that 'a case should be regarded as occult if known to five or eight persons who cannot spread the secret, or who, from habit or resolution,

¹ *Instit. Ecc.*, 87, n. 43.

² Thesaurus, *De Poen. Ecc.*, p. 1, c. 21.

³ Fagnanus, loc. cit. (contrast his other statement, given above, p. 629 note 1.)

⁴ *Inst. Ecc.*, 87 n. 45.

⁵ Op. cit., p. 2780.

⁶ Loc. cit.

are determined to keep it.¹ And all this is in perfect harmony with the Instruction already quoted, according to which a thing remains occult if, apart from the case of a trial, etc., it be not 'known to such, or so many, persons that it should be regarded as notorious.'

We are, therefore, safe in saying that a crime is technically occult when it is known only to a few persons (ten or less, according to the circumstances), and when there are good grounds for supposing that it will not soon become known to a wider circle. If it be known to one talkative person we may be obliged to regard it as public, though the fact of its being known to several discreet and reticent persons may permit us to regard it as occult. And when we see it defined as 'a crime that cannot be judicially proved' we must remember that some things that cannot be so proved are public, though others that can are occult.

We need not discuss the subsidiary questions that are sometimes raised in this connexion—whether, for instance, a crime is occult when a man has been wrongly declared innocent of it in a court of law, whether a fact can be public in one locality and occult in another, or public at one time and occult later on, whether an offence or impediment is occult when the facts are well known but their malice not realized,² etc. They will be found discussed very fully by Benedict XIV. in the section of the *Institutions* already referred to,³ and by authors generally.

POSSESSION OF BENEFICES ACCORDING TO THE 'NE TEMERE' DECREE

REV. DEAR SIR,—A serious difficulty has arisen to me since the promulgation of the new law about marriages, 1908.

Before that, when a parish priest was duly appointed, by letter or otherwise, to a parish, he could thereon validly and licitly assist at the marriage of his parishioners, or depute another priest to do so. Now, however, in order to have the marriage

¹ *De Curia Romana*, i. 357: 'Occultum censeri debet quoties a quinque vel octo personis agnoscatur quae secretum, servandi habent ex habitu vel ex proposito, aut divulgare non valent.'

² *Materially* public and *formally* occult.

³ Inst. 87, nn. 140-151.

valid and licit, he must have got POSSESSION of his parish. This, I take it, is beyond question.

But the point is : What does this possession mean, and how is it acquired ? Does it mean that he must go to his parish and enter into it personally and there perform some act which proclaims him pastor ? Or does it mean that he may remain outside the limits of his parish, and still do something there in connexion with his parish which will show he is responsible for the duties of it ?

I understand that there are some canonists who maintain that possession is at present only a technical term, and means nothing more than that the parish priest appointed by letter, etc., exercises some function, or performs some act which shows that he is the person accountable for the duties and cares of the parish ; and they maintain that he can do that even without entering within the limits of his parish, such as by arranging about a mission, or buying vestments and other utensils for the altar and church, etc.

Other canonists would seem to hold (as far as I can read or understand them) that the parish priest, when appointed, *must enter within his parish*, and there show by some exterior sign that he is really the appointed pastor ; or, if he cannot do this himself owing to some legitimate cause, such as illness, etc., that he depute one to perform some function, such as saying Mass *coram populo*, and declare that he was commissioned by the appointed parish priest to do so, and to announce him as their future parish priest.

This latter view commends itself to me as the more reasonable, because it is more in accordance with usage, even in *civil matters and offices* (which would seem to have derived their origin from Roman law), and also because it has, I would fain believe, the weight of the authority of theologians and canonists in its favour. If, for instance, a man buys land, he gets *possession* of it by entering on it and by receiving a twig or a bunch of grass ; if he purchases a house, he gets possession of it by being handed the key ; if he obtains a Government appointment, or becomes a cabinet minister, he is handed over the seals of office. And to show the mind of the authorities on the ecclesiastical aspect of the case, I need only refer to the following, viz., to Icard, Craisson, Lehmkuhl.

Icard says (vol. ii. p. 546, no. 609) : ‘ Qui institutionem canonicam accepit, non debet propria auctoritate se in regimen ecclesiae

ingerere, donec insuper acceperit possessionem actualem quae investitura, vel missio in *corporalem possessionem* dicitur.'

Craisson writes (vol. i. 232, no. 465): 'Possessio beneficii traditur vel ipsi beneficiario praesenti, vel ejus procuratori speciale mandatum habenti: et quamquam certa forma capiendae possessionis nulla lege sancita sit, aliqua tamen externa signa usu recepta sunt quibus possessionis traditio et acceptio significaretur,' etc.

Lehmkuhl's expression seems specially strong (*Casus*, vol. ii. p. 252): 'Utrum vero jurisdictio incipiat ab ipso illo momento quo superior ecclesiasticus actum suum conficit, sacerdotique communicat, an requiritur *corporalis possessio* incepta, pendet tum a consuetudine locorum, tum a voluntate superioris; *juris communis* est, ut jurisdictio non exerceatur nisi post acceptam possessionem.'

These writers, to my mind, are explicit enough in requiring a *personal, corporal* entrance on the place of a pastor's appointment before he could be said to have what is called *possession*. They do not insist on any special ceremony or function; that may be different in different places and according to different customs, but they seem to insist on *some exterior sign inside the parish* as necessary to establish the appointed pastor's title to *possession*, such as getting the keys of the church, or ringing the bell, or touching the altar, or standing in the pulpit, or saying Mass and announcing himself to the people, etc.

And, indeed, without some *such external sign*, it is not easy to see the difference between *appointment* and *possession*. I notice that some Bishops nowadays, when appointing parish priests, add: '*that they are to take up their duties* on a certain day,' v.g., on the following Saturday; and hence it might be inferred that when the Saturday comes they are *put in possession*. But I cannot adopt that view; I freely admit that if they (the pastors) assisted at a marriage before the Saturday came it would be invalid, as the Bishop can fix or prolong the date of *possession*. But even if *after the Saturday* they, while still outside the parish, deputed another to assist at the ceremony inside the parish, the marriage would be invalid, except they were first proclaimed pastors, at least by deputy.

This is my view of the matter; and I have thrown out the foregoing remarks to furnish you with a text for the full and correct elucidation of the whole question, which is very practical and most important, and must be interesting to the many readers of the I. E. RECORD.

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To guard against abuses with the history of which everyone is familiar, the strict letter of Canon Law (as explained in our correspondent's quotations from Icard and Craisson) requires that everyone appointed to a benefice should receive formal possession from some one vested with competent ecclesiastical authority. The ceremony is variously referred to as 'installation,' 'intronization,' 'induction,' 'corporal institution,' etc. The precise details are not specified, but they should include some act indicating in a general way the privileges conferred on the person concerned or the duties with which he is entrusted. The whole regulation is, of course, one of positive law. Now, what positive law has decreed, custom to the opposite can, in the vast majority of cases, annul. So it has been with installation. In some places it has completely fallen into disuse,¹ in others it has faded into a mere ceremony that may be postponed indefinitely without affecting practical issues, somewhat like the laying of a foundation-stone when the building itself is half complete.

To discover, in places where custom has so operated, the precise moment at which a person secures possession of a benefice, it is manifestly useless to appeal to the positive law on installation. The positive law has ceased to bind. We must, as Lehmkuhl suggests in the passage quoted, fall back on the natural law as determined by the will of the superior and by the statutes or customs of the particular locality. Some external action is, of course, required, for a superior does not confer a benefice by mere wish or intention. But what that external act should be—whether it should involve any of the symbolic ceremonies to which our correspondent refers, or should be anything more than the mere oral or written offer and explicit or implied acceptance—depends altogether, as has been said, on the superior's wish and on the law of the particular diocese, or, in the absence of such law, on the custom that happens to prevail.

Our correspondent, we are sure, does not wish us to discuss the various classes of benefices or the numerous laws and customs of different countries in connexion with

¹ See Smith, *Elements of Ecc. Law*, i. p. 165.

securing possession. He is plainly concerned with the conditions required for getting such possession of an Irish parish as will qualify a priest to assist as *proprius parochus* at marriages in accordance with the prescriptions of the *Ne Temere* Decree.

As throwing light on this particular point, we may direct attention to a document given in the *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*¹ of August, 1909. It is quoted from the *Collationes Brugenses* into which it was copied from the *Archive für kathol. Kirchenrecht*. We may take it, then, as quite authentic. The date of the Rescript is not given, but the internal evidence shows that it was issued some time before November 3, 1908.

After the promulgation of the *Ne Temere* Decree there was considerable difference of opinion as to the correct interpretation of the clause 'a die adeptae possessionis beneficii vel initi officii.' Some were inclined to hold that there were two separate regulations involved, and that wherever the ceremony of installation was in force a parish priest could not assist as *proprius parochus* until the ceremony had taken place.² To have the matter settled the Archbishop of Olmütz wrote to the Congregation of the Council on March 2, 1908, and asked for an interpretation of the law as it affected his own diocese. The letter sets forth that in the diocese of Olmütz the patron presents the priest he favours and the Bishop confers the benefice by a twofold act.³ The priest is invited to the ceremony of 'investiture,' generally performed by the vicar-general. He genuflects, recites the profession of faith, and swears obedience and loyalty to his legitimate ecclesiastical superiors. Then the vicar takes the biretta, and placing it on the head of the priest, says, among other things 'I invest you as parish priest of N., and give you the power to preach the word of God, confer the Sacraments, carry out the other parochial functions, and receive the revenues arising from these sources.'⁴ From the day of investiture, or from some other day in the

¹ Tome 41, pp. 486, sqq.

² *Nouvelle Revue Théol.*, *ibid.*

³ 'Duplici actu perficitur.'

⁴ 'Ego, N.N., Vicarius Generalis investio te, N.N., in parochiam N., et do tibi potestatem,' etc.

near future specified at the time of the investiture, for instance from the first of the following month, the priest ceases to have a right to the revenues of his previous benefice, acquires a right to those of the new, and is obliged to say the *Missa pro populo* for his new parishioners. He takes up his residence in his new parish as soon as possible.¹ Some time afterwards² the ceremony of 'installation' takes place, that is, the rural dean, or other priest deputed by the Bishop, solemnly inducts him into the parochial church, and hands him over the parochial books and the property of the church and benefice. The question, therefore, to be settled was 'on which of these two days does the priest in Olmütz obtain possession of the benefice: the day of investiture, mentioned above, or the day of installation, also mentioned.'³

In its reply the Congregation does not say which day. It answers the question by laying down the following principle: 'By "possession" in this connexion is understood that act which, whether it be called corporal institution or inthronization or installation or anything else, has always this effect, viz., that the person appointed to the benefice has henceforth the free exercise of the power attached to the office.'⁴ The two sections of the clause 'a die adeptae possessionis beneficii vel initi officii' mean, therefore, the same thing: emphasis is to be laid, not on material ceremonies nor on actions that symbolize possession, but on the formal act which gives the parish priest free exercise of his jurisdiction. We conclude, therefore, that in the diocese of Olmütz the parish priest will have possession in all cases before the formal installation. He will have it from the day of the investiture if no future date is then

¹ 'Obligatur applicare Missam pro parochianis suis,' etc.; 'domicilium suum in parochiam suam transfert.'

² 'Postea aliquando.'

³ 'Quaenam Olumucii ex hisce duabus diebus sit illa dies adeptae possessionis beneficii, num dies investiturae supra dictae, an dies installationes item supra dictae.'

⁴ 'Nomine possessionis hic intelligi illum actum, qui sive institutio corporalis sive inthronizatio, sive installatio, sive aliter nuncupetur, tamen semper id efficit, ut institutus in beneficium exinde adipiscatur liberum exercitium potestatis, suo officio adnexae.'

mentioned as marking the beginning of his parochial functions ; and from such future date if it is then mentioned. The reason in all cases is the same. From one or other of these dates he is obliged to say the *Missa pro populo* for his new parishioners and is entitled to the revenues of the new benefice. And it is hard to conceive how he can be obliged to the one, or entitled to the other, before he begins to enjoy 'the free exercise of the power attached to the office.'

In this country there is, so far as we know, nothing corresponding to the Olmütz investiture beyond the offer and acceptance of the parish. This, however, it will hardly be denied, is, apart from special circumstances, quite sufficient to give a priest free exercise of his jurisdiction. On all other points the parallel is complete. Our conclusions will, therefore, be the same. If in the Bishop's letter or statement a special date is mentioned on which the new parish priest is to take up his duties, he will be obliged from that date to say the Mass *pro populo* and will be entitled to discharge the other parochial functions : will, therefore, have the free exercise of the power attaching to his office, and, consequently, in accordance with the Rescript, have 'obtained possession' of his parish in the sense contemplated by the *Ne Temere* Decree. If no special date is mentioned he enters on possession at once by the mere fact of his appointment, unless indeed the custom of the place regulates it otherwise. In some places, for instance, the practice is to take up one's duties on the following Saturday. All that must be determined by the customs of the diocese and the special arrangements, if there be any, governing the particular appointment. In all cases the point to be borne in mind is that the priest obtains possession as soon as he has secured the free exercise of his jurisdiction. Whether he be at the moment inside or outside the parish, and whether he buys vestments or arranges for a mission or enters the pulpit or rings bells, or, in a word, does, or omits, any or all of the actions specified by our correspondent and by canonists generally, has no particular bearing on the question at issue.

M. J. O'DONNELL.

LITURGY

THE 'COR JESU SACRATISSIMUM' AFTER MASS

REV. DEAR SIR,—I shall be grateful if you state in the next issue of the I. E. RECORD whether or not there is an obligation of repeating, at the end of the papal prayers after Mass, the triple invocation: 'Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us.' There is an utter absence of uniformity in the matter. *Most* priests make these invocations; *some* add thereto: 'Sacred Heart of Mary, pray for us'; whilst *many* do not make the invocations at all. Thanking you in anticipation.—Yours, etc.
RUSTICUS.

The question proposed by our correspondent was officially answered by the Congregation of Indulgences in the year 1904: 'Quamvis obligatio proprii nominis a Summo Pontifice imposita non sit, vult tamen Beatissimus Pater ut conformitati consulatur, ac proinde singuli sacerdotes ad eam invocationem recitandam adhortentur.'¹ It is rather a surprise to learn that there are priests who neglect to add this short, simple, and devotional ejaculation. As the editor of the official Bulletin points out,² although the Holy Father imposes no obligation it is his earnest wish that this invocation should be said by every priest after the celebration of Low Mass; and surely this motive alone ought to be sufficient. Further, as the answer quoted declares, on the mere ground of uniformity it is very desirable that the practice should be universally adopted. Finally, an indulgence of seven years and seven quarantines may be gained by priest and people who join in saying these invocations, and the opportunity of gaining so rich an indulgence on such simple conditions ought not to be neglected. Uniformity, however, forbids the addition of any other invocations; and with regard to the particular one mentioned by our correspondent, we have not been able to discover the existence of any indulgence attached to it.

¹ *Acta Apostolicae Sedis*, vol. xxxvii. p. 125.

² Vol. xxxvi. p. 750.

MANNER OF SAYING THE 'COR JESU SACRATISSIMUM' IN
ORDER TO GAIN THE INDULGENCE. PREACHING DURING
EXPOSITION OF THE BLESSED SACRAMENT

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer at convenience in the I. E. RECORD, the two following queries :—

1. I wish to know am I right in considering that, in order to gain the indulgence granted for reciting the triple ejaculation in honour of the Sacred Heart, now generally said in connexion with the last prayers after Low Mass, it is necessary for each person, in this case, to recite the whole ejaculation, 'Most Sacred Heart of Jesus, have mercy on us,' as the ejaculation printed on the cards having the *imprimatur* of the Archbishop of Dublin is not in the form of a versicle and response ; and, consequently, that the whole ejaculation must be recited by each one who wishes to gain the indulgence ?

2. When preaching on Sunday evenings in October during exposition of the Blessed Sacrament, would it be complying with the rubrics to arrange an ordinary white chalice veil or Benediction veil on the monstrance ; or is it necessary to provide a stand to which the veil would be attached ? To me there does not seem to be anything wrong, in principle at least, in covering the front of the monstrance with a small veil, as the ciborium in the tabernacle is covered with a veil, and is brought from one altar to another under a humeral veil.

Yours, etc.,

P. P.

1. The very form of the invocation would suggest that the first part should be said by the priest and the second by the people, and such has been the general practice even in Rome. But all doubts regarding the sufficiency of this method of saying it have been set at rest by an answer of the Congregation of Indulgences. The question proposed was : 'An ad lucrandas indulgentias sufficiat ut sacerdos dicat tantum *Cor Iesu Sacratissimum*, et populus respondeat '*miserere nobis*' ? The reply was '*Affirmative*.'¹

2. The Church tolerates rather than encourages preaching during exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. But whenever, by custom or permission of the Ordinary, a sermon

¹ *Acta Apostolicæ Sedis*, vol. xxxvii. p. 125.

is to be delivered the S.C.R. orders that a veil should be drawn before the monstrance.¹ Nothing further is prescribed. Gardellini² seems to suppose that a veil of silk might be used to cover the monstrance, or at least a part of it, or that a veil or screen of some suitable material should be drawn in front of the throne. The latter is the more convenient way, and is the only one mentioned by Van der Stappen,³ who says : 'Tempore concionis apponi debet ante Thronum velamen crassioris panni quod Ostensorium undique tegat seu abscondat.' The material might be the same as that used for the tabernacle veil, and the form and size will depend of course, on the kind of throne used. Such a veil should be provided in a church where sermons are customary during Exposition of the Blessed Sacrament. It would not, however, be at all becoming to use a chalice veil or a benediction veil for this purpose. It would be better,⁴ with the Bishop's permission, to dispense with the use of such clumsy contrivances altogether until a veil of the proper material and dimensions is provided.

DOUBTS REGARDING MEDAL-SCAPULARS

REV. DEAR SIR,—Will you kindly answer enclosed questions regarding medal-scapulars. They are not speculative doubts, but have arisen from actual experience.

1. Must the medal-scapular be blessed for one particular person, or may it be blessed for *anyone* who has been properly invested with the scapular?

2. When a priest blesses medal-scapulars publicly in the church, may any person hold several in his hands for the blessing with the intention of giving them to persons already invested, and must he have these persons in mind at the time of the blessing?

3. May a person have a dozen or more of medal-scapulars blessed for himself, and use them indiscriminately, so that in changing his clothes he may always be sure to have one about his person?

¹ Decreta Authentica, n. 3728 ad, 2m, apposito 'tamen velamine ante Sanctissimam Eucharisticam dum habetur Concio.'

² In Instr. Clementen. xxxii. 8.

³ Vol. iv. p. 186.

⁴ Vide I. E. RECORD, December, 1893.

4. May a person wear a medal-scapular in the day-time and the scapular at night, or *vice versa* ?

5. May a person change at any time from wearing the medal to the scapular, or *vice versa* ?

6. May a person wear a medal-scapular blessed for somebody else, or is the blessing personal ?

Yours sincerely in Christ,

L.

These queries are very pertinent and practical. Our opinion on the points involved will be based on the motive which prompted the issue of the Decree, on the terms of the Decree itself, and on such commentaries¹ on it as we have been able to consult.

It is the express wish of the Holy Father that scapulars should still continue to be worn in the same way as formerly : 'ut eadem (sc. scapularia), quo hucusque modo consueverunt, fideles deferre prosequantur.' In compliance, however, with a request frequently conveyed to him, he grants the *privilege* of wearing a medal-scapular instead. Now, it seems reasonable to suppose that a person may or may not avail of this privilege just as he pleases. When and as often as he wears the scapular itself he is acting more in conformity with the desire of the Holy Father ; but he *may* use the medal-scapular if at any time he finds it more convenient. The answer, therefore, to two of our correspondent's queries (4 and 5) is sufficiently evident. A person may wear a scapular during the day-time and a medal-scapular at night, or *vice versa*. He may also change *ad libitum* from wearing the medal to the scapular, or the reverse.

As a guide to the solution of the other questions raised, it will be useful to set forth the following points in the Decree regarding the blessing of the medal. 1°. The priest who blesses the medal must have power to enrol in the scapular or scapulars the wearing of which it is intended to replace. 2°. The person who wishes to use it must have been actually enrolled at the time the medal was

¹ I. E. RECORD, March, 1911, article by Most Rev. Dr. Morrisroe. *Nouvelle Revue Théologique*, February, 1911 ; Third Appendix to Beringer's work on Indulgences, vol. ii. p. 50, by Father Hilgers, S.J., 1911.

blessed. These are the only restrictions imposed by the Decree. Father Hilgers, whose opinion from his position as Consultor on Indulgences is of the highest value, distinctly lays down that the medal need not be blessed in the presence of the person who is to wear it. All that seems to be necessary, therefore, in order to gain the indulgences, is that a person wears a medal which *de facto* has been blessed under the conditions stated. It may be observed, however, that it would be a dangerous practice to bless a number of medals to be afterwards distributed even to persons who were enrolled at the time of the blessing. For a mistake might easily be made either about the time of the blessing or the time of the enrolment, and so people would be exposed to the danger of losing their indulgences.

All that is necessary to attend to, in our opinion, is the *purpose for which*, and not the *person for whom*, the medal-scapular is intended; and this will serve as a sufficient answer to the first and sixth questions proposed. It is only necessary to insist again on the danger involved in the practice which these questions suggest. The danger, as is manifest, is all the greater if the medal is intended to be worn as a substitute for several scapulars. Hence, in practice, it would be safer for each one to have his own medal blessed for himself. Save for this danger, there seems to be no reason why a person should not hold several medals in his hand, as suggested by the second question, while the priest is imparting the blessing or blessings, even though the persons for whom they are intended are not distinctly, or at all, before the mind of the holder. This is especially true when the medals are blessed for one particular scapular only. But if several blessings were imparted some of the individuals might continue, through ignorance, to wear the medal as a substitute for a scapular in which they were invested afterwards, and so lose the indulgences. Finally, in reply to the third query, we see no reason why a person might not have several medals blessed for himself, to be used in the way indicated. Provided he wears a medal validly blessed, he gains the indulgence.

THOMAS O'DOHERTY.

CORRESPONDENCE

VIGIL OF THE IMMACULATE CONCEPTION

REV. DEAR SIR,—The *Ordo* for this year gives Thursday, 7th December, as a Fast Day, but the English *Directory* has no reference to it. Will you kindly state in next issue of the I. E. RECORD if the fast is to be observed, and if so, on what grounds the Eve of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception has been made a fast. Such was not the case heretofore.—Yours,

PERPLEXED.

[We understand that the 7th of December, Vigil of the Feast of the Immaculate Conception, will not be a Fast Day. The English version of the Irish *Directory* is correct. In the *Ordo* the word 'Jejunium' is due to a printer's error which escaped notice.—ED., I. E. RECORD.]

DOCUMENTS

NEW HIERARCHY IN ENGLAND—APOSTOLIC CONSTITUTION

CONSTITUTIO APOSTOLICA

DE NOVA ECCLESIASTICAE HIERARCHIAE IN ANGLIA ORDINATIONE

PIUS EPISCOPUS

SERVUS SERVORUM DEI

AD PERPETUAM REI MEMORIAM

Si qua est in universo orbe christiano ecclesia, quae peculiarem Apostolicae Sedis curam providentiamque mereatur, ea sane est Anglorum ecclesia; quam quidem a Sancto Eleutherio felicibus apud Britannos initiis adauctam ac deinde a Gregorio magno per apostolicos viros feliciter constabilitam innumerabiles prope filii deinceps nobilitarunt vel vitae sanctimonia illustres, vel fortiter appetita pro Christo morte praeclarissimi. Id Nos Nobiscum animo reputantes, qui sane non minus benevolentiae studium erga Anglorum ecclesiam fovemus, ecclesiasticam ibi hierarchiam, quae hodie, postquam restituta est, una tantum provincia continetur, melius componere statuimus atque illa addere quae in magnum animarum bonum reiue catholicae incrementum facile cederent, nempe duas novas ecclesiasticas provincias constituere decrevimus.

Hisce itaque Nostris litteris novas ecclesiasticas provincias *Birmingamiensem* et *Liverpolitanam* constituimus. Tres propterea in posterum ecclesiasticae provinciae in Anglia erunt: *Westmonasteriensis*, cui suffragabuntur ecclesiae Northanthoniensis, Nottinghamensis, Portusmuthensis et Southwarcensis, prout antea; *Birmingamiensis*, cui suffraganeae erunt ecclesiae Cliftoniensis, Menevensis, Neoportensis, Plymutensis et Salopiensis; *Liverpolitana* denique, quae suffraganeas habebit ecclesia Hagulstadensem-Novocastrensem, Loidensem, Medioburgensem et Salfordensem. Insuper Archiepiscopo *Westmonasteriensi* pro tempore existenti novae quaedam accedent ad regiminis actionisque unitatem servandam praerogativae quae tribus hisce capitibus continentur, nempe: 1°. Praeses ipse erit perpetuus collationum episcopalium totius Angliae et Cambriae; ob eamque rem ipsius erit conventus indicare eisquae praeesse iuxta normas

in Italia et alibi vigentes; 2°. Primo gaudebit loco super aliis duobus Archiepiscopis nec non pallii et cathedrae usu atque praeferendae crucis privilegio in universa Anglia et Cambria; 3°. denique totius Ordinis Episcoporum Angliae et Cambriae regionis personam ipse geret coram suprema civili potestate, semper tamen auditis omnibus Episcopis quorum maioris partis sententias sequi debet. *Birmingamiensis* autem et *Liverpolitanus* Archiepiscopi iisdem prorsus gaudebunt privilegiis et iuribus, quibus in catholica ecclesia coeteri Metropolitani pollent. Speciali autem ex gratia atque in maioris Nostrae benevolentiae signum benigne indulgemus, ut his ipsis Nostris litteris, quibus novae provinciae eriguntur, Rev^mi Eduardus Ilsley hucusque *Birmingamiensis* Episcopus et Thomas Whiteside hactenus *Liverpolitanus* Episcopus earumdem sedium ad metropoliticum ius evectarum Archiepiscopi sint absque alia ulla Apostolicarum litterarum expeditione. Ad horum omnium autem executionem R^mum Franciscum Bourne, hodie Archiepiscopum Westmonasteriensem, deputamus, qui adimpleti mandati sui postea testimonium et exemplar ad Sacram Congregationem Consistorialem transmittet.

Porro in hac nova Angliae dioecesum constitutione quaedam alia pro opportunitate, seu prout experientia animarumque bonum suggererit, ulterius statuenda Nobis reservavimus. Sed quae hisce litteris in praesens statuuntur, satis valere nunc ad rei catholicae in Anglia utilitatem atque incrementum censemus, bona spe confisi fore, ut quod heic humano peragitur ministerio, Deus Omnipotens perficiat ac solidet; atque inde fiat, ut in Anglia nobilissima sanctorum altrice vetera sanctitatis exempla felicius instaurentur.

Haec vero edicimus et sancimus, decernentes has Nostras litteras validas et efficaces semper esse ac fore non obstantibus constitutionibus et ordinationibus Apostolicis generalibus et specialibus, ceterisque quibusvis in contrarium facientibus.

Datum Romae, apud Sanctum Petrum, anno Incarnationis Dominicae millesimo nongentesimo undecimo, v Kalendas novembres, Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

A. CARD. AGLIARDI, S. R. E. *Cancellarius*.

C. CARD. DE LAI, S. C. *Consistorialis Secretarius*.

Loco ✠ Plumbi.

(Visa) M. RIGGI C. A., *Not.*

Reg. in Canc. Ap. N. 570.

CLERICS AND CIVIL TRIBUNALS

MOTU PROPRIO

DE TRAHENTIBUS CLERICOS AD TRIBUNALIA IUDICUM LAICORUM

Quantavis diligentia adhibeatur in condendis legibus, saepe non licet dubitationem praecaveri omnem, quae deinceps ex earum callida interpretatione queat exsistere. Aliquando autem iurisperitorum, qui ad rimandam naturam vimque legis accesserint, tam diversae inter se sunt sententiae, ut quid sit lege constitutum, non aliter constare, nisi per authenticam declarationem, possit.

Id quod videmus contigisse, postquam Constitutio *Apostolicae Sedis* promulgata est, qua Censurae latae sententiae limitantur. Etenim inter scriptores, qui in eam Constitutionem commentaria confecerunt, magna orta est de ipsius Capite VII. controversia; utrum verbo *Cogentes* legislatores personaeque publicae tantummodo, an etiam homines privati significantur, qui iudicem laicum, ad eum provocando actionemve instituendo, cogant, ut ad suum tribunal clericum trahat.

Quid valeret quidem hoc Caput, semel atque iterum Congregatio Sancti Officii declaravit.—Nunc vero in hac temporum iniquitate, cum ecclesiasticae immunitatis adeo nulla solet haberi ratio, ut non modo Clerici et Presbyteri, sed Episcopi etiam ipsique S. R. E. Cardinales in iudicium laicorum deducantur, omnino res postulat a Nobis, ut quos a tam sacrilego facinore non deterret culpa gravitas, eosdem poenae severitate in officio contineamus. Itaque hoc Nos Motu Proprio statuimus atque edicimus: quicumque privatorum, laici sacrive ordinis, mares feminaeve, personas quasvis ecclesiasticas, sive in criminali causa sive in civili, nullo potestatis ecclesiasticae permissu, ad tribunal laicorum vocent, ibique adesse publice compellant, eos etiam omnes in Excommunicationem latae sententiae speciali modo Romano Pontifici reservatam incurrere.

Quod autem his litteris sanctitum est, firmum ratumque esse volumus, contrariis quibusvis non obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die IX mensis Octobris MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

PIUS PP. X.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
CANADIAN BISHOPS

EPISTOLAE

AD RR. PP. DD. ARCHIEPISCOPOS ET EPISCOPOS CANADENSES, POST
PERACTUM FELICITER CONCILIUM PLENARIUM

Venerabiles Fratres, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.—Missam a vobis communem epistolam, cum primum ecclesiarum vestrarum Concilium Plenarium sollemnibus concluderetis caerimoniis, existimare debetis accidisse Nobis vehementer gratam, tametsi hoc intervallo nihil vicissim litterarum a Nobis accepistis; nunc enim, postquam huius Apostolicae Sedis iudicio acta eius Concilii recognita et probata sunt, maturam putavimus vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, gratulando rescribere.—Equidem ecclesiam Canadensem quanto opere diligamus quamque habeamus caram, satis iam videmur declarasse, cum celeberrimus conventus Marianopoli actus est in honorem sacratissimae Eucharistiae, itemque per sollemnia saecularia ob memoriam conditae Quebecensis urbis. Pariter autem constat caritatem eiusmodi in Nostreis quoque Decessoribus fuisse perpetuam. Profecto, ut ista ecclesia sensim ad hanc amplitudinem perveniret, multiplici factum est causa, nimirum et prudentia hominum clarissimorum, qui primi auctores eius fuerunt, et virtute eorum qui vitam ipsam pro ea profuderunt, et Cleri utriusque sedulitate, et sacrorum antistitum qui eam ex ordine gubernarunt, diligentia et cura: sed in primis ad id valuit gratia paternumque studium Pontificum Romanorum, qui quidem in omni varietate temporum ei adesse eandemque in maius provehere non destiterunt. Hinc illa exstitere arcissima amoris vincula, quae vos omnes Apostolicae Sedi coniunctos tenent, quaeque quum Cleri ac populi inter ipsos et cum Episcopis suis coniunctionem confirment, magnum rebus vestris incrementum roboris afferunt. Nec silentio praetereundi sunt, qui civitati praesunt; quorum vel aequitas vel sapientia sane est commendabilis, quod non, ut fere fit, sacram potestatem odiose coangustent, sed omnem ei libertatem muneris permittant: quo enim largius benefica vis religionis in vitas hominum influxerit, eo etiam melius prosperitati rei publicae consultum fuerit.—Iam vero ad refovendos christianos spiritus in istis regionibus, ad actuosam bonorum virtutem acuendam, denique ad vires quodam modo reficiendas ecclesiae Canadensis optimam vos rationem inivisse videmini, cum Plenarium celebrastis Concilium: cuius quidem Nos prospero laetoque exitu vobis plurimum ex animo

gratulamur. Etenim illa Nobis magnae fuerunt voluptati, quod Quebecenses cives—quae urbs illustris iure delecta est Concilii sedes, cum christianam sapientiam primum acceptam longe lateque inter Canadenses diffuderit—vos, quotquot conveneratis Patres, summo studio maximisque honoribus et laetitiis prosecuti sunt; quod vobis et eximio viro praesertim, qui Personam Nostram gerebat ut Delegatus Apostolicus, magistratus publici honestissimas observantiae significationes dederunt; quod maxime inter vos, cum ancipites difficilesque causae in consultationem venerint, tamen summa semper animorum fuit consensio.—Quae autem communiter a vobis consulta et decreta sunt, certo scimus praeclaros utilitatis latura esse fructus, modo iis rite obtemperetur, quod futurum confidimus. Etsi vero quid pro his temporibus potissime sit opus facto, ipsi per vos videtis, idque non solum deliberando spectastis, sed etiam per Synodales Litteras Clerum populumque admonuistis, tamen quaedam sunt, quae Nobis videntur singularem a vobis diligentiam requirere.

Itaque primum volumus, prudenter vos quidem sed perseveranter detis operam, ut quaecumque etiamnum insident sententiarum discrepantiae inter catholicos propter generis et linguae discrimina, eae funditus tollantur. Nihil enim tam decet homines ejusdem fidei eiusdemque gregis, quam concordibus omnino inter se esse animis; nihilque hac est concordia magis necessarium ad religiosam rem in ista regionum immensitate promovendam.—Deinde, omnes hortari catholicos ne cessetis, ut sese non modo privatim, sed publice etiam tales exhibeant. Neque enim licebit, quod laboramus, *omnia*, quantam potest, *instaurare in Christo*, nisi, praeter mores singulorum domesticamque societatem, civilia quoque instituta spiritus Christi pervaserit.—Ad hanc rem quoniam prorsus necesse est christianae praecepta sapientiae vulgo esse cognita, idcirco vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, ceterisque omnibus, quorum est procuratio animarum, attente vigilandum erit, ne in scholis elementorum unquam de religione institutio desideretur, verum quotidie ad certas horas habeatur, et quidem ita, ut pueri cum sinceram notitiam, tum amorem Ecclesiae matris et caelestium doctrinarum, quas illa tradit, imbibant. In ephebeis vero et in athenaeis catholicis altius debent studio religionis erudiri adolescentes, quo fiat, ut deinceps nec periculose versentur cum civibus acatholicis, et praeiudicatas quoque opiniones, quae lumini evangelicae sapientiae officiunt, eorum animis possint disputando detrahere.—Atque hoc est, quod postremo cupimus maximae esse vobis curae, ut qui nobiscum de fide dissident, eos,

revocatos ab errore, ad Ecclesiae complexum invitetis. Sacrorum enim pastorum est non modo oves, quae congregatae sunt, custodire, sed etiam devias reducere. Huiusmodi cum sint acatholici Canadenses, iique magnam partem, conscientiae bonae, diligenter eis opus est, oblata veritatis luce, aditum ad unicum ovile Iesu Christi patefacere et munire. Id autem ut certa quadam et stabili ratione fiat, vos, de animarum salute tam sollicitos, studiose daturus operam pro certo habemus.

Auspicem vero divinorum munerum et praecipuae Nostrae benevolentiae testem, vobis, Venerabiles Fratres, et Clero populoque vestro apostolicam benedictionem amantissime impertimus.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die x mensis Iulii anno MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

LETTER OF HIS HOLINESS POPE PIUS X. TO THE
UNIVERSITY OF ST. ANDREWS

EPISTOLAE

AD CLAROS VIROS BALFOUR OF BURLEIGH, ROSEBERY, IACOBUM DONALDSON, MODERATORES UNIVERSITATIS STUDIORUM SANCTI ANDREAE IN SCOTIA, DE SOLEMNIBUS OB ANNUM D AB INSTITUTA UNIVERSITATE

Clari viri, salutem.—Quum quingentesimo natali istius Academiae celebrando festos solemnesque dies nuper indiceretis in mensem Septembrem proximum, recte existimastis non alienam debere esse a vestra societate laetitiae hanc Apostolicam Sedem, cuius auctoritate id sit illustre doctrinarum domicilium constitutum. Itaque in primis curae vobis habuistis per communem epistolam, plenam officii, Nos impense rogare, ut saecularia illa sollemnia participare vellemus. Equidem libentissime facturi sumus, ut huic obsequamur voto; vobisque pro vestra erga Nos humanitate singulares gratias agimus. Deum vero suppliciter precamur, ut et studiis vestris lumine sapientiae suae semper adsit, et vos, qui decessores Nostros, bene de ista Academia meritos, tam pia memoria colitis, perfecta Nobiscum caritate coniungat.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, die x mensis Iulii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

PIUS PP. X.

NEW RULES OF GOVERNMENT IN FRANCISCAN ORDER

MOTU PROPRIO

DE NONNULLIS IN ORDINE FRATRUM MINORUM SERVANDIS CIRCA
CURIAM GENERALEM, ELECTIONES ET PRIVILEGIA PERSONALIA

Quo magis incolumis fiat unio quatuor Familiarum Minoritarum, quae pari omnino iure parique minoritico titulo, sive Regularis sive Stricteris Observantiae S. Francisci, unum morale Corpus constituebant, et quo facilius augescat opus feliciter absolutum a Leone XIII., pia recordationis, necessarium duximus prorsus eliminare quamdam permanentem semperque graviolem discordiae et mutuae diffidentiae causam, productam e *fusione* multarum Provinciarum Fratrum Minorum, inclinationes, usus et consuetudines diversas habentium, iuxta differentem ex-familiam, ad quam pertinebant, restituendo familiis antiquarum Provinciarum, quae super hoc Nos instantissime efflagitarunt, et quae ob auctum sacerdotum numerum et ob alias causas poterant de novo constitui, ipsarum autonomiam, servata tamen perfecta unione Constitutionum et Regiminis, praescripta a Leone XIII., et hoc fine prae oculis habito, ut praefatae Provinciae differentia haberent territoria et non *commixta*, exceptione facta pro nonnullis magnis civitatibus relate ad aliquas Provincias.

Quibus adhibitis mediis, *revixit* promissio facta et usque ab initio iterata ex parte Superiorum, qui promoverunt unionem; quo vocabulo significare volebant, non fusionem, nec destructionem Provinciarum, sed plenam legislationis et regiminis unitatem, efformando unam dumtaxat magnam Minoriticam Familiam, perfecte unitam. Fusio illa Provinciarum ex parte Superiorum Maiorum, bona fide facta fuit; verum finis per se nobilis, quem prae oculis habuerant, in praxi id effecit, ut multorum animi magis seiungerentur: idcirco temerarie et iniuste reprobarentur, tum vivum desiderium, tum humiles preces, quas Apostolicae Sedi porrexerunt plures religiosi, non exceptis etiam iis dignioribus ob singularem virtutem, scientiam et auctoritatem, ut intra unionem recuperaretur antiqua autonomia quoad respectivas ipsorum Provincias, atque ita de medio tolleretur pomm discordiarum, quae, praecipue in Italia, fiebant gravissimum, imo et imminens periculum completae ruinae unionis sanctissimae, factae per constitutionem *Felicitate quadam*.

Sublata hoc modo praecipua dissensionum causa, nunc, omnis cura est adhibenda, ut in hac magna Minoritica Familia, quam constanti amore prosequuti fuimus et prosequimur, guber-

nium generale, provinciale et locale totius Ordinis facilius, efficacius et salutaris reddatur, et insuper, ut in omnibus Generalibus Comitibus, quando, sexto quovis anno, iuxta Constitutionum praescriptum, simul conveniunt quotquot gaudent iure suffragii in Capitulis Generalibus, semper fiant electiones Ministri Generalis et Definitorii Generalis, cum non dissimili temporis duratione. Sed quoniam, ut experientia docet, nimius Consiliariorum numerus recto regimini magis nocet, quam prodest; necesse est, ut restringatur numerus Religiosorum, fruendum iure adassistendi coetibus definitorialibus. Expedit insuper, ut Ordo agnoscat, quinam de iure vices gerere debeat, Ministri Generalis aut Provincialis, Sede plena, aut Sede vacante; ut electiones fiant cum maturo examine, multa cum serietate et religione, remoto prorsus abusu iteratorum scrutiniorum cum excessivo omnino numero, qui saepius deploratus fuit, et qui non leves discordias fovet, et quodammodo destruit aestimationem debitam auctoritati tum eligendorum, tum electorum; ut novae electiones semper debitis normis et intra debitos limites peragantur.

Praeterea, cum tituli honorifici, ius praecedentiae, et exemptionum, seu personalia privilegia, concessa velut in praemium temporale et velut honor terrenus, religiosas familias facile avertant a plena regularis disciplinae observantia, et saepissime etiam a vero progressu individuali in virtutibus, iure meritoque quamplures e dignioribus filiis Seraphici sanctae humilitatis Magistri Francisci Assisiensis, vehementissime cupiunt et instant, ut tales honores et privilegia, quae practice redundant in personale tantum et terrenum commodum, ex Ordine removeantur; cumque talis petitio penitus respondeat desideriis Nostris; idcirco praefata privilegia tollimus, abolemus, abrogamus, exceptione facta, ex parte tamen, pro Ex-Provincialibus immediatis et pro Fratribus, qui duas primas Dignitates totius Ordinis exercuerint, scilicet pro Ex-Ministris Generalibus et Ex-Procuratoribus Generalibus, et pro hisce ultimis, etiam quia officio Procuratoris Generalis erit adnexum illud Delegati aut Vicarii Generalis.

Haec autem non excludunt, sed id etiam includunt, ut Patribus, qui vires suas consumpserunt aut consumunt in bonum Ordinis, in difficilioribus aut gravioribus muneribus exercendis, omnes et singuli conentur specialem exhibere reverentiam, grati animi significationem, in spiritu verae dilectionis, charitatis et cuiusdam veluti aequitatis; sed gratissimum exit Deo mutuum et sanctum illud certamen, quo subditi suos iam Superiores aliosque

benemerentes adiuwabunt et revere buntur, et quo isti totis viribus evadere curabunt humiliores, et eo magis alieni fieri a quolibet vel desiderio honorum et specialium adiumentorum, quo maiora fuerunt ipsorum merita, tum praeterita, tum praesentia. Deo maxime quidem acceptus et benedictus a Seraphico Patre erit ardor ille laudabilissimus, quo viri apostolici, peritissimi sacrarum scientiarum professores atqui eximii educatores et moderatores Fratrum Minorum, nullum alium honoris titulum aut privilegium habere satagent, quam abiectos vivere in Domo Dei, novissimum locum quaerere, et nullum suorum praemia, imperituros honores, retributionem maximam in aeterna beatitudine consequantur.

Quapropter Motu hac proprio sequentia omnino perpetuoque servanda edicimus, decernimus, mandamus :

I. Sex tantum erunt Definitorum Generales, ex quibus duo pro lingua italica ; unus pro lingua germanica ; unus pro lingua anglica ; unus pro lingua gallica ; unus pro lingua hispanica.

II. Lingua tamen hic sumenda erit promiscue etiam pro imperio, regno, regione, cum linguis et regionibus affinibus vel vicinioribus, dummodo tamen eligendus veram peritiam habeat linguae, in praecedenti articulo designatae.

III. Officium Ministri, Procuratoris et Definitorum Generalium per sex tantum annos perdurabit. Post primum tamen sexennium Minister, Procurator et duo tantum ex Definitoribus rationabili de causa reeligi poterunt ad secundum sexennium, dummodo duas ex tribus partibus votorum favorabilium obtineant. Pro ulteriori sexennio requiritur licentia S. Sedis.

IV. In electionibus Ministri Generalis, Procuratoris Generalis et Ministri Provincialis, si post tertium scrutinium, non habeatur electio, fiat quartum, in quo vocem passivam habeant duo Patres, qui maiorem suffragiorum numerum in tertio retulerint : et si suffragia fuerint paria, electus declaretur religione senior. In electionibus Definitorum, tum Generalium, tum Provincialium aliorumve Superiorum seu Officialium per scutinia secreta constituendorum, inaniter peracto primo et secundo scrutinio, fiat tertium tantum, in quo sufficiat maioritas relativa suffragiorum : quod si suffragia fuerint paria, electus proclametur religione senior.

V. Ministri, Custodes et Definitorum Provinciales per triennium in officio perdurent. Ministri Provinciales, Custodes et duo ex Definitoribus rationabili de causa reeligi possunt ad secundum triennium ; sed pro ulteriori triennio requiritur licentia S. Sedis.

VI. Guardiani per triennium in officio perdurent, seu de Capitulo ad Capitulum: abrogatis omnino congregationibus annuis seu intermediis. Elapso triennio, Guardiani iusta de causa eligi possunt pro alio conventu; pro secundo triennio in eodem conventu, requiritur licentia Ministri Generalis. Pro tertio autem triennio in eodem conventu, et pro quarto triennio in alio vel aliis requiritur licentia S. Sedis.

VII. Absente Ministro Generali, Procurator Generalis, et absente Provinciali, Custos Provincialis munere Delegati Generalis vel Provincialis respective fungi debet; qui, vacante officio, nomen Vicarii Generalis vel Provincialis item respective assumunt.

VIII. Tituli praecedentiae et exemptiones de iure vel consuetudine in Ordine vigentes inter eos, qui actu Superiores non sunt, omnino tolluntur. Soli Ex-Ministri et Ex-Procuratores Generales, semper et ubique, et Ex-Provincialis Minister durante immediato triennio, sed in sua Provincia tantum, titulum et praecedentiam habere poterunt cum voce activa et passiva in capitulis generali et propriae Provinciae, si de Ex-Generali et Ex-Procuratore, et in Capitulo Provinciali, si de Ex-Provinciali agatur. Nullus vero, etiamsi sit Ex-Generalis, locum aut vocem habere poterit in congressibus definitorialibus, sive generalibus, sive provincialibus.

IX. Fiant reformationes studiorum, et normae Lectorum constituendorum, suppressis titulis officiorum, quae actu non exercentur.

X. Constitutiones Ordinis reformatur infra sex menses iuxta praescripta in praesenti decreto, idque per specialem Commissionem a S. Sede designandam, additis insuper necessariis aliis et opportunis modificationibus, tum ut plane respondeant hodiernis praescriptionibus Canonis, tum ut e medio tollantur abusus, qui novissimis praesertim temporibus hinc inde irrepserunt, tum ut spiritus vere seraphicus in toto Ordine efficacius uberiusque vigeat novaque semper incrementa suscipiat.—Haec tamen Constitutionum reformatio non importat substantialem mutationem earundem, sed novam tantummodo editionem cum suppressione, vel modificatione eorum, quae, hisce Nostris praescriptionibus contradicunt; et cum emendationibus et additionibus opportunis et necessariis.

Nomina Moderatorum Curiae Generalitiae Ordinis Minorum, per has Nostras praescriptiones reformatae, a Nobis electorum et constitutorum, in separato documento publicari mandamus. Circa Commissionem novae Constitutionum editioni parandae,

cum novis Superioribus voluntatem Nostram communicandam curabimus. Denique ipsis Superioribus Generalibus, ad maius totius Ordinis bonum et incrementum, opportunas Regiminis Normas dabimus.

Contrariis quibuscumque, etiam specialissima mentione dignis, minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae, apud S. Petrum, die 23 Octobris anni 1911, Pontificatus Nostri anno nono.

PIUS PP. X.

**DECREE APPOINTING THE GENERAL AUTHORITIES IN THE
FRANCISCAN ORDER**

S. CONGREGATIO DE RELIGIOSIS

DECRETUM QUO MODERATORES GENERALES ORDINIS FRATRUM
MINORUM CONSTITUUNTUR

SS^{ms} Dominus Noster Pius Divina Providentia Papa X. ad normam Motus-Proprii *Quo magis*, huius diei 23 Octobris 1911, sequentes Moderatores Generales Ordinis Fratrum Minorem eligere et constituere ad nutum Sanctae Sedis dignatus est :

Ministrum Generalem

P. PACIFICUM MONZA.

Procuratorem Generalem

P. PLACIDUM LEMOS.

Definitores Generales

P. FRANCISCUM MASULLI

P. IOSEPHUM BOTTARO

P. PETRUM BEGLEY

P. LUDOVICUM AN TOMELLI

P. COLUMBANUM DREYER

P. VALERIANUM BENDES.

Qui omnes, a promulgatione huius Decreti, in possessionem proprii muneris legitime immissi declarantur, quique proinde omnino a Superioribus et a subditis universis, tamquam veri Moderatores Generales Ordinis Minorum habeantur, iisque virtute sanctae obedientiae, humili et religiosa reverentia fideliter pareant.

Contrariis quibuscumque, etiam speciali mentione dignis, minime obstantibus.

Datum Romae, die 23 Octobris anno 1911.

FR. I. C. CARD. VIVES, *Praefectus*.

L. ✠ S.

F. CHERUBINI, *Subsecretarius*.

EXAMINATION FOR DEGREES IN HOLY SCRIPTURE
COMMISSIO PONTIFICIA DE RE BIBLICA
RATIO PERICLITANDAE DOCTRINAE
CANDIDATORUM AD ACADEMICOS GRADUS IN SACRA SCRIPTURA.
PARS ALTERA
DE IPSIS EXPERIMENTIS
CAPUT I.

AD CONFERENDUM PROLYTATUM

ART. I.—DE PERICULORUM TEMPORE DEQUE PETITIONE
A CANDIDATIS FACIENDA.

1. Candidatis ad Prolytatum, itemque ad Lauream, probandis duplex habetur iudicium sessio, mense Novembri et mense Iunio, id est ineunte et exeunte anno scholastico.
2. Candidati petitionem R^{mo} Consultori ab Actis exhibeant et quidem ante finem mensis Iunii, qui volunt in sessione prima periculum doctrinae suae facere, ante finem Aprilis, qui in altera.
3. In petitione Candidatus, praeter nomen, cognomen, domicilium suum, indicet etiam ubi et quo die ad sacerdotium sit promotus, atque ubi et quo die sacrae Theologiae lauream consecutus. Idem petitioni litteras commendatitias adiungat Ordinarii sui vel, si e religioso ordine institutove sit, antistitis manu subscriptas. Horum autem documentorum inspectionem sibi Pontificia Commissio reservat.
4. De diebus periculorum destinatis Candidati tempestive certiores fiunt.

ART. II.—DE LINGUA IN EXPERIMENTIS ADHIBENDA.

Experimenta iis, qui Prolytatum petunt—item qui Lauream—latine danda sunt ; nisi cui alia lingua permittatur uti.

ART. III.—DE EXPERIMENTIS SCRIPTIS.

1. Experimentum scriptum complectitur : (a) Dissertationem exegeticam de textu aliquo Evangeliorum vel Actuum ; (b) Scriptionem de quopiam argumento ex historia biblica iuxta materiarum indicem in adnexo folio descriptum ; (c) Scriptionem de aliquo argumento Introductionis generalis vel specialis ibidem pariter assignato. Ad hanc geminam scriptionem conficiendam bis tres horae conceduntur ; sex autem ad dissertationem, cui propterea duplex tribuitur valor.

2. Dissertatio et scriptiones sunt sine cuiusvis libri adminiculo

conficiendae, praeter Scripturae textum et concordantias, quorum exemplar cuivis Candidato ab ipsa Commissione, sed pro dissertatione exegetica dumtaxat, traditur.

3. Quod attinet ad modum argumentum exegeticum tractandi, magna relinquitur Candidatis libertas. Sciant tamen ab eis non requiri oratoriam quamdam amplificationem; sed tractationem scientia et ratione confectam, quae litteralem scilicet expositionem propositi textus exhibeat, cum conclusionibus doctrinalibus, comparatione locorum consimilium, interpretatione praecipuarum variarum lectionum, explanatione antilogiarum, quae vel inter textum et versiones, vel inter eiusdem textus locutiones occurrant.

ART. IV.—DE EXPERIMENTIS QUAE VIVA VOCE FIUNT.

1. Verbis Candidatus unum pluresve locos Evangeliorum, Actuum, Epist. ad Romanos et II. Epist. ad Corinthios graece, atque unum pluresve locos librorum Regum hebraice ex tempore interpretari debet.

Praeterea de Historia Antiqui et Novi Testamenti; de Introductione speciali; de quaestionibus Introductionis generalis in memorato indice assignatis; demum, ad iudicium arbitrium, de argumento in scriptionibus evoluto, interrogatur.

2. Experimentum quod voce fit duas complectitur horas, id est bis semihoram pro parte graeca et hebraica, et ter viginti momenta pro altera.

ART. V.—DE NOTIS SEU PUNCTIS DEQUE CONDITIONIBUS

AD SUCCESSUM REQUISITIS.

1. Singulis utriusque experimenti partibus aequalis tribuitur punctorum numerus, id est viginti, quae tamen puncta in experimento linguae hebraicae et graecae, necnon dissertationis exegeticae duplum valorem habent.

2. In qua materia Candidatus duodecim puncta tulerit, in ea se satis iudicibus probasse sciat.

3. Ad felicem exitum utriusque experimenti requiritur, ut Candidatus ad mensuram modo descriptam in singulis materiis bene responderit.

4. Qui eam mensuram in singulis materiis experimenti scripti non attigerit, ad tentandum orale experimentum non admittitur.

5. Qui vero felicem exitum in scriptis habuit, etsi in experimento verbali deficiat, ei experimentum scriptum iterandum non est.

6. Nemo experimentum eius materiae iterare debet, in qua sedecim puncta tulit, nisi in materiis plus duabus ceciderit, aut in

duabus, quae ad eamdem experimenti partem pertineant, scilicet ad utramque linguam hebraicam et graecam, vel ad alias experimenti materias.

7. Qui iterato experimento, sive scripto sive verbali, iterum cecidit, pericula nunquam postea tentare sinitur. Iterare autem experimentum nisi in sequenti aliqua sessione non licet, salva speciali venia ab Eminentissimo Cardinali Praeside impetranda.

8. Qui in utroque experimento sic se probavit, ut, partitione punctorum facta, tres quartas summae partes retulerit, is ius ad honorificam sui mentionem acquirit.

ART. VI.—DE EXPENSIS A CANDIDATIS FACIENDIS.

1. Candidati ante experimentum summam centum et viginti libellarum solvere tenentur, centum scilicet pro ipso experimento et viginti pro diplomate aliisque necessariis sumptibus.

2. Candidatis quibus experimentum haud bene successit, summa septuaginta libellarum restituetur; quod si in scriptis satis fecerint iudicibus, non eis restituentur nisi libellae viginti.

3. Qui experimentum verbale iterum tentant, sive ex integro, sive ex parte, solvant viginti libellas pro diplomate aliisque expensis, et insuper libellas decem pro singulis experimenti materiis.

CAPUT II.

AD LAUREAM

ART. I.—DE CONDITIONIBUS ANTE SERVANDIS.

1. Nisi adsint rationes omnino peculiares, quas iure librare Commissionis est, periculum ad Lauream, quo maturior thesis parari possit, duorum saltem annorum intervallo a Prolytatu distare debet.

2. Cum nomen suum Rmō Secretario dat, Candidatus simul indicet titulum et generalem notionem suae theseos doctoralis, necnon linguam qua eam exarare intendat.

3. Pariter significet: (a) librum vel librorum complexum, tum Antiqui tum Novi Testamenti, quorum exegesim praeparare intendit, iuxta alterum experimentorum indicem; (b) insuper quamnam linguam orientalem ad experimentum dandum elegerit et de quibusnam textibus se interrogari cupiat. Concessa autem idiomatica sunt: Syriacum, Assyriacum, Arabicum, Ethiopicum, Copticum et vetus Aegyptiacum.

N.B.—Materia experimenti in linguis debet esse sat ampla, extra textum biblicum, maiori saltem parte, potius deligenda.

Propositio operis penes Candidatum est, modo sufficientis sit molis et adprobatio Rñorum Consultorum accedat.

4. Rñus Secretarius significabit Candidato utrum thesos argumentum aliasque propositas materias Commissio comprobaverit, et quasnam forte eadem animadversiones fecerit aut mutationes suggererit.

5. Ipse vero Candidatus tempestive mittat suae thesos typice, lithographice aut mechanice aditae quindecim saltem exemplaria, ut, praeter Eños DD. Cardinales Pontificiae Commissioni adscriptos quotquot Revñi Consultores defensionem thesos interesse cupiant, singuli unum accipiant.

6. Postquam thesis examini iudicum subiecta fuerit, maiori-que numero suffragia ferentium probata, Revñus Secretarius, auditis Rñis Consultoribus, cum Candidato constituet de die experimento theseseque defensionem assignando.

ART. II.—DE EXPERIMENTO DEQUE THESEOS DEFENSIONE.

1. Experimentum duplici parte constat : altera praeliminari, altera solemniori.

2. Experimentum *praeliminare*, technicum quodammodo, in duplex periculum dividitur. Interrogandus est Candidatus : (a) de lingua orientali a se delecta ; (b) de libris Antiqui vel Novi Testamenti a se propositis, necnon de notionibus ad rem criticam et patristicam spectantibus ad normam adnexi indicis.

Quae omnia experimenta in aula publica habentur ita, ut qui cupierint auditores eisdem interesse possint.

3. Experimentum *solemnius* duas pariter complectitur partes ; lectionem publicam a candidato ex tempore habendam, et ipsam thesese defensionem.

(a) Lectio publice habenda est de argumento a iudicibus delecto e libris utriusque Testamenti ab ipso Candidato propositis, vel de quaestionibus rei criticae aut patristicae in adnexo indice descriptis. Candidato conceditur spatium unius horae ad hanc lectionem praeparandam. Absoluta lectione, quae quindecim vel viginti momenta non excedat, iudices candidatum tenent sive de argumento lectionis, sive de quaestionibus connexis, quin tamen indicis ambitum excedant.

(b) Defensionem thesese praecedat argumenti expositio nitida, expedita et, quantum potest, plena, quae tamen spatium unius horae numquam excedat. Tres dein e iudicum collegio thesim ex officio impugnent. Post quos alii quoque Revñi Consultores, quaestiones movere possunt. Spatium utriusque experimenti

definitum non est. Suadendum tamen ut unius diei intervallo inter se distent.

4. Absoluta theseos defensione, iudices conveniunt de admissione Candidati inter se deliberaturi. Cuius deliberationis exitus a Rmo Secretario die sequenti Candidato significatur.

ART. III.—DE EXPENSIS A CANDIDATO SOLVENDIS.

1. Candidatus ad Lauream ter centum libellasolvere debet, dimidiam scilicet partem dum thesim doctoralem tradit, alteram antequam eius defensionem suscipiat.

2. Quae tamen altera pars non est solvenda, nisi thesi iam accepta. Quodsi theseos defensio infelicem habuerit exitum, quinquaginta libellae Candidato restituentur.

Hanc alteram partem 'rationis periclitandae doctrinae Candidatorum ad academicos gradus in Sacra Scriptura,' in audientia Revms DD. Consultoribus ab Actis die 24 Maii 1911 concessa, SS. D. N. Pius PP. X. adprobare dignatus est.

FULCRANUS VIGOUROUX, Pr.S.S.

LAURENTIUS JANSSENS, O.S.B.

Consultores ab Actis.

THE FEAST OF ST. OTHMAR

LITTERAE APSOSTOLICAE

FESTUM S. OTHMARI ABBATIS IN PAROECIA S. GALLI IN CHORO
TANTUM CELEBRARI PERMITTITUR

PIUS PP. X.

Ad futuram rei memoriam.—Refert ad Nos Episcopus S. Galli in dioecesi sua festum praecipui Patroni videlicet S. Galli tam in Choro quam in foro rite celebrari; festum vero alterius Patroni, nempe S. Othmari Ab. intra fines dumtaxat Paroeciae S. Galli, tamquam festum de praecepto haberi, sed eidem festo rite celebrando maiores in dies difficultates officere. Asserit enim idem Antistes paroeciam S. Galli, quae Cathedrali templo, ceu parochiali utitur, viginti quinque millibus Catholicorum constare, sed acatholicos numero, opibus ac potestate civili longe praevalere. Multos etiam catholicos e dissitis regionibus ipsam ad paroeciam commercii causa confluentes territorialem praecepti legem ignorare. Alios in proximioribus paroeciis

degentes, in quibus idem festum non est de praecepto servandum, eandem in paroesciam ad labores suscipiendos venientes, ipso eo die a servilibus operibus minime abstinere. Omnes fere officinarum institores vel permittere vel cogere ad servilia opera artifices. Addit ipse Antistes festum Sancti Othmari, uti memoriae traditum est, celebratum fuisse in monasterio S. Galli, quod centum abhinc annis est obseratum; postea a Parocho S. Galli inductum esse pro populo, atque ita penes paroeciam ipsam Sancti Galli id vigere festum, quod in aliis paroeciis non celebratur. Tandem, ex lege, alterius Patroni festum minime de praecepto censi. His quidem de causis Antistes super enunciatus supplici prece Nos adit, ut ad praecavenda peccata veniam faciamus, ex qua, interposita Nostra Auctoritate, in paroecia S. Galli non minus quam in aliis paroeciis festum S. Othmari in choro dumtaxat celebretur. Nos autem probe spectantes adductarum rationum gravitatem, votis his annuendum benigne existimamus, eaque de causa, Apostolica Nostra Auctoritate, vi praesentium concedimus, ut in posterum intra fines paroeciae S. Galli quotannis S. Othmari Ab. festum in choro tantum rite celebretur, quin fideles eodem die sacro adesse et a servilibus operibus abstinere ex praecepto teneantur. Antistiti vero dioecesis commendatum volumus, ut aliis congruis modis S. Othmari venerationem cultumque exaugenda curet. Decernentes praesentes Nostras Litteras firmas, validas, et efficaces semper existere et fore suosque plenarios et integros effectus sortiri et obtinere, sicque in praemissis per quoscumque iudices ordinarios et delegatos iudicari et definiri debere, atque irritum esse et inane, si secus super his a quoquam quavis auctoritate scienter vel ignoranter contigerit attentari. Non obstantibus Nostra et Cancellariae Apostolicae regula de iure quaesito non tollendo, aliisque Constitutionibus et Ordinationibus Apostolicis ceterisque contrariis quibuscumque.

Datum Romae apud S. Petrum, sub annulo Piscatoris, die XXIV Februarii MCMXI, Pontificatus Nostri anno octavo.

L. ✠ S.

R. CARD. MERRY DEL VAL,
a Secretis Status.

NOTICES OF BOOKS

MARY AIKENHEAD. *Her Life, Her Work, and Her Friends.*
By S. A. With a Preface by Most Rev. N. Donnelly,
D.D. Third Edition. Illustrated. Dublin: Browne
and Nolan, Ltd. 1911.

THIS work, already well known to a large number of our readers, is not merely a biography of Mother Mary Aikenhead, but a history of the Institution and Foundation of the Irish Sisters of Charity. The third edition which we have before us has been issued at a singularly opportune moment; for considering the wonderful expansion and growth of this purely Irish foundation and the blessings that have been so richly bestowed on the work of Mother Aikenhead, it is no wonder that efforts should be made to get the seal of the Holy See put on the virtues and achievements of this singularly gifted and holy religious.

'It is little wonder,' writes Dr. Donnelly, in his very appreciative preface, 'that the devoted daughters of Mary Aikenhead, conversant with her life, imbued with her spirit, and zealously perpetuating her noble work, should wish, and work, and pray that the Church may at length officially recognize the heroic virtues of this great servant of God, and impress the seal of holiness upon all and each of the undertakings of her daughters of Charity. It may be accounted, too, a happy coincidence that the appearance of this third edition synchronizes with these initial efforts; it will set forth the justice of their hopes and encourage them to persevere.'

Nobody can ever tell the amount of human suffering and want that the institutions founded by Mother Aikenhead have relieved, and nobody who reads this volume can fail to be struck with the marks of extraordinary sanctity, of courage, hope, resignation, and devotion to the highest Christian ideal that illuminated the life of this great nun. We wish her Sisters and her institutions all success in the great work they have undertaken, and we wish that a knowledge of Mother Aikenhead's virtues and merits should be more widely known through the dissemination of this admirable volume.

J. F. H.

SERMONS AND LECTURES. By Monsignor Grosch, Rector of St. John the Evangelist's, Islington. London: Thomas Baker, 72 Newman Street. 1911.

THE friends of Monsignor Grosch have done a good service to the Catholic reading public by urging him to publish these *Sermons and Lectures*. It is not often that one finds a genuine pleasure in reading through a book of this kind; but for ourselves we must say that we could not, except for some urgent duty, lay aside the volume until we had read it from cover to cover. No doubt, as the author points out, there is no pretence to originality in regard to the matter of these lectures. He claims, however, some little credit for the method of treatment, and will have his claim allowed. We may add that the book has the rare merit of presenting the doctrines of the Church in such a way that while the technicalities of the schools are avoided, nothing essential is omitted. This in itself is a notable achievement. Everyone will recognize the importance of bringing clearly before the average lay mind the truths and proofs of our holy faith; and we have no hesitation in saying that, in this respect, the volume before us is quite a model. The style often recalls that of Newman in its clearness and chasteness of expression.

Monsignor Grosch is evidently in great demand as a preacher and lecturer, for the sermons and lectures composing this volume have been delivered in various places and on various occasions. There is an admirable series of dogmatic discourses preached in the Westminster Cathedral, on the place which religion should occupy in the education of the child, in youth and age, in the home life and in the market-place. These are followed by another series on the notes of the Church. There are also panegyrics and occasional sermons which are often original in treatment and are frequently characterised by real eloquence.

Where there is so much to be commended it may seem ungracious to draw attention to a few shortcomings. Anyone, however, with even a slight knowledge of the Irish tongue might have told him that 'Lismore' does not mean 'the great city' (p. 195). Again (p. 214) he conveys the impression that Duns Scotus was an Englishman, as if there was no doubt about the matter. We are at a loss also to understand how even an Englishman acquainted merely with the treatment accorded to Catholics by his countrymen can refer to 'our national love of liberty and fair play'! It is, however, one of the little fictions which

Englishmen love to cherish. We think, too, that, in the light of history, he might have been less emphatic, to put it mildly, in describing 'the *intensity* of the devotion of England to the see of Rome' in the sermon on 'The English Martyrs.' There is just a flavour of Jingoism which might well be absent from the sermon on the Jubilee of Mother Stanislaus: 'British valour was not wanting (in the Crimea) and our soldiers covered themselves with glory.' But perhaps all this is pardonable. We cannot, however, regard with equal leniency his introduction of politics, in the way he does, into the sermon on 'Divided Allegiance' (pp. 57-8). His words, no doubt, are somewhat general; but the meaning conveyed to his hearers or readers is, we should say, a very definite and particular one. Put more plainly it is: Vote for the Tory who supports your schools and remain under God's banner; vote for the Liberal and go to the other side. One might suggest that the political question at present is too complicated to be settled in this off-hand manner; and therefore a preacher who lays down the doctrine explicitly or implicitly, that a Catholic cannot, with a safe conscience, support a particular party, exceeds the terms of his commission and is likely, in addition, to prejudice his own position. However, such defects as those we have mentioned do not seriously detract from the undoubted excellence of the book.

T. O'D.

CATHOLIC THEOLOGY, or the Catechism Explained. By Rev. D. I. Lanslots, O.S.B. With a Preface by the Right Rev. F. A. Gasquet, O.S.B. St. Louis: B. Herder, 17 South Broadway; London: 68 Great Russell Street, W.C. 1911.

As the second title indicates, this volume is an explanation of the Catechism of the Plenary Council of Baltimore. But it has also a claim to the title of 'Catholic Theology,' inasmuch as it discusses, under the catechism headings, most of the practical questions, dogmatic and moral, which are to be found in the various treatises on theology. Indeed the author is to be congratulated on his success in bringing together such a vast amount of useful information. We are also glad to notice that the work contains and expounds the latest legislation on Matrimony and Holy Communion.

Though the style is, generally speaking, clear, we think it

would have been better, in the interest of those who have not a special acquaintance with the terminology of the schools, if many technical terms had been expressed in simpler equivalents. For instance, without any previous definition or explanation, the following sentence occurs (p. 1) : ' Consequently, the world is contingent, that is, it depends for its origin and existence on a contingency.' The explanatory clause does not throw much light on the subject. He speaks (p. 18) of raising ourselves to the knowledge of what is *intelligible*. Again, the following will not, we fear, convey much meaning to the ordinary reader. ' Things possible, as they are an imitation of the divine essence, are infinite ' (p. 24). His definition of *person* (p. 29) is too close a translation of scholastic terms ; and in treating of the Trinity (*ibid.*) he mentions ' three divine, distinct *subsistences*,' as if the word, in this sense, were familiar to the man in the street. Macaulay's schoolboy would be a veritable babe in comparison with the youth who could not only speak of the *confection* of the Eucharist but also of Its *prognostic meaning* (p. 351). Sometimes, too, the author's explanation only renders the question more obscure. An instance will be found on page 312. These are examples of the kind of ' explanation ' which a catechist should be careful to avoid. One also occasionally comes across curious samples of diction. ' Philosophy proves, *abstraction made from Revelation*, that this is not intrinsically impossible ' (p. 365). ' Christ had special reasons for doing so. To our weak intellect the following *impose themselves* ' (p. 379). ' He gave orders to Moses about establishing a *determined* form of worship ' (p. 399).

Yet, even with such blemishes, we believe that the work will prove useful and interesting to that large and increasing class of readers who wish to obtain a more thorough knowledge of their faith and of the many arguments by which that faith may be defended.

T. O'D.

THE CATHOLIC VETO AND THE IRISH BISHOPS. Dublin :
M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.

IN our reading of Modern Irish History we have not met with anything in the official acts or the general attitude of the Irish Bishops that calls for the least apology. They considered gravely and seriously as the occasion arose the circumstances that presented themselves, and acted to the best of their judgment. The net result of their wisdom is the flourishing condition

of the Church in Ireland at the present day. It is their apology and their justification. Hence we are glad to see erroneous estimates of their motives and their character ably corrected as they are in this volume. Laymen and outsiders will naturally look at things from a standpoint that is not exactly ours. We do not think it necessary to take quite *au tragique* all that they say on matters of this kind : but it is well not to let legends grow ; for in course of time they become crusted and difficult to break up. It is all very well to say that if they had held out a little longer the old Irish Parliament would have necessarily yielded to the democratic spirit of the times, and that Catholics would have been emancipated sooner and more effectively than they were under the Union. That may be so. Indeed we are inclined to think it is so : but we did not live in those times ; we did not feel the pinch of persecution as the Bishops and clergy of those days did. Hence we must be cautious about 'whirling words' and general accusations. As for the 'Veto,' the author of this pamphlet shows how hollow and nonsensical is the cry that the laity saved the Church from it. The laity were with the clergy in this business both for and against the 'Veto'—for it, when they thought it might prove a boon ; against it, when they realized that it might be used against the interests of 'Faith and Fatherland.' It is scarcely fair for politicians to try to make capital out of the seeming divergence of views. They may mean well enough ; but justice and fair-play should not be lost sight of in the midst of their controversies.

J. F. H.

MANUALE SACRARUM CAEREMONIARUM. By Martinucci.
Editio Tertia. Pars Prima. Vol. I. Fred. Pustet,
Ratisbon, Rome, and New York. 1911.

It is now about thirty years since the second edition of this classic work was given to the public. Its value is too well known and appreciated to need any words of commendation from us. That edition is now out of print, and the work of bringing out a new one has been undertaken by Menghini, Pontifical Master of Ceremonies in Rome. It is scarcely necessary to say that the undertaking could not be in more capable hands, and an examination of this first volume confirms the statement. In addition to general directions this volume contains the ceremonies to be observed by the various ministers in the celebration of Mass,

solemn and private, and in processions and Benediction of the Blessed Sacrament. It also includes the special ceremonies to be observed on certain days of the year, e.g., Ash Wednesday, Palm Sunday, the three last days of Holy Week, etc. Many new Decrees of the S.C.R. have been issued in connexion with the subject-matter of this volume since the appearance of the second edition, which are all carefully noted in the present edition. The *Motu Proprio* of our present Holy Father on the question of ecclesiastical music has also been annotated. But, in general, the order adopted by the author has been followed; whenever the editor disagrees with him or has something new to incorporate he does it in a foot note. It can, therefore, no longer be said that Martinucci is out of date; on the contrary, when the other three volumes are published anyone who possesses the work will have the most complete and up-to-date manual of ceremonies obtainable. Messrs. M. H. Gill & Son are the Dublin agents.

T. O'D.

MARTYROLOGIUM ROMANUM. Editio VI. Taurinensis. Taurini. Typographia Pontificia, 23 Via Legnano. 1911.

This is a new edition of the Roman Martyrology, including all the saints hitherto raised to the Altar. The volume is of very convenient dimensions, and the paper and printing are excellent. The price of the book (paper) is three francs.

T. O'D.

ENGLISH-IRISH PHRASE DICTIONARY. Compiled from the Works of the best Writers of the living Speech. By Rev. L. M'Kenna, S.J., M.A. Dublin: M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd. 1911.

STUDENTS of Irish all over the country will welcome the appearance of this book. It was principally their interests and their wants that Father M'Kenna, the learned compiler of the work, had in view when he imposed upon himself the onerous task which we see realized in the pages before us. It is difficult for anyone who has not himself gone through the drudgery of such a work to estimate accurately the amount of labour and the microscopic care and attention which it involves. Still, even a casual reader, who only dips lightly into the pages of the *Dictionary*, will see clearly that the man who made it must have been a very patient, painstaking, and enthusiastic worker, and a

thoroughly devoted lover of the national language. Father M'Kenna has certainly stood the test of true devotedness: 'Probatio dilectionis exhibitio est operis.' He has given us in these three hundred pages of closely-printed matter an irrefragable proof not only of his practical interest in the work of reviving Irish, but also of solid learning and scholarship. Nor is his scholarship of the carping, hypercritical kind. He is no *laudator temporis acti*. He sets down the phrases, clauses, sentences actually used by living, or recent, writers of modern Irish, choosing, of course the best models. He gives us, not the Irish actually used by Keating or earlier writers, but the Irish that these men would probably have used had they lived and written as contemporaries of Canon O'Leary or (the modern) Fearghus Finnbhéil. He realizes that this is the twentieth, not the seventeenth, century, and so spares us many things which, if they were not literary affectations at the earlier date, would certainly be so if written now. We have not read through the whole book, of course, but if we may generalize from the vocables which we have examined, we may say with confidence that Father M'Kenna's treatment of the words will be found by students of all grades and of all districts to be highly satisfactory. The junior student who is just groping his way, with much pain and travail, through the darkness of elementary composition will find light in abundance, and easy leading, in the pages of the *Phrase Dictionary*. The native speaker will be taught, by careful perusal of the book, to advert to delicate shades of meaning in words and phrases, a thing, by the way, which the native speaker is not always inclined to do; whilst even the most advanced students and teachers will find the book invaluable as a work of general reference, and as an aid to the comparative study of the language. If we might be permitted to suggest any alteration we should say that the value of the book would be enhanced if the author, and, if possible, the particular work from which phrases and sentences are quoted were designated in every instance. We presume that Father M'Kenna thought of this, but considered it impracticable, owing either to pressure of work or anxiety to give the book into the hands of students during the current year. Perhaps in the second edition this omission will be rectified. Meanwhile we must congratulate Father M'Kenna for the notable success which he has achieved in a most difficult undertaking, and we wish to express the hope that all who are interested in the spread of Irish, both teachers and students, whether their sphere of work is in the Gaelic League branch, the Intermediate

school, or college, or the University, will, by purchasing the *Phrase Dictionary*, and using it, show their practical appreciation of Father M'Kenna's efforts to help them. We heartily wish the book the large measure of success which it deserves.

Σεπτόιο ó Νουλλάιν.

ἡμίτ na m'Beac. Dublin : M. H. Gill & Son, Ltd.

"ἡμίτ na m'Beac" is quite a suitable title for this little collection of Irish prose and poetry. It is edited, with annotations and vocabularies, by Members of the Columban League. The work furnishes unmistakable evidence of the industry and scholarship of the little band of earnest workers who are responsible for its production; and this fact, in conjunction with the attractive form in which, for the most part, the results of the 'honey-hunting' are presented to the reader justify the title which has been given to the book. A notable feature of the collection is the inclusion of two homilies from *Lebor na Huidre*, edited in his usual careful and scholarly manner by Father Paul Walsh. Of the poetic pieces in the book the short poem by Δονγύρ na 'Díadaceta (on p. 46) is, 'I think, the gem. The prose pieces are all well worth reading, and furnish plenty of material for the fruitful study of Irish construction and idiom. There are many scholars, no doubt, to whom some of the findings of the annotators of this book will not appeal as being just or accurate. But such a state of things is inevitable in the present unsatisfactory condition of Irish scholarship. A great many modern criticisms of the language must be regarded as merely tentative, and we must only agree to differ when we do not see eye to eye with one another. Out of the melée of conflicting opinions, and pet ideas, and hugged-to-death hobbies, the language will surely emerge victorious, and not a whit the worse of the wounds inflicted in the scuffle. And we shall all shake hands and smile, and thank God when that happy day arrives. Meanwhile books like ἡμίτ na m'Beac will, indeed, be like honey in the mouth to the student who is hungering after all that is sweetest and best and noblest in the language. We heartily recommend ἡμίτ na m'Beac to all who aim at a knowledge of Irish a little above that of 'the man in the street.' We are confident that the Irish-reading public will recognize the merits of the book—and act accordingly.

Σεπτόιο ó Νουλλάιν.

HISTORY OF POPE BONIFACE VIII. Dom Louis Tosti.

Translated from the Italian by Mgr. Donnelly, V.F.

New York : Christian Press Association Publishing Co.

IF we look along the whole line of Pontiffs there are few figures as interesting or fascinating as that of Boniface VIII. This interest is in part due to the personal character of the man, in part to the fact that he has been enshrined for reprobation in the work of a great poet. Historians in after time have, for the most part, taken their cue from Dante, and have dealt unsparingly with the life and character of Boniface. They have failed to recognize that the enmity of the poet had its source in that wide cleavage of political ideals which separated him from the Pontiff, and in that characteristic medieval tendency which turned a political into a personal enemy. The volume before us is a translation of a well-known work on *The Life and Times of Boniface VIII.*, by Dom Tosti, the learned Benedictine of Monte Cassino. It is a work of historical reparation, the translator tells us, an attempt to defend the life and Pontificate of Boniface from the attacks of numerous historians. Cardinal Wiseman, in an apology for this Pope, written many years ago for the *Dublin Review*, tells us that he was first attracted to a study of the subject by Giotto's portrait of Boniface in the Lateran. He felt, as all will feel who have seen the portrait, that there was some need of correcting the delineation of the Pontiff traditional among historians. Dom Tosti essays the same task on a larger scale. The points around which controversy has most fiercely raged are the circumstances of the resignation of Pietro Morrone, the saintly Celestine V., and the election of Boniface to the Pontificate; and, again, the latter's quarrel with Philip the Fair. Both these questions are treated exhaustively by the author. He gives us a vivid account of the famous Anagni incident, when 'Christ was made captive in His Vicar.' The principal documents on which the author depends for his defence are quoted in an appendix. It seems to us that a keener controversialist would have made more effective use of them. The Latin text of these documents is, unfortunately, teeming with misprints. It is surprising that no effort was made to correct these before the book was put upon the market. The translation on the whole is well done, and the work can be recommended as giving a vivid picture of a turbulent age, and helping to rehabilitate the memory of a great Pontiff.

J. F. D.

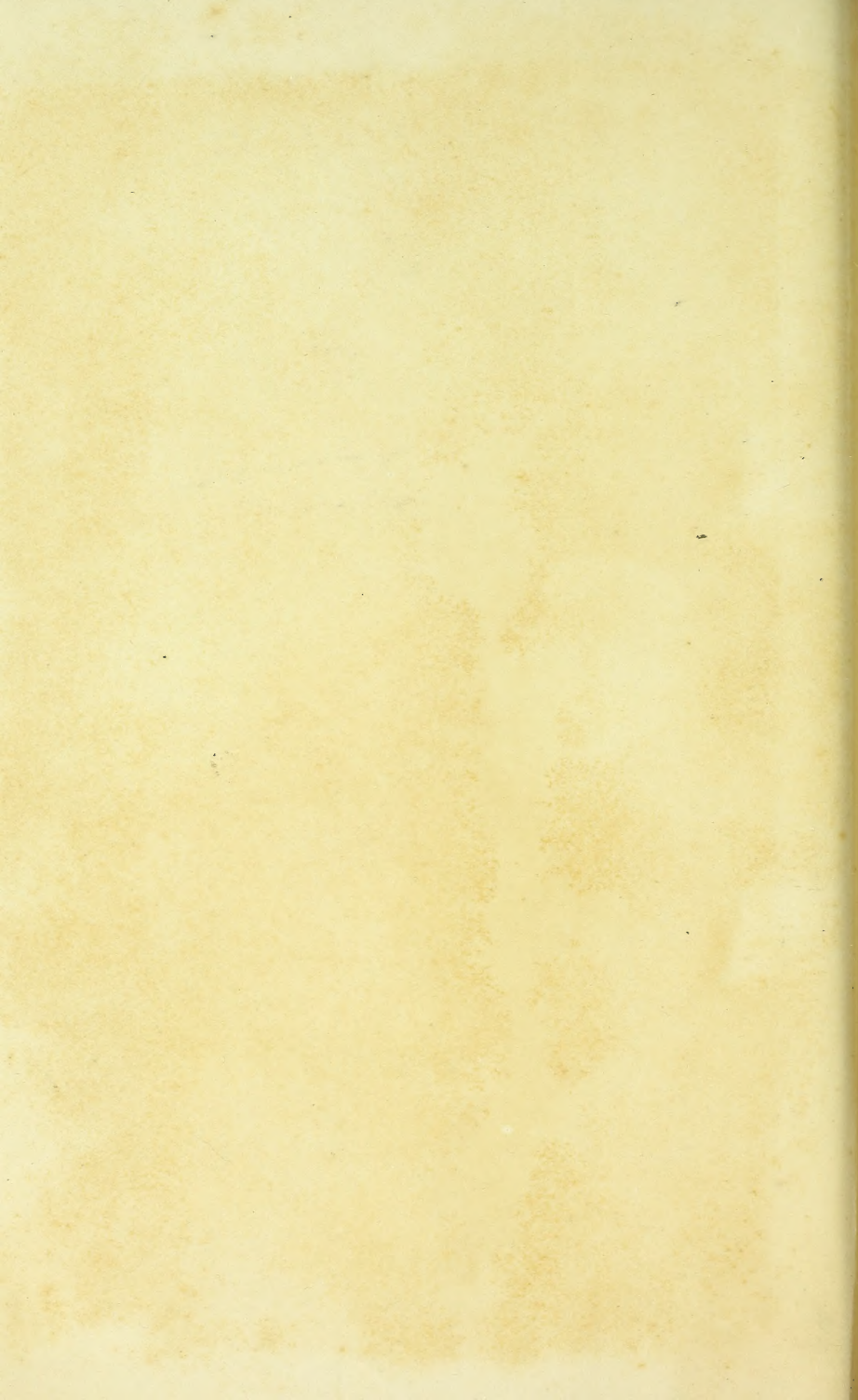
STUDIES IN THE HISTORY OF CLASSICAL TEACHING. Rev.
T. Corcoran, S.J. The Educational Company of
Ireland, Ltd.

THIS is a volume of Studies in Classical Teaching from the pen of Father Corcoran, S.J., Professor of Education in the National University. The first part of the volume centres round the story of William Bathe, an Irish Jesuit, who studied in Oxford, spent the last years of his life in the Irish College at Salamanca, and wrote (c. 1611) a celebrated treatise on Language method. The *Janua Linguarum*, first issued in Latin and Spanish, was designed to provide a ready entrance into any language. The structural plan of the treatise consisted of about 5,000 words, which Bathe regarded as 'usual and fundamental,' grouped into a number of sentences, revolving generally round some moral maxim. Bathe was a pioneer in this method of grouping his words into sentences, and he anticipated what is now considered a sound educational principle in language study. Professor Corcoran subjects to a careful analysis the valuable preface, in which Bathe declares the influences which guided him in the structure of his work, and the classes of people to whom he especially makes appeal. Bathe is conscious that his method had certain limitations, above all when applied to the classical languages, but these he hoped to remove by a further development of his plan. He insists on the necessity of preserving the moral element in all instruction, a guiding principle with such great humanists as Vittorino da Feltre and Erasmus. Father Corcoran has done good service in bringing before the public the educational work of an Irishman in the seventeenth century, particularly because, as far as I remember, Dr. Sandys has passed it over in silence in his *History of Classical Scholarship*.

The second part of the work is devoted to a discussion of post-Renaissance methods in classical teaching; and here Professor Corcoran is still more illuminating and profitable. He treats of various branches of classical education, and indicates many defects in modern systems, the roots of which seem to lie mainly in the encyclopedic character of our examination programmes. I found his chapter on the reading of authors especially stimulating. He is, it seems to me, rather ungenerous, and too much under the sway of older ideals, in dealing with the historical method, as applied to the study of classical authors. It is a method that must, of course, be kept within due bounds, but it is one with fine possibilities, and possesses peculiar

attraction both for the teacher and the pupil. He has some interesting remarks on the need of original classical composition as a substitute for the spurious composition, which seems to be now a settled part of our classical programmes. I noticed several misprints in the work, and some defective sentences due, no doubt, to printers' errors. The first part of the work is not easy reading owing to the mass of details and a certain want of form, but this latter defect disappears as the writer progresses. But making allowance for these shortcomings the classical teacher and student of classics will find the work generally both profitable and stimulating.

J. F. D.



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